HISTORY OF KENTUCKY

ILLUSTRATED

1885.

KENTUCKY STATE HOUSES.

KENTUCKY.

A HISTORY OF THE STATE,

EMBRACING

A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE VIRGINIA COLONY; ITS EXPANSION WESTWARD, AND THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FRONTIER BEYOND THE ALLEGHANIES; THE ERECTION OF KENTUCKY AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE, AND ITS SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT.

—BY—

J. H. BATTLE W. H. PERRIN. G. C. KNIFFIN.

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PREFACE.

THE purpose and design of this volume have been the presentation of the history of Kentucky in narrative form, its adaptation to the tastes and demands of the general reader, and, so far as consistent, to incorporate statistical facts for the benefit of those who would seek in its pages reference matter.

In the preparation of the work, though a liberal estimate of the time and labor requisite for its execution had been made at the outset, it has been found necessary to extend the research far beyond the period first allotted. The desire of the publishers has been to give to their patrons a history conscientiously prepared, and a volume faithfully executed in all its aspects. Much of the subject matter incorporated was submitted, before its publication, to those who were deemed critics upon the topics treated, in order to detect if possible any errors of statement that might inadvertently creep in. That perfection has been attained in *all* of our efforts we do not claim, but that a fair measure of accuracy and completeness has been reached, consistent with a work of this magnitude, we do maintain.

Those who are interested in the very exciting events which transpired in Kentucky during the period of the civil war, and in which her troops took part elsewhere, will find a fund of information between the covers of this book which has not heretofore been accessible to the general public, and much that has never before been published in any form. The difficulties to be overcome in collecting this material were almost insurmountable, owing to the fragmentary and chaotic condition of the documentary sources at command. Especially was this the case with that which had reference to the Confederates and their service.

Appendix B, which is almost wholly made up of statistical matter pertaining to army service, is taken largely from the State Adjutant-General's reports, and though possibly containing some inaccuracies in names and dates, has been corrected in some particulars, and is presented in as nearly a perfect form as possible.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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PART I.

HISTORY OF KENTUCKY.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST COLONY OF VIRGINIA.

AT the dawn of the fifteenth century, the world groped in intellectual darkness; the strong walls of the monastery secluded the priceless archives of knowledge; the despotic policy of the Roman Church riveted its cruel fetters upon the conscience and sought to smother that spark of immortality granted to mortals—the mind. In 1450, Gutenberg invented typography and the printing press, and the human intellect, set free, emancipated the conscience and rocked the fabric of the church to its foundations. But this did not complete its mission; the enfranchised soul sought larger fields and grander achievements, and, taking up the cry that came echoing down the centuries, made it the watchword of progress: "Give me where I may stand, and I will move the world!"—and God, moving "in a mysterious way His wonders to perform," granted a new world in answer to the universal prayer.

Columbus' discovery of Saint Salvador, in 1492, was the confirmation of theories entertained for a period dating back three centuries before the Christian era, and no sooner was the demonstration thus made clear than adventurous sails in search of new lands were multiplied upon the sea. In June, 1497, nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, sighted the mainland, John Cabot, a native of Venice but a resident of Bristol, England, discovered North America, probably in latitude 56°, "among the dismal cliffs of Labrador." In the year following, Cabot's second son, Sebastian, set forth from England, Columbus from Spain, and Vasco da Gama from Portugal, each in quest of "that hidden secret of nature," the short route to India. In May, Vasco da Gama reached Hindostan by way of the cape of Good Hope; in August, Columbus discovered the mainland of South America, and in the same summer Cabot explored the Atlantic coast of North America from a northern latitude as far south as the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. Of these pioneers of the sea, Cabot alone failed to receive the recognition which his discoveries deserved. Vasco da Gama became the hero of Portugal's national epic; Columbus found secure fame in Tasso's lines; while Cabot's name, emerging from the half century of obscurity that early enveloped it, is now scarcely known save to the scholar.

Of the three, Cabot alone failed of the immediate object of his voyage; for, whatever the language in which the object of his search may have been expressed, Columbus sought something more than a new commercial route. Early educated for a mariner, and entering upon a nautical life when only fourteen years of age, he came to mature years learned in the geographical investigations which marked the age, and possessed with an invincible idea that the shortest route to Asia lay across the Atlantic. To demonstrate the validity of this idea, to satisfy the longings of a lofty ambition which he believed inspired and led of God, were the great motives that supported him in his career and approved his achieve-

ments. And so, while he failed in the demand of spirits "not finely touched," he won the plaudits of the learned. The unmistakable demand of the age, however, was for the discovery of a way to reach India without paying commercial tribute to the Ottoman empire. This Gama achieved by a southeast passage, and received the lavish praise of his countrymen. Cabot, seeking a northwest passage, was turned back by Arctic obstructions, and fell upon a coast that, to the narrow conceptions of the age, offered no compensatory advantage for the object he sought, and which was so much desired. Yet this coast, barren of gold mines and rich commerce, was destined to exceed the wealth of the Indies in valuable returns. But years were to elapse and nations were to be taught in the school of experience, before the full importance of his discoveries could be comprehended. In the meantime, the shoals of cod, which he first brought to notice, and to which he gave the name that still exists in the Spanish tongue, attracted the attention of the world, and sustained the flagging interest in these shores which offered no glittering attraction to the commercial spirit of the period.

The discoveries of Cabot and Columbus, though not in the direction of the prevailing thought of the time, served nevertheless to attract the curiosity of all Europe; and Spain, Portugal, France, England and Holland gave official countenance and aid to the numerous adventurers that came forward to seek new fortunes and fame in the new world. These early voyages produced little returns for the considerable expenditure involved, save interesting specimens of no pecuniary value, and the activity of European complications served to prevent a calm consideration of the real advantages to be secured from their results. Gradually the object of these explorations underwent a change: the futility of the search for a northwest passage, and the discovery and conquest of Peru and Mexico, with their fabulous stores of gold, gave new zest and direction to the efforts of later maritime adventurers. Greed for gold, to be secured by acts scarcely to be distinguished from acts of piracy, enlisted the cupidity of the old world, and hundreds of the most depraved as well as bravest of the adventurers that swarmed throughout Europe, descended upon the North American continent. But the dreams of Central and South Americas found no realization on these northern shores; beset by obstacles which no human device could surmount, a disheartened and destitute remnant only survived to tell the story of their failure. Led by the romantic superstitions of the age, other few sought in the new world the spring of eternal youth and another Eden, only to learn by an experience, fraught with misery and death, that to wealth and happiness there is no royal road. Yet years of effort and hundreds of lives were expended in these fruitless adventures before the grand project of planting new states in this land dawned upon the intelligence of the world.

Early in the sixteenth century, England, freed from the entangling alliance with Spain, began to turn her attention to the commercial advantages to be found in America, and in 1541, by an act of parliament, began to foster the fisheries of Newfoundland. These continued to attract the attention of the sober-minded of Europe for years, and after 1574, England alone sent from thirty to fifty ships to this fishing ground. The hope that some hidden treasure might still be found here was never entirely absent from the minds of the explorers; but while Elizabeth and the majority of English adventurers were still dazzled with the hopes of gold, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "with sounder judgment and better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization." To him, in June, 1578, the queen granted a charter, "to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years." Associating with himself his step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, he set out at the head of a goodly band of followers to seek a site for his plantation.

It was not until the following year that the expedition, fated to fail, sailed from England. One vessel was lost and the re-

mainder were forced to return with the object of the voyage unattained. In 1583, another fleet set forth under the happy auspices of the queen, bearing practical men of science. But fate again proved unpropitious. But one vessel made the voyage and returned, the others deserting at the outset or going down at sea, carrying with them the men of science and the brave admiral. Undaunted by repeated failure, Raleigh obtained a patent similar to the one granted to Gilbert, and in 1584 projected a third expedition, which sailed by a circuitous route, touching at the Canaries and West Indies; thence the course lay northward along the coast of the Carolinas, the July air greeting the voyagers with "so sweet and strong a smell, as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden." The islands inclosing Pamlico Sound were touched and explored, and a colony planted upon Roanoke.

The story of this attempt to colonize America is short and inconclusive. Grenville, Lane, Hariot and Cavendish, names noted in the annals of state, of art, of history and of science, took part and notably contributed to the information respecting this newly discovered land. Grenville commanded the expedition; Lane was appointed governor of the colony; and Hariot and Cavendish accompanied to picture the natives and note the country. Explorations, not unmarked by brutality and superstition, were made into the surrounding region before the return of the fleet. For a time, the novelty of the situation and the necessary activity involved in preparing accommodations for the colony kept discontent in abeyance, but injudicious cruelties practiced upon the natives soon raised up a breed of threatening phantoms to vex the weak-hearted, while the realization of their isolated position gave rise to general despondence.

At this juncture, the fleet of Sir Francis Drake unexpectedly made its appearance, its commander desiring to make a friendly visit to the plantation of his friend. There was at first no disposition on the part of the colonists to forsake their trust; on the contrary, a fair sized vessel, with experienced naval officers, and all needed supplies for a retreat to England in case of necessity, was cheerfully provided by Drake and joyfully accepted by the colonists. In the midst of these negotiations a violent storm arose which forced the fleet to stand out to sea for safety. When it had subsided, the vessel set apart for the use of the colony was not to be found, and nothing would satisfy the importunities of the colonists, save the embarking of the whole number and transporting them to England. This was accordingly done, only to miss, by a few days, a ship, laden with every needed supply, dispatched to the settlement. This had been sent out by the provident care of Raleigh, and two weeks later was followed by three well-furnished ships, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, who commanded the original expedition. In addition to a liberal and intelligent provision of supplies, Grenville brought a reinforcement of numbers, and after an unavailing search for the colony, and placing fifteen men upon the island as a garrison, the fleet returned to England.

Notwithstanding this "lame and impotent conclusion," this first attempt at colonization was not without good results to the general cause. The description of the country and its inhabitants by the returned colonists was of the most favorable kind. The salubrity of the climate, the abundance and variety of edible productions, the hospitality and tractability of the natives, as well as their timidity and small efficacy as enemies, were each enlarged upon to a credulous public, which now eagerly pressed forward to supply the recruits for a new expedition, which Raleigh immediately prepared to send out. Some eighty-nine men and seventeen women formed the colony, which sailed in 1587, under John White as governor. On reaching Roanoke, no trace of the fifteen men landed by Grenville could be found, save certain bones which lay scattered in the abandoned fields. All the colonial buildings were found in a ruined condition, with evidence of having been long deserted, and no further traces of these men were ever discovered. In his instructions to this later expedition, Raleigh had indicated

the shores of the Chesapeake Bay as the site for the settlement, but the naval officer, eager to engage in the West Indies trade, refused to go further than Roanoke Island, and the new colony began its career amid the ruins of its predecessor. Unhappily it fell heir also to the animosity of the natives which the acts of the first colonists had engendered, and some unfortunate complications with the Indians occurred even before the departure of the ship which brought these later immigrants.

In the departing vessel the governor took passage for England, for the assigned purpose of seeking further assistance for the colony. His leaving his daughter and newly born granddaughter on the island was the pledge of his good faith in leaving the little band he was selected to guide and guard. He found the kingdom absorbed in its contest with Spain, and it was not until after the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" that the cause of the less important community gained the ear of the public. Not so with Raleigh; engaging heartily in the defense of his country, he did not on that account lose sight of the demands of humanity, and made "five several attempts" to relieve them. Each time his efforts were thwarted, and the colony, including the first white child born on the soil of the United States, Virginia Dare, miserably perished, leaving no story of their fate, save "that such things had been and had perished."

In 1589, after expending £40,000 in promoting these various schemes of colonization, Raleigh found his fortunes so far broken as to prevent further efforts of his own, and granted to Sir Thomas Smythe and others certain concessions under his charter. No immediate advantage to American colonization grew out of this arrangement, but a number of influential and wealthy men were brought into intimate acquaintance with the plans for the new world, and their interest in the subject gave it a new impetus.

For years, the Newfoundland fisheries alone kept alive the English interest in America, and kept the way open for the occupation of Virginia, as the whole coast had been named by the virgin queen. Nearly every expedition to the shores of Newfoundland did something incidentally toward extending the exploration of the American shore, and it was due to these amateur discoveries that the first successful outcome of these colonization efforts gained the interest and support of some of its most eminent sustainers. It was through them that Bartholomew Gosnold, an experienced naval officer, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges enlisted in this kind of enterprise; through them Sir John Popham, lord chief-justice of England; Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant; Robert Hunt, a clergyman; John Smith, a soldier of the Continental wars; George Popham, a relative of the chief-justice, and Raleigh Gilbert, whose name suggests his relation to the "shepherd of the sea" and the brave and pious admiral became identified with the American colonization plans which eventually crystallized into the twin charters for the planting of the first and second colonies of Virginia.

In 1606, the queen dead, Raleigh imprisoned in the Tower, and his patent forfeited by his attainder of treason, these persons and "certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London and elsewhere," applied to James I for "his license to deduce a colony into Virginia." Catching something of the spirit that actuated other sovereigns of Europe, the king granted a liberal charter under date of March 9, 1607. At the request of the company, on May 23, 1609, the king by letters-patent superseded his former grant, and incorporated the company under the name of "the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the first colony in Virginia." The members of the original company in the west of England had withdrawn and formed an independent organization, to which was assigned the privilege of founding the "second colony in Virginia."

The king selected from the North American continent a territory extending along the Atlantic coast from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, which, for

the purpose of colonization, he divided equally between the two companies. By the first charter, the colony was to be planted anywhere south of the forty-first parallel of latitude in the district assigned, and its jurisdiction was to extend, on either side of the site selected, to the north fifty miles; and to the south, the same distance; into the land 100 miles, and to include islands at the same distance in the sea. By the second charter the territory assigned the London Company included "all the lands in Virginia from Point Comfort," a name assigned by John Smith to a point at the mouth of the James River, "along the sea coast to the northward 200 miles, and from the same point along the sea coast to the southward 200 miles, and all the space from this precinct on the sea coast up into the land, west and northwest, from sea to sea, and the islands within 100 miles of it, with all the commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and pre-eminences within the same, and thereto and thereabouts, by sea and land, appertaining in as ample manner as had before been granted to any adventurer: to be held of the king and his successor, in common socage, yielding one-fifth part of the gold and silver to be therein found, for all manner of service," etc. The colony of the London company was planted in the early part of 1607, under the first charter, which was not materially affected by the changes wrought in the terms of the second.

The company appears to have profited little from the experience of earlier attempts at colonization. The site of Raleigh's unfortunate colony was again selected for the experiment, but a happier fate drove the fleet northward in a storm, to escape which it took refuge in the "Mother of Waters" (Chesapeake), where the safety of the harbor and the beauty of the country induced the colonists to remain. Of the character of colonists demanded for the success of such an enterprise, the managers of the company had quite as little comprehension as of the proper site to be selected. An expectation that gold, or other valuables, was to be secured by conquest appears to have been entertained by the company, and England's poet probably voiced the prevailing sentiment when he bade the departing colony God speed, "to get the pearls and gold." The company, therefore, which set out in the "Discovery," the "Good Speed," and the "Susan Constant," under the command of Christopher Newport, consisted of 105 men, forty-eight of whom were classed as "gentlemen," twelve as "laborers," and four as "carpenters," while a few other mechanics, with "soldiers and servants," completed the number.

Scarcely had the ships which brought them departed, when this ill-assorted company began to experience the misery which their faulty organization entailed. Dissension had begun on the outward voyage; the other leaders had insanely conceived the idea that Smith designed to murder them and make himself "King of Virginia." He was accordingly arrested and remained under arrest until a jury of colonists acquitted him and mulcted his accusers sometime after their landing.

With this inauspicious beginning, harmony was not to be expected. The particular site* for the plantation was chosen against the earnest protest of Gosnold; the council was distracted by factions; and the wide diversity of social character and position of the colonists forbade anything like union of sympathies or purpose. The sealed instructions sent out with the colony, to be opened on arrival at their destination, revealed the names of the local council. To this distinction the king had named Bart. Gosnold, a brave old sea captain; John Smith, the bold, fearless and faithful soldier; Edward Wingfield, a faint-hearted merchant; Christopher Newport, "an empty, idle man;" John Ratcliffe, "not worth remembering but to his dishonor;" John Martin, incompetent and distrusted, and George Kendall, traitorous and malicious. Through the jealousies of the council, the weak-hearted Wingfield, the least capable of the number to sustain the onerous duties of the position, was elected

*Named Jamestown in honor of the king.

president, and under his administration the career of the colony was that of a ship without a helmsman.

Surrounded by abundant material for comfortable shelter, the men lived in tents until they rotted to pieces over their heads. Surrounded by hostile Indians, the colonists, unprotected by palisades and unused to the new exposure, were compelled to maintain a constant guard; while incessant broils in the council and company heightened the general confusion and distrust. Added to these grievances were the dangers arising from the unfortunate location. Here the poisonous exhalations of the marshes, the impurity of the water, and the supplies deteriorated by the sea-voyage, combined to breed a terrible mortality that rapidly thinned the number which, at the outset, was at the minimum point to insure the success of the venture. Gosnold was among the first to fall a victim to the evils he foresaw from the first, and by fall, fifty men had perished, while despair filled the hearts of the survivors. Smith alone rose equal to the emergency, and, though sick with the prevailing disorder himself, cared for the sick and dying, ministering to the diseased minds and bodies when there were scarcely "ten men could neither go nor stand."

In September, the inefficient Wingfield was deposed by general consent, and replaced by Ratcliffe. The council does not seem to have supplied the vacancies in its membership, as they were empowered to do, and their number was now reduced to three men: Gosnold had perished; Newport had sailed with the fleet; Wingfield had been deposed; and Kendall had been tried and shot. The new president and Martin, unpopular with the colonists and deficient in executive ability, left affairs to be directed by the redoubtable John Smith alone. He had been relieved from arrest, and under his guidance the despairing colony took a new lease of life. Setting a rigorous example, he infused activity and resolution into the infant settlement; something of discipline was maintained; buildings were constructed; and, pushing outside the newly erected palisades, Smith opened communication with the savages, supplying the fort with an abundance of corn, and gaining the respect of the Indians. Having thus quieted the discontent of the colonists, and laid in an ample store of provisions for the winter, he set about obeying the royal instructions to explore the surrounding country. In one of his expeditions at this period he was captured by the natives. Undaunted by his peril, he wrested victory from defeat; spent his captivity in learning the features of the country, and in the end secured a valuable alliance, which subsequently led to the marriage of the chieftain's daughter, Pocahontas, to one of the colonists.

In the meanwhile, the fleet had proceeded to England, but had no sooner reached there than the company, with commendable zeal, sent out two vessels with fresh supplies and reinforcements for the colony. Newport, still in command, reached Jamestown early in 1608, to the great joy of the colonists; their number was reduced to thirty-eight; "the silly president" had not only done much to counteract the good results of Smith's energetic direction, but in his absence had planned with Wingfield to seize the pinnace left with the colony, and escape to England. Smith returned on the day planned for their departure, and "with the hazard of his life, with sabre, falchion and musket-shot," foiled this third attempt at desertion. New efforts, under the thin disguise of legal forms, were made to destroy Smith, but seizing Ratcliffe and Wingfield and their new accomplices, he placed them under guard in the pinnace. Matters were in this state of "combustion," when Newport reached Jamestown after an uninterrupted voyage.

The uninstructed policy of the company made Newport's arrival contribute hardly more of comfort than misery to the colony. Some 120 emigrants were sent, consisting of "vagabond gentlemen, unaccustomed to labor and disdainful of it, with three or four bankrupt jewelers, goldsmiths and refiners sent out to seek for mines." Such an importation at this time, was of the nature of a disaster to the solid prosperity of the colony. Newport remained fourteen weeks, and by

his conduct justified the epithet of "empty man" applied to him by the early chroniclers. The orderly methods of practical industry were set aside; "there was now," says Smith, "no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold," and Newport finally returned to England with a cargo of worthless dirt and the disgraced Wingfield. The "Phœnix," which sailed from England in company with Newport, had been delayed by storms and arrived afterward. Her commander, "an honest man and expert mariner," Francis Nelson, was not lured by the "fantastical gold," and at Smith's suggestion took on a cargo of cedar, and the first written history of the colony: Smith's "True Relation of Virginia." Ratcliffe had been restored to office; the old soldier, embarking with a crew of fourteen upon the pinnace, followed the "Phœnix" on its homeward voyage as far as the capes, and then turned to explore the rivers that find an outlet in the Chesapeake Bay. Returning to Jamestown in July, he again set out to complete his undertaking, sailing in both voyages some 3,000 miles. He returned again in September, 1608, and compiled the results of his labors in the first intelligent map ever produced, which, in its main features, remains unimpeached to this day.

In Smith's absence, the president had "riotously consumed the stores," and the colonists were about to take vengeance upon him, when the exploring party returned. Smith at once interfered to save his old opponent, but the dissatisfaction was not allayed until Ratcliffe was deposed and Smith elected in his stead. Order was once more installed in direction, when Newport again appeared, bringing supplies and colonists. The latter numbered seventy, of whom two were women, but with this exception were no more suited to the demands of the settlement than the previous shiploads. A few natives of Germany and Poland were included in the company, who were intended to engage in the manufacture of pitch, tar, soap-ashes and glass for exportation. Had the colony been in condition to provide their own support, such industries were more likely to prove remunerative to the company than any attempt to develop mines of the precious metals; but to a colony just emerging from a period of starvation, the depleted numbers of which were for the most part only reinforced by "poor gentlemen, indolent, dissolute and insubordinate, or else broken tradesmen, fitter to breed riot than to found a colony," this greediness for returns was exasperating. In relation to this feature of the company's policy, Smith wrote: "When you send again, I entreat you, rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers-up-of-tree-roots, well provided, than a thousand such as we have." But the company were explicit in their requirements. With Newport it sent out a demand that a return cargo, equal in value to the cost of the present expedition, should be sent, on pain of being left in Virginia as banished men. The reply of Smith was much better tempered than the state of the case would warrant. "We have not received," he wrote, "the value of £100. From toiling to satisfy the desire of the present profit, we can scarce ever recover ourselves from one supply to another. These causes stand in the way of laying in Virginia a proper foundation; as yet you must not look for any profitable returning." This was considered a "rude answer" by the titled gentlemen who controlled the destiny of the colony in England. The demand of the company was accompanied by the additional stipulation for one of the lost colony of Roanoke, a lump of gold, or the discovery of the south sea beyond the mountains. When this was made known by Newport, Smith was beside himself with rage and declared the demand preposterous, and did more wisely than attempt such impossibilities. He secured a cargo of tar, pitch, lumber and ashes and sent it back. With the vessel he sent Ratcliffe, writing the home council, "I have sent you him home lest the company should cut his throat."

The situation of the company somewhat mitigates the harshness of their demand. The colony had cost it a very considerable sum, and thus far had made very slight

return. This was far from satisfactory to a corporation, the primary object of which was to enrich itself with no great delay. Only one or two of the members had ever visited the American coast, and none had a clear idea how returns of a satisfactory nature were to be secured. The company was also without any reliable report of colonial affairs. Newport, it was said, "hath £100 a year for carrying news," but, jealous and incompetent, he did nothing but bear the malicious tattle of those who rebelled against proper discipline, which the "poor counterfeit impostor," Ratcliffe, abundantly confirmed. These, with the deposed Wingfield, gained the ear of the council by their polished manners and plausible tales, and prepared it to resent the truth in the rougher guise and less palatable facts of Smith's answer. Could the company have been guided by his judgment, and their affairs in the colony have been directed, unhindered, by his hand, the plantation would undoubtedly have reached a greater prosperity at an early age. As it was, the colony owed its preservation and chance of final success to John Smith, who, amid misrepresentations and malice which did not hesitate to instigate his assassination, rose superior to every obstacle and saved those who were unwilling to save themselves.

At this juncture the company took a middle course: it did not make good its threat of abandoning the colony, nor did it accept Smith's advice; it reorganized, increasing its membership, "so that the nobility and gentry, the army and the bar, the industry and commerce of England, were represented." Among the new members were Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury; the earls of Southampton, Lincoln and Dorset; Sirs Oliver Cromwell, uncle of the future "Protector," Thomas Gates and George Somers, Lord Delaware and others. Whatever value the company placed on Smith's "rude answer," the reorganization was undoubtedly induced by the conviction that "nothing was to be expected from Virginia but by labor." To wait for returns by this slow process demanded ampler resources of influence and money than the old company could command, and it was probably with a tacit understanding of this sort, that the new company was formed.

At all events, the reorganized company at once took the advanced position indicated by Smith, and prepared to strengthen the colony. The large accession of wealth and nobility to the membership of the company gave it great prestige, which, with the fuller reports obtained of the country, led to a widespread desire to join the fortunes of the Virginia colony. The company, therefore, had no difficulty in dispatching a fleet of nine vessels, bearing more than 500 emigrants. On the outward voyage the fleet was "caught in the tail of a hurricane;" one vessel sank; the "Sea Venture," bearing Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and Christopher Newport (who were appointed commissioners to direct the colony until Lord Delaware, the newly appointed governor, should arrive by a later vessel), was wrecked on the Bermuda Islands; seven vessels arrived at their destination in safety, bringing, among others, the former "silly president," Ratcliffe.

While matters were thus going forward in England, Smith was laboring in Jamestown to bring order out of the chaos induced by the last addition to the colony. Three additional members for the local council had been brought by Newport, but the people would trust only Smith, and he continued president. The arrival of the seven ships found the little colony enjoying a system of order and good rule to which it had hitherto been a stranger. The cultivation of Indian corn, under the instruction of two of the natives, had been introduced, and some forty or fifty acres planted. The Scriptural rule, "that if any would not work, neither should he eat," was rigorously applied; the soft-handed gentry had learned to dexterously wield the ax; and six hours' daily labor was the undeviating law for all able-bodied members of the colony.

This halcyon period was seriously interrupted by the arrival of the fleet. Ratcliffe lost no time in landing and proclaiming the

reorganization of the company and the approaching retirement of Smith; with him came his old associate, Martin, and a new accomplice, Archer. Ratcliffe at once assumed the old struggle, claiming authority under the new company. Smith was not a man to be irregularly superseded, and the contest of authority immediately became a question of relative strength. There was no doubt as to the sympathies of the old colonists, who were about to cut Ratcliffe's throat when Smith sent him to England. Of the something more than 300 new-comers, there was more doubt. Some of them were "gentlemen of good means and great parentage," but the larger number were "unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies at home." The latter class sided with Ratcliffe, and mob rule seized upon the town. The "unruly gallants would dispose and determine of the government sometimes to one, sometimes to another: to-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither; in fine, they would rule all or ruin all." This was more than Smith could patiently endure; he suddenly arrested Ratcliffe and other leaders, and placed them in confinement to await trial. To relieve the crowded state of Jamestown, and profitably employ the largely increased numbers, West, a relative of the new governor, was dispatched with 120 men to establish a plantation at the falls of the river; a similar company, under Martin, was sent to plant a colony at Nansemond, near the sea.

The incompetency of these leaders led to the miserable failure of both projects; the lower colony, deserted by Martin and left without a leader, was destroyed by the Indians almost to a man; the other fared scarcely better. On a trip to relieve the upper settlement, Smith received the wound which obliged him to leave Virginia before the arrival of his successor. His powder-bag, exploding near him while asleep, terribly lacerated his side and thigh, making it necessary for him to repair to England for successful treatment. His great anxiety at this juncture was the care of the colony. He steadily refused to confer authority upon Ratcliffe, and at the last moments, when aboard ship, he persuaded George Percy to defer his own departure and accept the reins of colonial government until relieved by the arrival of the new official.

The retirement of Smith was in no sense a retreat. Notwithstanding the antagonistic elements with which he had to deal, the incompetency of his supporters and the malice of his opponents, he left "all things prepared for peace or war." Jamestown contained two or three score of houses, some of two stories, besides a church and store-house. The whole was surrounded by a stout palisade of logs, fifteen feet high; at the neck of the peninsula, the only point left unguarded by the river, was a fort, with cannon regularly mounted. The armament consisted of twenty cannon, and 300 stand of small arms—muskets, swords and pikes—with a full supply of ammunition. In the river were three vessels and seven boats, with a complete assortment of fishing nets. In the store-house was an abundant supply of provisions, besides 500 or 600 hogs, horses, sheep and goats. Within the inclosure were nearly 500 men, women and children, of whom 200 men had been trained to Indian warfare under his own eye. With such an equipment failure could come only through misgovernment; under Percy, this followed. The lawless element again seized the government, and made short work of ruining all that the patient foresight of Smith had accomplished. The ample stores laid by were squandered, the friendly relations with the Indians were interrupted, and the colony was once more threatened with destruction from within and without. The horrors of the famine succeeded; one after another of their resources were exhausted; "hogs, hens, goats, sheep, or what lived—all was devoured;" the savages responded to entreaties for succor with "mortal wounds, with clubs and arrows;" and when all else had failed, they fed on human flesh. An Indian, killed and buried, was exhumed and eaten, "and so did divers one another, boiled and stewed with roots and herbs." Thirty escaped in one of the vessels

to begin a career of piracy; but with this exception the whole number, save sixty persons, perished of misrule.

In May, 1610, the occupants of the Sea Venture reached Jamestown. They had succeeded in reaching shore after being wrecked, had found abundant supplies in the natural products of an island, and in nine months had constructed two vessels from the cedars of the island and the bolts and rigging of the wrecked ship. In these, the "Patience" and "Deliverance," the whole company, consisting of more than 100 persons, came with Gates and Somers to the colony, bringing a store of such supplies as were saved from the wreck and the island afforded. At Jamestown they found a shocking scene of misery and death: only a feeble, emaciated remnant of the once prosperous colony survived, and these declared "this in ten days more would have supplanted us with death." Somers volunteered to return for further supplies to Bermuda, where he died, and the crew, unmindful of Virginia, sailed direct for England. With reviving strength the Virginians clamored to be removed from a place where "none had enjoyed one day of happiness," and so strongly did the whole situation plead in their behalf, that the entire company embarked to return to England. Every feature of the place was hateful to the sufferers, and the remaining structures were about to be given to the flames, but "God, who did not intend that this excellent country should be abandoned, put it into the heart of Sir T. Gates to save it."

By the charter under which the company was reorganized, the machinery of colonial government was slightly changed. A governor and council were appointed, besides a gubernatorial staff, selected probably by the governor. The reorganized company selected Lord Delaware governor for life and captain-general of the colony. He immediately assumed the state of a viceroy, with Sir Thomas Gates as lieutenant-governor, Sir George Somers as admiral, Christopher Newport as vice-admiral, and Sir Ferdinando Wyman as master-of-horse. The lieutenant-governor, admiral and vice-admiral were dispatched with the fleet as noted above. Subsequently the governor set out with three ships, stored with a year's provisions for the colony, besides a number of emigrants. On reaching the settlement near the mouth of the James River, Delaware learned of the state of affairs as well as of the contemplated removal, and promptly sent forward one of his ships to stop the movement and announce his approach with relief. Hardly had the deserting squadron reached the lower quarter of the river when it met the governor's messenger, and, turning back, by night they were once more in their old quarters, with happier prospects in view. This happy deliverance seemed little less than marvelous to the sorely beset colonists, and new and old settlers united to ascribe the event to the interposition of a kind Providence.

There is, perhaps, no better indication of the improvement wrought by the reorganization of the company than in the improved social condition of those who constituted the new colonial government. Smith possessed all the requisites of a successful governor, save that social prestige which plays so important a part in a community constituted as was that of Jamestown. Lacking this, he was obliged to extort, by the forcible show of power, that recognition of his authority which his position alone ought to have insured. This prestige the new governor possessed in an eminent degree, as well as "approved courage, temper and experience." The "pomp and circumstance" of the new administration, therefore, served a more valuable purpose than to tickle the vanity of the gallants. While the silk and lace of the new government made some of the older colonists complain that the plantation "was not grown to that maturity to maintain such state and pleasures," they imposed upon the other class a sense of power which they were prepared to respect.

The new governor, with great wisdom, addressed himself to repair the disaster that had befallen the colony. Every mark of that "starving time" was removed; buildings were repaired, the stockade renewed; and the church building, refitted and decked

with flowers, was made the center of instruction and administration. Under the mild but firm rule of Delaware, matters once more assumed the air of tranquillity and prosperity. Methodical industry was once more established; comfort and order were everywhere manifested; and the incongruous elements seemed to blend in one harmonious community. But this happy state of affairs was doomed to an early interruption. The cares of the colony and the insidious poisons of the malarial atmosphere proved too much for his feeble constitution, and Lord Delaware was forced to return to England.

The administration, in the absence of Gates and Somers, was placed again in the hands of Percy. The colonists at once took counsel of despair, and all the horrors of his former term of office seemed to loom up to overwhelm them. That experience, however, had probably taught a valuable lesson to the survivors which might have served to prevent the full repetition of the period of anarchy and death, but fortunately the colony was not called to long test its dearly bought wisdom. Before the departure of Delaware was known in England, Sir Thomas Dale was despatched as "high marshal of Virginia," with supplies. Delaware left in March, 1611, and Dale arrived in the following May. The colonists had begun to relapse into idleness, the necessary work of the plantation was forsaken, and Dale found them playing bowls in the grass-grown streets of Jamestown. The lawless element immediately tested the mettle of the "high marshal" by an attempt at mutiny, but the old soldier, armed with a "code of martial law," restored order with a "cruel, unusual and barbarous" hand. His early report to the company sets forth the weakness of the colony and the great discontent of its members, but on the other hand it gives great encouragement that the ultimate success of the enterprise is certain if only the company persevere, adding his estimate of the prize to be won as follows: "Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil."

This report received the confirmation of Delaware and Gates, who were competent judges of the facts, and the lieutenant-governor was immediately dispatched to the colony with a fleet of six ships, bearing 300 emigrants and abundant supplies, among which were 100 kine. The arrival of Gates was hailed with a military salute; and being the superior officer, he assumed the control of affairs. Dale subsequently, with the permission of the lieutenant-governor, chose 350 men from the increased number at Jamestown and planted a settlement on a high plateau, within what is now known as Dutch Gap, a fertile and picturesque spot nearly surrounded by the James River. Here he founded a town, which he named Henrico, in honor of Prince Henry. Soon afterward he established another plantation a little further down the river, near the mouth of the Appomattox, called Bermuda.

Under the severe discipline established by Dale, and the wisdom with which it was directed by Gates, the colony was placed upon a secure and permanent basis. It was not only rapidly approaching the point of self-support, but was showing a vigorous vitality in projecting military movements in support of English pretentions to New England shores. The prosperous condition of the colony was marked also in its material improvement. The buildings and palisades wantonly destroyed were replaced, and plantations began to dot the banks of the James at intervals almost to the sea.

With all this improvement the colony was yet unable to make any gainful return for the vast outlay of the company; the burden began to be seriously felt, and, in 1614, a petition was presented to parliament praying for the aid of the government. The petition was received with marked tokens of interest and favor, but home affairs of a pressing nature intervened and no action was taken on the address of the company. The great need of the colony, Lord Delaware declared in advocating the petition in parliament, was only "a few honest laborers, burdened with children." The colony had

been projected and maintained, thus far, more as a military occupation of the land, than as the germ of an independent state, and colonists, selected by the criterion of the garrison, with few exceptions, had been entirely men. The disintegrating influence of a society thus abnormally constituted, and unrestrained by the close organization of the military code, wrought its legitimate results; and at this time not one in twenty of the considerable number of emigrants brought to Virginia remained alive. The natural result of this policy was that the colony, though planted with care and cultivated at great expense, refused to take root. The adventurous character of the colonists could be restrained by a firm government, but it could not supply home ties nor the responsibilities of a family to anchor the immigrant. Deprived of these moorings, the whole colony was in a chronic state of discontent, rebellious under a firm government, and riotous under a weak one; in Jamestown the settler found no "continuing city," and the hope universally cherished was to return with a competency to England.

This state of affairs could not fail to reach the knowledge of the company and challenge their thoughtful attention. It is probable that the return of Gates to England in 1614, followed by the petition to parliament, marks the awakening of the company to the importance of a change of policy. The movement of reform was not allowed to cease with the inconclusive petition. Sir Thomas Smythe, who, as treasurer of the company, had directed the destinies of the colony with something of autocratic power, was succeeded by Sir Edwin Sandys, but not until the old policy had furnished another example of misrule and consequent distress to "point the moral."

Sir Thomas Gates remained in command in the colony until 1614, when he received permission to visit England. In his absence the government devolved upon Dale. The "high marshal" was "a man of great knowledge in divinity, and of a good conscience in all things," according to his chaplain, Whittaker, and while stern in executing the penalties of martial law against offenders, he maintained a stable government, with peace abroad and order at home. In 1616, Dale turned over the government to George Yeardley, and returned to England. Since his arrival in Virginia, the plantations had increased from one to eight. These were located along the James River: Henrico, Bermuda, West and Shirley Hundreds, Jamestown, Kiquotan, and Dale's Gift—the last on the sea-coast, near Cape Charles. Henrico, under Dale, had become the residence of the governor, and a college for the education of the natives for the missionary work had been established here. At Jamestown was a settlement of fifty men under the control of Francis West.

Certain radical reforms, instituted at the suggestion of Dale, rendered the colony quiet and industrious, and Yeardley seems to have been able to devote his whole attention to increasing the prosperity of the people. Tobacco was found cultivated by the Indians, and some experiments in its culture had been made by certain of the colonists. On his accession to the government, Yeardley took prompt measures to introduce the general cultivation of the plant, and with such success, that, three years later, Virginia shipped 20,000 pounds to England, where it was rapidly becoming an article of general use. His official term was short, however. Through the intrigue of the beneficiary, Yeardley was succeeded by Samuel Argall, in whose hand martial law became the scourge of a demon.

The new appointee arrived at Jamestown in 1617, with the authority of "deputy governor, and admiral of Virginia." He had been the commercial agent of Sir Thomas Smythe, and in 1613 had commanded an expedition from the colony which destroyed a peaceful French settlement upon Mount Desert Island, off the coast of Maine. These seem to have been his only qualifications for the discharge of the important duties of colonial ruler. The colonists had become peaceful farmers under the wise administrations of Dale and Yeardley, and the new official had nothing to distract his attention from the sole purpose of his stay—the securing of

plunder. He found martial law a dead letter; this he immediately revived, and used the vast power of his position to oppress the colonists for the enrichment of himself and accomplices. Circumstances combined to retain him in power even after his malfeasance was known in England, and with the gross perversion of arbitrary power continued for two years "importing more hazard to the plantation than ever did any other thing that befell that action from the beginning."

"The condition of Virginia," says Bancroft, "became intolerable; the labor of the settlers continued to be perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude for a limited period was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life was insecure against his capricious passions." Notwithstanding the clearness of his guilt, Argall found strong support in the company, and it was only "after a strenuous contest" that he was displaced, and the "temperate and just" rule of Yeardley reinstated.

This experience precipitated the "irrepressible conflict" between the two factions that had grown up in the London Company. The people of England were, at that time, engaged in that struggle which arrayed the constitution against the prerogative and resulted in the beheading of Charles I in the succeeding reign. The same principles were involved in the division of the company, and the struggle here was but an eddy

> Of the mighty stream
> That rolls to its appointed end.

In this case the people succeeded earlier and without violence, and from the election of Sir Edwin Sandys, as treasurer of the company, dates the change in the colonial policy of the organization.

One of the earlier acts of the new *regime* was the importation of "maids" to Virginia. Home ties were the pressing need of the colony, and at the instigation of the new treasurer ninety young women, "pure and incorrupt," were induced to embark for the new country. Their transportation was effected at the cost of the company, which was reimbursed by colonists who took them in marriage. This venture, undertaken somewhat as a commercial speculation, proved so successful that a second company of sixty were sent out. The company desired "that the marriage should be free, according to nature," and that the maids should not be "deceived and married to servants, but only such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them, * * * not enforcing them to marry against their wills." It was further provided that "in case they cannot be presently married," that they should "be put with several householders that have wives until they can be supplied with husbands." "These new companions were received with such fondness," however, as made such provision of temporary homes unnecessary. They were all "presently married," the price of a wife rising from 100 to 150 pounds of tobacco. This was a debt of honor and was first paid, the company giving preference, in the matter of employment, to married men. The good effect of the company's fostering of domestic ties soon became strikingly apparent; "the people fell to building houses and planting corn;" the restless, discontented settlers became "provident fathers of families, solicitous about the prosperity of a country which they now considered their own."

On the accession of the new direction in the home council, the company, after twelve years of labor and the expenditure of £80,000, could only exhibit, as a result, a colony of 600 inhabitants, including men, women and children. "In James citty were only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built in the tyme of his government with one wherein the governor allwayes dwelt, and a church built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of the citye, of timber, being fifty foote in length and twenty in breadth." In the town of Henrico were only "three old houses, a poor ruinated church," "with some few poore buildings in the islande." "For ministers to instruct the people, only three were authorized; two others had never received their orders," and the affairs of the

colony were declared to be "in a poore estate."

The new administration immediately addressed itself with energetic good sense to reform old abuses, to enlarge the privileges and increase the numbers of the colonists. In one year as many as 1,260 persons were conveyed to Virginia, and 1,100 were sent out annually. In 1619, there were eleven plantations; three years later eighty plantations extended 140 miles on both sides of the James River, and toward the Potomac, wherever rich farming lands attracted the settler. The culture of silk, grapes and cotton was invited, and seed and persons skilled in their cultivation sent to the new land. Nor was the higher culture overlooked; good progress was made toward the endowment of the Indian University, which, with the several churches, received a liberal grant of the public lands. So prosperous was Virginia in these years, that the friends of the enterprise declared the new State had at length been placed upon a secure foundation, and that the "hopeful country of Virginia" would furnish "full employment for all needy people; provide estates for all younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom; and supply this nation with commodities we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, nay, from heathen princes." A new danger, however, threatened to cloud this bright picture. The new governor found "the natives upon doubtful terms," a condition of affairs that subsequently resulted in open hostilities.

The conduct of the early explorers toward the Indians, while in perfect keeping with the spirit of the age, was such as to permanently alienate the savages from the whites had they been of a less peaceable disposition. The bigotry of the church, the dominant power of the time, claimed the population of the newly discovered lands as subjects, if Christians; if heathen, as slaves; and there was scarcely an accessible harbor of North America that did not contribute to the slave marts of Europe. The English were least addicted to this form of villainy, and on the other hand they were the least energetic in converting them into subjects. The feeling that the savages had no rights which a civilized subject was bound to respect was universal, and actuated all the early dealings of the English in North America. The first colonists under Raleigh's patent were hospitably entertained by the natives, and yet in an eight days' trip to the interior, for trifling or fancied injuries, an Indian village with all the standing corn was destroyed. Even then the savages offered no retaliation, moved to this course, probably, by fear; but the suggestion that the lost colony of Roanoke had been adopted and protected by the Hatteras tribes, was not considered inconsistent with the character of the natives.

The Jamestown colony was planted in a region occupied by upward of forty different tribes. The colonists came without diplomatic introduction; yet, in seventeen days, they explored the river, smoked the calumet with one tribe, selected the site of their colony, and seized upon the whole country with no greater resistance than a single flight of arrows from the startled natives. The more powerful of the tribes in the vicinity of Jamestown were the Chickahominies, who, through the wise management of Smith, early became the steady friends of the whites. The folly of the colonists gave rise to occasional hostilities, in which the two races inflicted mutual injuries as acts of war; but the conversion and marriage of Pocahontas to Rolfe restored amity, and cemented the races in so close a union that the powerful tribes ruled by Powhatan "demanded to be called Englishmen." The rights of the Indians, however, were little respected by the whites, who did not scruple at times to appropriate the soil, cabins and grain of the natives, without the fact or form of treaty or compensation. The policy of too many of the colonial authorities seemed only directed "to overmaster the subtile Powhatan," and such success followed their schemes that it was believed he must become a vassal of the colony, or "leave his country to their possession."

So long as Smith remained in Virginia, the Indians proved of the utmost advantage

to the colony, repeatedly succoring the starving colonists by timely gifts of corn and game; and even after the strong ties which commanded their friendship were severed by the removal of Smith and the death of the Indian princess, Powhatan still remained at peace with the whites. In 1618 this chieftain died, and the influence of Argall, careless of, or unlearned in the early traditions of the colony, prepared the way for a serious disturbance of the existing amicable relations. Later colonists had learned to despise the power of the savages, and the wise law which forbade the instruction of an Indian in the use of fire-arms was ignored. Savages were freely employed as hunters, Yeardley affording a conspicuous example of this folly.

The death of Powhatan gave place to less peaceful influences among the natives, who began to realize that some check must be put upon the rapid encroachments of the whites, or the Indian would be forced "to seek a stranger countrie." These influences had been secretly at work for two or three years, when, on May 22, 1622, the savages fell upon the unsuspecting whites and with relentless fury slaughtered men, women and children to the number of from 300 to 500. The attack was planned to reach all the plantations at once, and fell upon the remoter ones without warning. At Berkeley an intimation of danger was disregarded, but the Jamestown settlement, notified through a colonist whom a friendly Indian desired to save from the general destruction, was put in a state of defense. Where the natives found the colonists prepared to resist, they abandoned the attack; at other points the settlers, though surprised, made a vigorous resistance and saved a remnant of their numbers; but in the main, plans of the savages were crowned with cruel success, and many of the plantations were utterly destroyed. An exaggerated fear took the place of the former over-confidence, and the settlers, far and near, forsaking their homes, crowded into the limited quarters at Jamestown, eager to sacrifice the results of their labor in the new world for the security offered in the old. Some returned to England; others, contracting disease in the poorly provided quarters in which they were obliged to remain, died; and of eighty prosperous plantations at the time of the attack, only eighteen remained tenanted.

The report of these affairs united all classes of England in sympathy with the colonists, and aroused a pious indignation against the heathen. The new administration of the company, strikingly in advance of public sentiment in most things, was, in respect to the Indians, quite as vindictive. In addressing the colonists, it "redoubled their courages," urged them not to forsake their plantations, but "to embellish the Sparta upon which they had lighted." It counseled the most rigorous reprisal, declaring "the innocent blood of so many Christians doth in justice cry out for revenge." "We must advise you," continued the instructions, "to root out a people so cursed, at the least to the removal of them far from you. Wherefore, as they have merited, let them have perpetual war without peace or truce, and without mercy, too. Put in execution all ways and means for their destruction, not omitting to reward their neighboring enemies upon the bringing in of their heads." The whole public busied itself in providing more substantial aid than advice. The king, with a parsimonious attempt at liberality, contributed some cast-off arms from the Tower; corporations and private citizens of London contributed money and supplies; and the company, aided by private enterprises, undertook to send out large reinforcements of emigrants.

The colonists did not await instructions from England to return the attack of the Indians. Four expeditions carried destruction into the Indian country; the savages lost their villages, and in the fall of 1623, victimized by their own system of warfare, suffered a cruel massacre through a piece of treachery on the part of the revengeful whites. It is doubtful whether at the end of this year the losses of the whites were counterbalanced by the sufferings of the natives, but the resources of the latter being less, the damage was more irreparable. The colonial statutes bear evidence to the fact that the

policy of the company in regard to the Indians was fully adopted by the Virginians. For nearly two years, it "lost the name of action" only through the intervention of more pressing objects than revenge. The whites learned, also, that they were "not suddenly to be destroyed with the sword, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and advantages of the wood, to which upon all assaults they retired." Peace proved far more destructive to the Indian dominion than war, and receding before the gradual extensions of the plantations, never again disputed the sovereignty of the tidewater valley of Virginia. From this period, the stability of the colony never stood in doubt; the steady, healthful immigration became independent of the company's transportation and solicitude, and attention became centered in the political development of the colony.

The charter under which the settlement of Jamestown was planted placed the government in the hands of a council of the company in England, with a resident council to administer colonial affairs. The appointment of the latter was retained by the king, who also reserved the right to overrule and direct the home council in the most trivial affairs. The rights of coining money and making war were granted to the colony; and to the immigrant were granted the rights of English citizenship, which were to descend to their children. The second charter, granted two years later, transferred to the organized company the powers formerly reserved to the king. The council of the company was to be constituted and controlled by the voice of a majority of its members; this body was to have the power to appoint and displace the governor and council for the colony; to establish laws and forms of proceedure, which should be operative not only in the colony, but also upon the sea in passing to and from the colony. The company was authorized to carry thither any persons who should consent to go, securing to such persons all the rights of natural born subjects, and in all doubtful parts the charter provided that it should be construed in such manner as should be most for the benefit of the grantees.

The governor was clothed with the most dictatorial powers; in office, his authority was unquestionable in the colony; guided by the tenor of the company's instructions, he was made the sole judge of their intent, and in the absence of specific provisions, was granted unlimited discretion, even in capital and criminal cases. In cases of mutiny or rebellion the governor was authorized to employ martial law, of the necessity of which he was made the sole judge, and the sole executor of its mandates. The civilization of the age and the novelty of the experiment must afford the only extenuation for such an example of despotic legislation, and it is creditable to the early governors that the character of the early colonists did not provoke a fuller exercise of these powers. Until the coming of Dale this despotic authority lay dormant; but the "high marshal of Virginia" brought with him the military code as practiced in France and the Lowlands, which Sir Thomas Smythe had printed and provided upon his own authority. Dale was an old soldier of the army in Flanders, and exercised his powers with all the brutality then in use in the armies of Europe. In one instance a bodkin was thrust through an offender's tongue, who was then "chained to a tree till he perished;" and others were punished "by hanging, shooting, breaking on the wheel, and the like." The Church of England had been planted with the first colonists, and the sway of the sword was extended to its administration. Stripes were provided for negligences, and death for infidelity, to be administered at the direction of a court martial. Saving the barbarous form of punishment, Dale seems to have administered the code with justice, but the organization of the settlement was unfitted for the operation of a law, provided in the charter only for occasions of mutiny or rebellion, and the people were greatly distressed.

The severity of this administration was greatly relieved by the reforms instituted. The early custom of "bringing all things to the common store" encouraged idleness; the larger number "presuming that, however the harvest prospered, the general store must

maintain them," refused to work, and the labor of a few only could be brought to the maintenance of the colony. The gross injustice of this arrangement, with the lack of enterprise to identify the colonists with the country, operated against the prosperity of the community. Most of the first colonists who came to Virginia were maintained at the cost of the company, and were its servants. To each of these, Dale granted three acres of land for their own use, with an allowance of two bushels and a half of corn from the public stores; one month of the year was allowed each one for the cultivation of this tract, the other eleven being required by the company. To immigrants coming at their own cost, or to persons bearing their expense, a bounty of 100 acres was offered, which was subsequently reduced to fifty acres, when the success of the colony became assured. A grant for meritorious services, not to exceed 2,000 acres to any one individual, was provided for, and any one by the payment of £12 10s. to the company could secure 100 acres, with the privilege of another 100 acres when the first was occupied and improved. Of the later colonists many were tenants, who paid two and a half barrels of corn to the public granary, and one month's labor, which was not to be required in seed time or harvest. In 1615, through the influence of Dale, the company granted 50 acres in fee-simple to each colonist who would settle and clear them, and pay a nominal rent. Such was the small beginning of private property in this colony; but meager as was this concession, it did much to rescue the reputation of Dale from the general odium which his severity had brought upon it.

The administration of Argall, which followed the short uneventful rule of Yeardley, clearly indicated the fatal weakness in the colonial government, and the election of Sandys to the excutive office of the company was the signal for the preparation of "instructions for the better establishment of a commonwealth" in Virginia. Yeardley, who now bore the title of sir knight, as well as governor-general, was made the bearer of the good news. On his arrival in Virginia, he forthwith proclaimed the new policy—"that those cruell lawes, by which the ancient planters had soe longe been governed were now abrogated, and that they were to be governed by those free lawes which his majesties subjects lived under in England;" and, "that the planters might have a hande in the governing of themselves, yt was graunted that a generall assemblie shoulde be helde yearly once, whereat were to be present the governor and counsell with two burgesses from each plantation, freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof, this assemblie to have power to make and ordain whatsoever lawes and orders should by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence."

The summons for the election of burgesses was issued by the governor in June, and on the 30th of July, 1619, the first legislative body of America convened at Jamestown. The session was held in the colonial church, the members of the body occupying the choir.

The assembly exercised fully the right of judging the proper election of its members; and they would not suffer any patent, conceding manorial jurisdiction, to bar the obligation of obedience to their decisions. They wished every grant of land to be made with equal favor, that all complaint of partiality might be avoided, and the uniformity of laws and orders never be impeached. The commission of privileges sent by Sir George Yeardley was their "great charter," or organic act, which they claimed no right "to correct or control;" yet they kept the way open for seeking redress, "in case they should find aught not perfectly squaring with the state of the colony." Leave to propose laws was given to any burgess, or by way of petition to any member of the colony; but, for expedition's sake, the main business of the session was distributed between two committees; while a third body, composed of the governor and such burgesses as were not on those committees, examined which of former instructions "might conveniently put on the habit of laws."

The legislature acted also as a criminal court. The Church of England was confirmed as the church of Virginia; it was intended that the first four ministers should each receive £200 a year; all persons whatsoever, upon the Sabbath days, were to frequent divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon; and all such as bore arms, to bring their pieces or swords. Grants of land were asked not for planters only, but for their wives, "because in a new plantation it was not known whether the man or woman be the most neccessary." Measures were adopted "toward the erecting of a university and

college." It was enacted, that, of the children of the Indians, "the most towardly boys in wit and graces of nature should be brought up in the first elements of literature, and sent from the college to the work of conversion" of the natives to the Christian religion. Penalties were appointed for idleness, gaming with dice or cards and drunkenness. Excess in apparel was restrained by a tax. The business of planting corn, mulberry-trees, hemp, and vines was encouraged. The price of tobacco was fixed at 3 shillings a pound for the best, and half as much "for the second sort." When the question was taken on accepting the "great charter," "it had the general assent and the applause of the whole assembly," with thanks for it to Almighty God, and of those of the whole colony whom they represented: the more so, as they were promised the power to allow or disallow the order of the court of the London company.*

Thus the Virginians sprang at one bound from a state of vassalage to the freedom of a republic; and right here was planted the germ of the next century and a half's contest in the form of a petition to the company that the assembly might be authorized "to allow or disallow of *their* orders of court, as his majesty hath given *them* power to allow or disallow *our* laws." This the governor had promised, and on July 24, 1621, the company added its confirmation by an "ordinance and constitution." The intent of this notable instrument was "by the divine assistance to settle such a form of government as may be to the greatest benefit and comfort of the people." The "constitution" provided for the appointment of a governor as before; for two councils—the one, called the council of state, to assist and advise the governor, and its members to be placed and displaced by the company; the other, to be called the general assembly, to be convened yearly by the governor, and to consist of the council of state, the governor, and two burgesses out of every town, hundred, or plantation, to be chosen by the respective inhabitants. In the general assembly, which was authorized to treat, consult, and conclude all "emergent occasions concerning the public weal," the greater number of votes were to decide its action, upon which the governor had a negative voice. No such law, however, was to be valid until ratified by the company; and on the other hand, it was provided that when a government was "well framed and settled" under this instrument, "no orders of court afterward shall bind the said colony, unless they be ratified in like manner in the general assemblies."

In this radical measure was seen the result of Sir Edwin Sandys' influence, to whom King James preferred the devil as treasurer of the company. He and his supporters in the company were not political allies of the king, who viewed their accession to power with a disfavor which he took no pains to conceal. By the charter of 1609, he had given the company "full powers and authority" to confer upon the colony all privileges not in violation of "the laws and statutes of this our realm of England;" and by a third charter, in 1612, he had conferred the jurisdiction of the Bermuda islands upon the company, together with the privilege of sitting in council as often as it chose, and to hold four "general courts" in the year for official deliberation. Under the administration of his friends, the *jus divinum* was not likely to suffer any infringement, but by the election of Sandys the situation was radically changed. "The Virginia courts" became the "seminary to a seditious parliament," and called for the royal suppression—but how?

The defeated minority, of which Argall, knighted by the king, was a prominent figure, gave the dissatisfied James an ill-considered pretext for interference. At the quarter session of the company, held in May, 1620, his majesty nominated four persons, one of whom he expressed the desire to have elected treasurer in the place of Sandys. The company, consisting of about 1,000 members, was represented at this meeting by upward of half of its membership, including twenty great peers, nearly a hundred knights, and many others of renown, who were nearly unanimous in their support of the object of the king's opposition. The company denied the king's right to such nomination, and adjourned to the court in course. In the meantime a committee of eminent individuals conferred with the king and made the illegality

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 112, Edition 1884.

of his action appear so plainly that his majesty covered his mistake by retiring behind a very clumsy explanation of his interference. To avert serious contest with the crown, however, Sandys withdrew, and the earl of Southampton was elected in his place. This was no more satisfactory to the king, for the new treasurer made it the condition of his accepting the trust that Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar, a celebrated lawyer, should be associated with him in the direction of the company's affairs.

"Under their harmonious direction" the new policy of the company was consistently carried forward, but not without the inspired opposition of the minority. The king had determined to nullify the progressive tendency of the company, and it is probable that the "ordinance and constitution" sent to Virginia in the following year was hastened by their forecast of the probable result of the king's hostility. A petition of the minority for the redress of their grievances, together with a libellous description of Virginia by a court sycophant, gave the king the desired opportunity to seize upon the company's records, arrest the deputy treasurer, Ferrar, and investigate the administration of the colony for the purpose of making up a case.

A committee of royal tools were sent to Virginia, in the fall of 1623, to collect evidence to warrant the contemplated action of the king against the company. Upon the general assembly the commissioners used every artifice to obtain an expression in favor of the revocation of the company's charter, but this body was wise enough to observe that their political privileges, of no long standing, derived their present validity from that instrument and the acts of the company under it, and prudently declined to be intimidated or cajoled into conformity with the commissioners' designs. The assembly refused to afford any aid or comfort to the king's purpose, but expressed the utmost solicitude lest the governors should be restored to absolute power, and entreated their sovereign that "they might still retain the liberty of popular assemblies, than which nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and public utility."

To prevent disorders arising "upon rumor of supposed change and alteration," the assembly warned the colonists not to "presume to be disobedient to the present government." There was little danger of such an occurrence, when the only alternative appeared to be a return to the former military despotism. Either side had its partisans; but the majority of the people were not strongly excited in the matter; there being three parties interested in colonial affairs, it mattered little what passed between the first and second, provided it did not affect the third. If the prerogative of the company passed into the hands of the king, the colonists held that no just cause of quarrel existed so long as their rights were not infringed; but in the destruction of the company their present bulwark of defense would be swept away, and the far-sighted planter might have had good cause to indulge the fear that the very citadel of their liberties might in the same way be successfully assailed.

After various attempts to evade the responsibility of arbitrarily revoking the charter, the king, under the disguise of the law, robbed the company, and nullified its appeal to parliament by the announcement to that body that *he* had resolved to "take care of the government of the country." The catspaw minority of the company had little cause to plume themselves upon the success of their royal accomplice. Sir Francis Wyat, who had been the company's appointee to bear the ordinance to the colony, was confirmed in office; and he and his council were authorized "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This period was that in which a representative government had existed in Virginia, and the principle, already tenaciously held by the people, received a valuable sanction in this limitation. What ultimate changes the king contemplated, or what the hidden meaning in his statement to parliament that "they should all see he would make it one of his masterpieces, as it well deserved to

be," cannot be accurately determined; death prevented the fulfillment of his engagement.

The population of the colony, at this time, was about 2,500 souls. Since the original settlement in 1607, accessions had been yearly received, but the various exhausting experiences had tended seriously to reduce the numbers, so that of some 5,000 settlers brought to Virginia less than half remained. A large proportion of these were actual settlers located upon lands of their own, and engaged in agriculture. Plantations were situated widely apart, and cabins, by law required to be surrounded by stockades, indicated the site of planters' residences. These were constructed of logs, covered with boards and "matted on the side after the fashion of the Indian wigwams." The interior was ample and furnished with a curious blending of the crude materials of the new country and the higher civilization of the old. Substantial furniture, a table service approaching elegance, and ponderous, stoutly bound volumes bore the marks of English workmen; the high ruff, the small, high, wooden heel, and short, satin skirt of the hostess were of English exportation; the gold laces and brilliant buckles, which marked the distinguished position of the planter, were of the same origin. The fare set before the guest was of the virgin soil,—beef, bacon, a brown loaf, Indian corn cakes, with ale and stronger drinks from across the sea. The "unobtrusive third" followed the meal; the cob or wooden pipe, filled with the native weed from a "lily pot," and lighted with a splinter of juniper wood, or with more elegance by a coal of fire held in a pair of silver tongs made for the purpose, was presented and the guest requested to *drink* it. A boat, manned by a crew of indented servants, carried the planter or guest on the river to his destination; or else on horseback, guided by a trusted servant and accompanied some miles by his hospitable host, the traveler picked his way along scarcely distinguishable bridle trails.

Stock was not abundant, though sufficient for the necessities of cultivation; game, hogs and wild fruits, with the vegetables that grew luxuriantly in the fertile soil, abounded. Corn and tobacco were the great staples produced, the first for food for man and beast alike; the latter the principal source of income from exportation. The privilege of coining money remained unimproved from the fact that there was nothing to coin. Tobacco became the circulating medium of exchange, and was made a legal tender by the general assembly, the rate of exchange being fixed by a special enactment. No internal trade existed; and the only village was the straggling hamlet of Jamestown, with its rude wooden government buildings and score of cabins. One or two sites of possible villages rejoiced "in that strange spell, a name," but were unmarked or only rendered the more obscure by a cabin or two.

The control of trade legislation was reserved to the royal government from the first. By the first charter it was provided that a "duty of five per cent to be levied within their precincts," on the traffic of strangers not owing obeisance to the British crown, was, for one and twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the several plantations; at the end of that time was to be taken for the king. By the second charter, the colonists were forever freed from all taxes and impositions on any goods or merchandise imported into or exported out of the colony, except the five per cent due for customs on all goods imported into the British dominions. The payment of this tariff gave the privilege, within thirteen months, to re-export the same goods into foreign countries, without further exactions for dues of any kind whatever. The colonists, at this period, depended for all articles of necessity upon the crude household manufactures of hemp, wool and cotton. For articles of luxury, the only supply was to be found in the mother country, from whence the well-to-do imported their own stock, paying the bill by a return cargo of tobacco.

Before the planting of this colony, King James' hostility to the use of the weed had moved him to write not only a "Counter-blast to Tobacco," but also to lay, by royal edict,

an excessive tax upon its use in his kingdom. Subsequently, when this product became Virginia's sole stock in trade, its sale in England was forbidden unless this tax was paid. This unjust burden placed upon the feeble resources of the colony was somewhat relieved in 1624, when, through the exertion of Sir Edwin Sandys, the Virginian product was amply protected against the competition of foreign tobaccos in the English market.

The local government was made up of a strong mixture of civil and military rule, the outgrowth of the "military code" and the "new ordinance." The people were grouped by boroughs, plantations and hundreds, each ruled by a commander, whose rank was set forth by the bravery of gold lace forbidden to others. His duties were to "see that all such orders as heretofore have been or hereafter shall be given by the government and council be duly executed and obeyed." He was also "commissioner," the prototype of the justice of the peace, with jurisdiction of all controversies under the value of 100 pounds of tobacco; in war he was captain of the contingent required from his hundred, and in peace the executive and judge. The whipping-post and pillory menaced the evil-doer, to which was sometimes added the excision of a part or all of one or both ears.

In the transactions of the general assembly there was no trace of the neophyte or republican; in the face of King James' commissioners it was declared that "the governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levied and ymposed as the said assembly shall appoynt." To encourage home industry, a matter which had vainly exhausted the devices of the early governors, it was enacted "for the encouragement of men to plant a store of corn, the price shall not be stinted, but it shall be free for every man to sell it as deare as he can." Swearing, drunkenness, and "scandalous speech against the governor and council" were threatened with the pillory, and the planter was forbidden to "dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied."

Such was the colony planted by the London Company: seventeen years of labor and more than half a million dollars had been expended in the effort, and just as complete success seemed about to be attained, arbitrary power wrested the fruit of patient perseverance from its hand. The promised success, however, was of a character calculated to satisfy the heart rather than the pocket. The receipts of the company from Virginia had not equaled the disbursements on its account, and were not likely to restore the balance for some years to come; and the sequestration of the charter therefore brought a relief from responsibilities which greatly mitigated the royal outrage. At the same time, there must have been present a keen regret that the growing state, whose liberty was only half established, should so early fall into the hands of unfriendly power. But the liberal-minded majority had builded wiser than they knew; the ordinance of 1624 constituted the magna charta of the newly-planted England; under its benign influence, the plantation became "a nursery of freemen," whose power to-day shapes the destiny of continent and molds the character of the wide earth.

CHAPTER II.

VIRGINIA AS A DEPENDENCY OF THE CROWN.

AS a dependency of the crown, the history of Virginia is marked by three periods: from the accession of Charles I to the revolution of 1688; from the revolution to the accession of George I; and under the house of Hanover to the American Revolution. During the first period, legislative independence in Virginia fluctuated between hope and fear—never quite secure from the invasion of the royal prerogative, and never entirely subjugated to its will. During the second period, the colonists, more firmly settled in the administration of home affairs, began to resist foreign encroachments upon their territory and to develop those powers of self-reliance which were destined to be used with such marked effect some half century later. The third period covers the era of resistance to the parliamentary prerogative, which culminated in armed resistance and revolution.

Charles I came to the throne in March, 1625. He found the royal exchequer impoverished and a rebellious faction preparing to resist the arbitrary rule of the crown; and these immediate objects so engrossed his attention that the Virginia colony, recently made the special charge of the king's care, was largely ignored. In the beginning of his reign the new sovereign did announce that he would adopt the policy of his father, but more pressing cares intervened, or pecuniary reasons, arising out of his desire to monopolize the sale of tobacco, induced him to forego the prosecution of his expressed purpose. Whatever the reason, it happened that while the king asserted the rights of the royal prerogative to the utmost limit in England, Virginia enjoyed legislative independence unquestioned, if unrecognized; and recognition came later. Through the agency of the general assembly the colonists "levied and appropriated taxes, secured the free industry of their citizens, guarded the forts with their own soldiery at their own charge, and gave publicity to their statutes." A revised code, sanctioned by the royal representative, confirmed their early privileges, and Virginia thus early gained as large liberty as was secured to the English by the triumph of the commonwealth. The period was one of immense prosperity; immigration increased to wonderful proportions; home markets were invigorated, and the large increase of exports found unabated demand in England.

Wyat was continued as governor until the early part of 1626, when he was succeeded by Yeardley, an appointment that was accepted by the colonists as a guarantee that "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate," the king adding his confirmation of this impression by limiting the powers of his appointee to the use of "the same means that were formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the colony." A little less than two years later, Yeardley died, eulogised by the general assembly and regretted by the people. Francis West, a brother of Lord Delaware, was chosen by the council as his successor, adding another precedent in favor of home government, though acting in accordance with the king's commission. In the following year, West was succeeded by a Dr. Potts, who was replaced, as soon as the king learned of West's departure, by the appointment of Sir John Harvey.

The administration of Harvey, from 1629 to 1639, is a memorable one in colonial history. The Virginians remembered him as one of the over-zealous commissioners sent to the colony by James I to gather material

for the discomfiture of the London Company; and his appointment suggested that it was made by the king in requital of former services to his father. Such a governor could hardly be looked upon as the harbinger of good rule, or a desirable successor to Wyat and Yeardley. Two features of his commission confirmed the unfavorable impression; by this instrument he was empowered to fill vacancies occurring in the council, and was granted the fines assessed by his court as official emolument. Beverly describes him as "extortionate, unjust and arbitrary," and, armed with such dangerous power and privilege, he had sufficient incentive to lead an avaricious disposition into the most oppressive course of exactions. Puffed up with the pride of power, "he was so haughty and furious to the council and the best gentlemen of the country that his tyranny grew at last insupportable." The particular grievances recorded against him, by a historian of the time, are that he "issued proclamations in derogation of the legislative powers of the assembly; disbursed the colonial revenues without check or responsibility, and multiplied penalties and exactments and appropriated fines to his own use." It may be questioned if these alone would have raised up the determined opposition which followed; to these he added a supreme disregard for the rights of property, and not only granted large tracts of land to all comers for a private consideration, but also included in these grants the estates of certain planters. His favorable disposition toward the schemes for the dismemberment of the colony intensified the general feeling, and gave rise to a determination to resist his encroachments upon the rights of the colonists.

A public meeting was held and participated in by the chief men of the colony, at which was read a petition, numerously signed, denouncing the governor for the injustice of his administration. For this, the governor promptly arrested the important members of the indignation meeting, and convened the council to suppress such mutinous gatherings. Indignant beyond measure at this summary attempt to put them down, the people, led by several councilmen and a body of troops, made a descent upon the governor's residence, released the prisoners, and arrested Harvey on a charge of treason. All attempts on the part of the accused governor to effect a compromise proved vain, and the brief record of the council relates only: "On the 28th of April, 1635, Sir John Harvey thrust out of his government, and Capt. John West acts as governor till the king's pleasure be known." The governor repaired to England, and commissioners were selected to present the case of the colony against him; but the two parties do not appear to have confronted each other there. The representatives of the colony were delayed, Harvey appeared before the privy council, cleared himself of the grave charges of treason and smuggling, and was returned by the indignant king, to whom the sending of the governor hither appeared "an assumption of regal power," which should be rebuked by the reinstatement of the obnoxious governor, "though to stay but a day." Harvey, accordingly, came back in 1637, shorn, however, of his power to fill vacancies in the council, and remained nearly two years without provoking further antagonism.

The Virginians regarded any infringement of their original territory with no less jealous eye than the infringement of political rights, and the founding of the colony of Maryland, in this administration, aroused an opposition which for over thirty years refused to acquiesce in the inevitable. The territory granted the first colony in Virginia extended from the Florida line to the Hudson River. In 1613, the Hollanders took possession of this river, and "built forts there, called Prince Maurice and New Netherlands," establishing a flourishing fur trade with the natives. "Thus," it was claimed, "are the English nosed and out-traded by the Dutch." Later, a colony of Swedes occupied Delaware; and in 1630, Sir Robert Heath was granted all that portion of Virginia south of the 36th parallel. All these were considered invasions of the territory of Virginia, and when, in 1632, Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was granted the territory of Maryland, the Virginians began to fear that the recklessness

of the king and the greed of his favorites would not stop short of appropriating the lands already occupied by themselves. The reckless avarice of Harvey gave color to these suspicions, and the general assembly earnestly protested against the grant as an infringement of the rights of Virginia and a discouragement to the planters who had labored to build up the colony.

The founder of the new colony was a "popish recusant of high character;" under a royal charter he had established a colony upon the southern point of Newfoundland, but the climatic discouragement of that latitude had induced him to look about for a more favorable location. To this end he visited Virginia in 1630, where, the character of his mission being known, he was received with scant hospitality. He found the colonists possessed of a spirit of bigoted intolerance, and no sooner was his presence bruited abroad than a general commotion ensued. The distinguished visitor was given the lie publicly and threatened with violence, and the council, while punishing the offender against the peace and good manners, tendered Lord Baltimore the oath of supremacy and allegiance, which, as a good Catholic, he declined to take. This was equal to a dismissal from the colony, and he accordingly left for England, stopping long enough on his way, however, to explore the country on the opposite side of the Chesapeake Bay. On his return he represented to the king that the country north of the Potomac was inhabited only by savages; that years must elapse before the Virginians could occupy it; that other nations were preparing to plant settlements there, and that the surest way to frustrate them was to found an English colony in the territory.

To such potent arguments the Virginians could reply only by protest. By the canceling of the company's charter, the right of the soil was vested in the crown; and, aided by the influence of home statesmen as well as that of Harvey, Lord Baltimore succeeded in his quest, though his death in the meanwhile transferred the undertaking to his son. Circumstances devolved the responsibility of further opposition, also, upon other shoulders. The king's "trusty and well-beloved William Clayborne," with a considerable following, occupied Kent Island, and founded so vigorous a settlement that in 1632 it sent a member to the general assembly of Virginia. This contestant engaged in trade with the Indians, for which he provided a well-equipped vessel, and announced that, as he occupied the soil of Virginia under patent of the king, he would resist any attempt to rob him of his rights.

In 1634 the second Lord Baltimore sent his brother, Leonard Calvert, with "twenty gentlemen" and several hundred laborers to take possession of the king's grant to him. Clayborne's trading vessel was seized, and the colony on Kent Island surprised by night and driven out. The resolute defender of Virginian rights sent an armed pinnace to rescue the captured boat, but in the skirmish which followed the rescuers were defeated with the loss of three men. Beaten for the time, Clayborne waited until the absence of tho governor of Virginia gave him an opportunity to renew the struggle. Accordingly, in 1645, he seized the Maryland government *vi et armis*, and forced the representative of Lord Baltimore to retreat to England. The return of Berkeley, then governor, turned the tables, and the defender of the ancient limits deprived of home support, was violently expelled by the proprietary forces. In all the protracted struggle, Clayborne was supported by the patriotism of the Virginians, who claimed the territory as a part of the colony's possession, and by that religious bigotry which united Puritan and Episcopalian in opposition to the Catholic.

Other marks of individuality appeared in the administration of Harvey; the colonists not only assumed "regal power" and developed a patriotism that countenanced the rebellious attempt to nullify the king's patent, but the colony began also to put off the forms of its tutelage, and to assume the garb of maturity. Early in the administration (1628–29) commissions were issued to the different plantations and hundreds to hold monthly courts, and in 1634 eight shires,

their form of government copied from the shires of England, were erected. Over each of these was placed a "lieutenant, the same as in England, to take care of the war against Indians;" the sheriff, sergeant and bailiffs were also constituted and elected "the same as in England." Harvey was recalled in 1639, and Sir Francis Wyat conducted the government until Sir William Berkeley arrived, in 1642.

The new governor was a "courtier," a member of an old English family, deeply imbued with a profound belief in the *jus divinum* of kings, and schooled in the graces, amenities and prejudices of the well-bred cavalier. At his country estate of 1,000 acres, near Jamestown, he surrounded himself with great social state, and did much to foster the growing aristocratic tendency, which gradually prevailed in the customs of the wealthier classes of the old Virginians. The people were not averse to this display. During the administration of Harvey, the colonists had gained a broader comprehension of Virginia's future possibilities as an integral part of the British kingdom, and readily associated this display with the growing importance of the colony. The exercise of governmental functions had been a powerful means of educating the people in self-confidence, and public spirit, though less marked, had kept pace with the social tendency of the colony. Untouched by the influences which moved England to rebellion, "Virginia was whole for the monarchy," though it only needed similar grievances, thirty-four years later, to break out in armed resistance. But, for the time, the man and the hour had met in happy conjunction. The people, wearied and outraged by the coarse brutality of the retiring governor, were captivated by the urbanity of Berkeley; ruffled by their inconclusive bout with Harvey, and excited over the dismemberment of their territory, the Virginians were surprised into good nature by Charles' address to "our trusty and well-beloved, our governor, council and burgesses of the grand assembly of Virginia" (his first recognition of the colonial legislature, July 5, 1642), and accepted the liberally devised instructions to Berkeley as the *amende honorable.*

It was under such happy auspices that the long (1642–1677) and eventful career of the new governor opened in Virginia. His instructions associated the council with the governor in supplying the vacancies in that body; provided for the annual meeting of the assembly with unabated privilege, the governor to have a negative voice; for the erection of courts inferior to the quarter sessions; for the administration of justice according to the English usage; and for the probate of wills. To carry out these instructions the governor and assembly united in harmonious action, and for seven years the golden age of colonial existence went on without interruption. In 1643, the shires took the name of counties, and as immigration found its way into new regions, the number increased; stock of all kinds multiplied; the cattle were estimated at 20,000 head, with horses and other kinds in proportion; the fertile soil yielded rich returns of wheat, tobacco and corn, the latter "five hundred fold;" the cultivation and manufacture of silk was encouraged, and the infant industry was destined to supply the coronation robe for the restored Stuart, if the tradition be true; and trade, "the calm health of nations," attracted ten vessels from London, two from Bristol, twelve from Holland, and seven from New England.

In the meantime, affairs in England were rapidly approaching the revolutionary climax; the news found its way to Virginia, but awakened no response in the hearts of the colonists. The Virginians were prosperous and happy, and good churchmen enough to believe that "godliness with contentment is great gain." In 1643, the parliament's board of commissioners could offer no advantage which the colony did not already possess; and when the company, which fostered its infancy, sought to revive its charter, the colony promptly protested that "there is more likelihood that such as are aquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better ground prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England." The period of

colonial minority had passed and the colony was now able to judge for itself; the legislature had exercised its coveted privileges unhindered, and secured such sanction to the principles of home government as removed all doubt of their stability; the king's policy in Virginia had been quite satisfactory, and the colonists had no disposition to join the cause of the Puritans in the attainment of objects in which they had no interest. The execution of Charles I, therefore, awoke in Virginia a sympathy for the victim of the English people's rage, and the royalist refugees, who fled to Virginia in great numbers, found every home a "hostelry," and had "choice of hosts without money or its value."

The king was beheaded in January, 1649; the general assembly, which met in the following October, took early opportunity to denounce "the late traitorous proceedings" against "the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king;" and provided that all persons who should "by word or speeches, endeavour to insinuate any doubt, scruple or question of, or concerning, the undoubted and inherent right of his majesty, that now is, to the colony of Virginia, and all other his majesty's dominions," should suffer punishment. In 1650, the exiled monarch recognized the loyalty of Virginia and sent his commission to Sir William Berkeley from Breda, and the colony prepared to be "the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth." This rebellious attitude toward the new state of things could not long pass unnoticed. In the latter part of this year parliament adopted measures to reduce "Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas and Virginia" to obedience. One after another made submission to the new authorities with slight resistance at the Bermudas only, and in 1652 a frigate brought the menace of war to the shores of Virginia. The brave old governor made prompt preparations for resistance; the defenses of Jamestown were equipped and manned; the Dutch ships in the harbor were unloaded of goods and mounted with cannon, and nothing was needed to precipitate the devastation and misery of war but the folly of the commonwealth's commissioners. Fortunately this had been guarded against, both in the selection of the officials and in the terms of their instructions; the demand of the commonwealth was for parley, not surrender. The burgesses of the several plantations were called to assist and advise in the matter, and "upon long and serious debate, and in sad contemplation of the great miseries and certain destruction," surrender was agreed upon.

This result would seem to be a foregone conclusion; the Virginians differed with the commons of England only in personal sentiment; both claimed England as their fatherland, and its settled ruler as the common sovereign of both; Virginia did not aim at independence, and the commonwealth sought only to prevent the dismemberment of the kingdom; there was, therefore, no cause for war. When clearly formulated, the demands of each party were found entirely compatible with the highest interest of both, and instead of a recourse to arms, this real union of sentiment was set forth in articles of agreement "for the surrendering and settling of that plantation under the obedience and government of the commonwealth of England."

By these articles it was provided "that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof * * * shall have and enjoy such freedoms and privileges as belong to the free-born people of England; * * * 4ly, That Virginia shall have and enjoy the antient bounds and lymitts granted by the charters of former kings; * * * 8ly, That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the grand assembly, and so that neither fortes nor castles bee erected or garrisons maintained without their consent;" and this agreement was therein acknowledged "a voluntary act, not forced nor constrained by a conquest upon the countrey." This convention, consisting of sixteen articles, with a supplementary paper granting immunity for acts done under the commission of the exiled king, was confirmed by the "long parliament," save the important stipulations in regard to the "antient bounds and

lymitts," and those contained in article "8ly," quoted in full. These were referred to a committee and were not acted upon before the parliament was dissolved; but whatever this grave omission might have imported, subsequent events secured to the colony the substantial results sought, with the exception of the original boundaries.

Clayborne, who was one of the commonwealth commissioners, the Virginia business being settled, renewed his struggle for the possession of "that sweete, that rich, that large country" of Maryland. Under the general authorization of parliament to reduce "all the plantations within the bay of Chesapeake," he seized the governor of that colony and revolutionized the government, but not without a stubborn fight, in which the proprietary forces were defeated. In 1658 the end appeared; the power of the Puritans began to fail; the Catholics took courage, organized, and surrendered the colony to Lord Baltimore; the death of Cromwell followed in the same year, and the restoration, in 1660, settled this vexed question forever.

The revolution was effected in Virginia without the slightest commotion; the articles for the "settling of that plantation" had made no provision for its future government, but the assembly, as "the representatives of the people," declared "the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," and, "after long and serious debate," "unanimously voted and concluded that Mr. Richard Bennett, Esq., be governor for this ensuing year" (1652). Bennett was one of the commonwealth's commissioners, and Clayborne, another, was made secretary of state, the council being composed of sympathizers with the exiled king and "roundheads." The old cavalier-governor disposed of his "house in James Cittie, the westernmost of three brick houses I built there," and retired to his country estate to vent his petulant humor in criticisms of the existing government. The new administration, with no friends to favor nor foes to punish, "kept the noiseless tenor of its way." The "mercenarie attorneys" were the common enemy of all, and were harassed as they were under Berkeley.

There was a "looseness and unsettledness" in the character of the government under the commonwealth recognized by all, and while the protector had "come to some resolutions for supplying that defect" death intervened to prevent his carrying them into execution. The assembly in the meanwhile directed affairs; in 1655, Edward Digges succeeded Bennett as governor, and in 1656, Samuel Matthews was elected. The latter was graced with the title of captain, and was "an old planter of nearly forty years' standing, a most deserving commonwealth's man, who kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia." In 1658, the assembly excluded the governor and council from its session; the "old planter governor" resisted the innovation and dissolved the assembly, but the "representatives of the people" were not thus to be coerced. Members were forbidden to leave Jamestown, and convening in secret session the colonial legislature declined to submit the whole question to Cromwell, declaring the assembly was "not dissolved by any power yet extant in Virginia but our own." The burgesses were not without their remedy; they declared themselves in possession of full power to elect and appoint all officers in the colony until orders to the contrary should be received from the supreme power in England; "that all former elections of governor and council be void and null; that the power of the governor for the future shall be conferred on Coll. Samuel Matthews, Esq., who by us shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." This occurred on the first day of April, and on the third, the old planter captain accepted the promotion to colonel, and took the oath in accordance with the determination of the burgesses.

On the death of Cromwell, his son and successor was recognized; the restoration was in view, and the resignation of Richard Cromwell being followed by the death of Matthews, the old cavalier was called from his retirement and placed at the head of the

government once more. The burgesses took care, however, to reaffirm "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly," and to enact that "all writts shall issue" in its name, "until such a command or commission come out of England as shall be by the assembly adjudged to be lawful." In the absence of a settled government in England, this guarded declaration of supremacy was not inconsistent with the old governor's political faith, and acquiescing in the innovations accomplished by the burgesses, he declared himself "the servant of the assembly."

The restoration of Charles II was hailed with joy in Virginia. During the rule of the commonwealth the people had lost none of their love for the cause of the deposed monarch, and the unsettled state of the government kept alive the expectation of a return to the only settled form known to the people —a monarchy. The large accession of royalists, "men of the first rate, who wanted not money nor credit," whose singularly wise conduct had provoked no antagonisms, reinforced the natural sentiment. Berkeley was re-elected in March, 1660; in the following May, the restored king forwarded to him a royal commission, and in 1661 a new assembly was convened. The old one, it is said, "was full cavalier," but the constitution of the new one exhibited the change silently wrought in Virginia by the restoration. In the first general assembly convened in the reign of Charles II, "large land-holders and cavaliers" appeared almost exclusively; of the members of the preceding assembly, only eight were re-elected, and only five retained their seats; of those prominent in the extension of colonial privileges, but two appeared in this body. England was restored; Virginia was revolutionized.

The colony was on the high road to rebellion, but its progress was only incidentally marked through the course of the sixteen years which followed. The restoration found colonial power in the hands of "the people of Virginia;" the governor placed and displaced by the general assembly, and his salary voted from one session to another; the council dependent upon the same power; the courts conformed to English law; taxes levied on the poll and only by the burgesses; the assembly directly responsible to the people, elected once in two years and each member paid by his constituents. These privileges had survived both monarchy and commonwealth, and the people, who sought an explicit grant of security from the successor of Cromwell, deemed a charter from the restored Stuart unnecessary; and so Virginia relied upon the integrity of her king and assembly, while the less loyal colonists in the North were securing liberal charters as the price of their unwearied importunities. The mistake of this overweening confidence was fatal to the peace of the Virginia colony.

In 1662, the new assembly, by a permanent imposition on tobacco, provided an unquestionable emolument for the appointees of the crown, and having freed the governor from his financial restraint, the same assembly prolonged its own existence by declaring the law requiring the election of burgesses once in two years "utterly abrogated and repealed." Other innovations followed, all tending in the same direction—the exclusion of the people from the government. New laws freed the burgess from the financial restraint of his constituents by providing for his payment out of a general levy; and in 1670, the franchise was restricted to "free-holders and housekeepers." Such was the progress in ten years; the movement had not gone unnoticed by the people, who were disposed to make "choyce of persons not fitly qualified for so great a trust," in the opinion of the royalist assembly, and hence the restriction. This last innovation was a serious one, and challenged the immediate attention of the people. From the first years until 1655, all settlers had been heard in the general direction; until 1619, in the matters of the plantations and hundreds, and subsequently in the election of burgesses. In 1655 the franchise was restricted to housekeepers, but in the following year the privilege was restored, because it was "something hard and unagreeable to reason that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no

vote in elections." Fourteen years had not antiquated the logic of this reasoning, but the royalists found a class of "persons, who, having served their time, are freemen of this country." Many of these were their old enemies who had been brought to Virginia in the restored times, as indented servants, and now, restored to freedom, made "tumults at this election;" it was safer, therefore, to "grant a voyce in such election only to such as by their estates, real or personal, have interest enough to tye them to the endeavor of the public good."

This centralization of power reached the courts also. The governor and council formed the superior and chancery courts, from which, for a time, there was an appeal to the assembly; the minor courts consisted of eight unpaid justices of the peace, who held monthly sessions in each county for the disposition of minor causes and county business. These magistrates were appointed by the governor during his pleasure, the one oldest in commission succeeding to the position of sheriff, and others in regular rotation. This court, without responsibility to the people, levied the taxes for county purposes, and disbursed them too often for the enrichment of peculating officials. To this was added the exacting machinery of an established church. The later laws, which had lost much of the severity of bigotry, were repealed, and the old ones restored; the vestry was constituted a close corporation with perpetual charter, and endowed with powers to assess taxes without regard to the will of the parishioners.

It is impossible to conjecture how far this irresponsible tyranny would have gone, had not the similar policy of the king supplied a partial corrective. The oppressive trade measures of the crown brought home to the privileged class the folly of alienating the great body of freemen entirely, and subsequent events were to convince them that where plunder was involved even the touch of aristocracy did not make kin. In 1673 the king wantonly granted all the "dominion of land and water commonly called Virginia" to Lords Arlington and Culpepper for thirty-one years. Such a grant was portentous of the greatest evils; these court favorites, for the annual rent of 40 shillings, were endowed with all the privileges and powers of the Crown over 40,000 people for a generation. The outcry against the villainy was spontaneous and prolonged, and joined in by freeman, housekeeper and burgess. The cavalier assembly protested to the king in language very similar to that of freemen; "they humbly requested not to be subjected to our fellow-subjects, but for the future to be secure from our fears of being enslaved." A commission was sent to England to secure a charter by which the encroachments of the new proprietors might be restrained, but the people, excited by new grievances, took the remedy into their own hands, and the news of "Bacon's rebellion" stopped the charter in the government offices.

In 1674 the general exasperation found some expression, but calm advice and counsel checked the outbreak. Some minor reforms were granted, but the great burden of oppression remained; the determination of the people was taking form, however, and want of opportunity alone denied it expression. This want was supplied at last; the Indians were showing a disposition to renew hostilities; a rumor of their approach was followed by the slaughter of settlers on the frontier plantations. The natives extended their ravages, and planters gathered to follow the foe to his retreat and inflict summary punishment, but they had no leader, and the governor was charged with caring more for his beaver trade than for the lives of the people. Bacon visited the assembled planters, and the general voice proclaimed him leader; but the expedition was not to be undertaken without the sanction and commission of the governor, and the young leader, assuming the responsibility thrust upon him, applied for the necessary warrant to proceed. The governor replied in "polite and complimentary terms" and did not send the commission; but Bacon, "of a precipitate disposition," thanked the governor for the promised commission, and set forth at the head of a force of "most good housekeepers" to achieve the

signal discomfiture of the savages a few days later.

Bacon was a young man, not yet thirty, "of quality and merit, brave and eloquent, * * * master and owner of those inducements which constitute a compleat man (as to intrinsecalls), wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse." The governor had now reached the age of about seventy years, with the political principles of his youth no less firmly held, but with temper and judgment somewhat impaired. The temper of the times in England had not escaped his attention, and something more than a regard to the Indian trade prompted his diplomatic reply to Bacon's request. He "doubted Bacon's temper, as he was popularly inclined," and "the peoples' dispositions." His letter to Bacon had been unequivocal on the essential point of the commission; he had not sent it nor promised it, and the "popularly inclined" young cavalier's affected misunderstanding of its terms alarmed the old royalist. This was a repetition of Cromwell's rebellion in disguise, and taking a "bond of fate," the hasty viceroy fulminated a proclamation declaring Bacon and his followers rebels, and commanding them to disperse. A messenger, bearing this ominous summons, overtook the war party before it had passed the frontier; a large number of the "most good housekeepers" faltered at this summons and turned back, but the leader, with a few steadfast planters, went forward, achieved the victory, and slowly returned.

In issuing his proclamation, Gov. Berkeley assumed the whole responsibility, and forthwith raised a force of horsemen to put down the recalcitrant few. But the people had not been uninterested observers of these proceedings, and no sooner was the governor set out than his ears were assailed by the mutterings of a political storm in his rear. The lower counties had risen in rebellion, and complained not only of the defenseless state of the country against the Indians, but demanded also that the General Assembly, which had maintained its existence for fifteen years, should be dissolved, and that the forts should be dismantled.

To this higher demand the governor was forced to submit. Turning about, he returned to Jamestown, dissolved the obnoxious assembly, issued writs for a new election, and ordered the forts dismantled. Bacon, though under ban as a rebel, presented himself as a candidate for burgess from Henrico, and was elected. Throughout the colony the freemen ignored the law disfranchising them, and elected representatives of the people, among whom were some of their own class. The burgesses met in June, 1676, and Bacon, accompanied by thirty of his supporters, went to take his seat in the new assembly. This was an act of contumacy to which the governor was not prepared to submit, and the whole party was arrested; some were put in irons, and others, with Bacon, released upon parole. Certain politic people interfered; Bacon, who was a member of the council, was persuaded to acknowledge his error in proceeding against the Indians without a commission, was restored to his place in the council, and promised a commission as "general of the Indian wars."

The governor's persuasion partook too much of the nature of duress, against which the old cavalier secretly rebelled; Bacon, while ostensibly reconciled to Berkeley, had good grounds to fear that the end was not yet reached. The commission was delayed from day to day; Bacon assigned a fictitious reason for his desire to return to his plantation, and permission to retire from his duties as councillor was given by the governor, who meditated his re-arrest when thrown off his guard. Matters could not rest here; as one of his followers expressed the situation, "he was in overshoes, and must be over boots," and three or four days later Bacon returned to Jamestown at the head of some 600 armed men to demand the commission. Berkeley vainly attempted to organize a force for resistance, but the whole country rang with the name of Bacon, and the governor was forced to submit. It was force alone, however, that wrought his submission. The

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brave old man denounced the young leader and his followers as rebels to their faces; challenged Bacon to a single combat, and opening his clothing, invited him to deliver the fatal shot. To this indignant bravado, the "rebel" replied in language that does credit to his cause: "Sir, I came not, nor intend, to hurt a hair of your head, and, for your sword, your honor may please to put it up; it shall rust in the scabbard before I shall ever desire you to draw it. I come for a commission against the heathen, who daily inhumanly murder us, and spill our brethren's blood, and no care is taken to prevent it."

This forced conciliation was carried to the extent of drafting a letter to the king, cordially endorsing the "rebels" and their general, which the governor and council were obliged to sign. Berkeley was not to be so easily over-reached; he wrote the king that he was "encompassed with rebellion," and besought him to send troops to support the government; he then posted his proclamation, declaring Bacon, who was then carrying devastation among the Indians in accordance with his commission, a traitor. Following the precedent of Charles I, the governor repaired to Gloucester County, and planted his banner to rally the loyal colonists in defense of the colonial interests which his excited imagination declared in peril. But the same fate followed his efforts here; Bacon was all the cry, and the disheartened old man fled to Accomack as the last resort. Here he gathered a motley crew of a few influential persons, planters, seafarers and long-shoremen, and descended upon Jamestown, which he occupied.

Bacon, astounded by the new folly of the governor, turned his back upon the enemy of the frontier, vexed to the heart "to think that while he was hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those with him should be pursued with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast." For him the situation had indeed grown critical; he "was fallen like corn between the stones," as the old historian puts it, "so that if he did not look the better about him, he might chance be ground to powder." Happily he had "wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse;" he marched his forces to the middle plantation, and issued his proclamation convening all who had "any regard for themselves, or love to their country, their wives, children and other relations," to consider "Sir William's doting and irregular actings." On August 3, 1676, "most of the prime gentlemen of those parts" appeared; they were for the most part in sympathy with Bacon, but hesitated to go the length to which necessity compelled the general. To him it was death or rebellion, and yet he asked only for protection in the performance of duties for which he was duly commissioned, and which the state of the country made necessary. A "test or recognition" to be subscribed by all was agreed upon. This at first proposed that none of the subscribers should aid Berkeley in disturbing the general and his army. But Bacon demanded something more than neutrality; they must agree "to rise in arms against him, if he with armed forces should offer to resist the general; and not only so—if any forces should be sent out of England at the request of Sir William or otherways, to his aid, that they were likewise to be opposed" until the whole affair should be adjudicated by his majesty, the king. This was a startling step to the planters, not placed in such straitened circumstances as the general, but they believed in the justice of his cause, and his impassioned eloquence did the rest. The whole obligation was assumed, but with the express understanding that it was not to impair their allegiance to the crown.

His rear thus protected, the general proceeded to the frontier, and attacked and routed a tribe of savages, and then came to the "verge of the English plantations," where his troops, save a small detachment, were sent to their homes for rest. Here the news of Berkeley's coming to Jamestown, with seventeen ships and 1,000 men, startled the successful general from his dreams of peace. This meant war, and peace henceforward could be purchased only by the submission of Bacon or Berkeley. The governor

had already shown the fate in store for "the general and his army" by the hanging of one of his supporters on the sea-shore, and Bacon needed no urging to prompt action. He immediately set out with his bodyguard for Jamestown, while couriers rode in all directions to summon his forces. The capital was at once besieged, and the governor, recognizing that the solid men of the country were arrayed against him, and finding the great mass of the adventurers in his ranks rapidly deserting, again fled disconsolate to Accomack.

And now the last blow was about to be struck; Accomack was to be invaded; the governor seized, and the whole matter to be referred to the king. But revolution was to be deferred for a century. Bacon, sick from exposure and the over-exertion of the year, died in October, not without a well-grounded suspicion of poisoning at the hands of his enemies. His body was buried by his friends with great secrecy that it might not be dishonored by his foes, a cautionary proceeding which foreboded the end. Deprived of the wisdom and discretion of its general, the army rapidly melted away before the prestige of the governor. One after another of the prominent supporters of the uprising were seized by Berkeley and destroyed; age had not cooled his blood, and the rebellion had made him a fury; it was believed he "would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone."

The king in the meanwhile had heard of the uproar, and in January, 1677, a fleet with a regiment of English soldiers brought a commission to settle the trouble. Even the king turned against the bloodthirsty Berkeley, and his prejudgment of the case had consigned Bacon and other prominent "rebels" to the gallows, and the governor to trial. Berkeley was recalled, summary punishment was inflicted upon prominent supporters of the general, and peace once more reigned in Virginia.

All this had passed in the space of a year; the new assembly held only a short session, but still accomplished much. The newly elected burgesses knew what was expected of them, and impartially censuring both parties to the disturbance, they proceeded to establish practical reforms; they broke up the monopoly in the Indian trade; arbitrary vestries were reorganized; official fees were regulated; the elective franchise was restored to freemen; and election returns were guarded with new restrictions. The net result of the rebellion, however, was disastrous. The form of government was seriously limited by new instructions from the king; assemblies were allowed to meet but once in two years, and then to sit but fourteen days unless for special business, and care was to be taken that the members "be elected only by freeholders." Under the new regime the reforms instituted by the Bacon assembly were nullified and nearly every abuse restored.

Sir Herbert Jeffries succeeded Berkeley; in 1678 Sir Henry Chicheley followed; in 1679 Lord Culpepper; in 1684 Lord Howard. During this period the "ancient dominion" suffered the "malignant humors of a proprietary government." The burdens of the colonists were doubled to pay the perquisites demanded, and every department of colonial activity was so oppressed by arbitrary exactions that despair nearly gave rise to another outbreak. The summary punishment of a few malcontents quieted the disturbance, and the powers of the assembly were still further restricted. In 1684, the proprietors having exhausted the plunder to be readily gotten out of the colony, Virginia became once more a royal province, destined, however, to still contribute to the ill-gotten gains of the court favorites. Howard was the first of these, and the most exorbitant fees were exacted of the colonists to supply his demands. The accession of James II in 1685 made no change in the monotonous course of despotism. Howard was continued in office and the sway of the royal prerogative reached its climax in Virginia in his administration. "The executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners and local magistrates were all appointed directly or indirectly by the crown. Virginia had no town meetings, no village democracies, no free municipal institutions. The custom of a co-

lonial assembly remained, but it was chosen under a restricted franchise; its clerk was appointed by the governor, and its power impaired by the permanent grant of revenue which it could not recall." (Bancroft.) Such was the condition of the colonial government when the revolution of 1688, overturning the tyranny of the royal prerogative, established the supremacy of law.

On the accession of William and Mary, the assembly hastened to dispatch an agent to England to "supplicate their majesties to confirm unto the country the authority" of government "as near as may be to the model of the parliament of England." The specific stipulations of the assembly sought generally the recovery of privileges enjoyed at the date of the restoration. These "their majesties" did not hesitate to grant, and without defining the ultimate scope of the colonial assembly's authority, the royal instructions recognized it as an integral part of the Virginian government, and interfered little with its particular functions. Under this fostering toleration the colonists found themselves once more able to achieve their own destiny through a free assembly. The independent spirit of the people began to revive, and it was observed that "pernicious notions, fatal to the royal prerogative, were improving daily." Little by little affairs gravitated toward the golden age of the colony under the commonwealth, and in 1710, Gov. Spotswood noted for the information of the queen's ministers that "the inclinations of the country are rendered mysterious by a new and unaccountable humor (the Governor was born in the year of Bacon's rebellion), which hath obtained in several counties, of excluding gentlemen from being burgesses, and choosing only persons of mean figure and character."

In the meantime the elements of growth came in to restore the assembly to its early vigor. The single colony had increased to twelve, each independent of the other, but all united in the demand for the co-ordinate authority of the colonial assembly. Thus a spirit of emulation stimulated each colony to persevere by independent measures in seeking the desired end, the achievement of one proving indirectly the gain of every other. The population of Virginia had now reached about 50,000 persons, and the permanent revenue granted by the cavalier assembly, and increased under Culpepper, was no longer the menace to colonial liberties that it once was. The large increase of expenditures demanded additional supplies, which the assembly now took care to grant for limited periods, and for specifically defined purposes, the disbursements being made by their own treasurer, who acted independent of the officers of the crown. Another fact contributed to the same end; the office of governor had now become a sinecure, which was enjoyed by the appointee in England, and his lieutenant was restrained by the beneficiary, who cared for nothing so much as the perquisites of his office. Thus, under the last days of the Stuarts, the general assembly regained much of its lost power, never to lose it again.

With the accession of the house of Hanover, began a period of the grossest political corruption. The supremacy of parliament gave new prominence to the ministry, and the cabinet became gradually invested with much of the privileges which formerly accrued to the crown. Colonial appointees came to be very generally selected from the relations or dependents of persons in power, or from a class of political pirates who engaged to surrender the larger part of the legal emoluments of office for the opportunity of enriching themselves by irregular methods. The grossest abuse of official trusts followed; but plunder being the sole pursuit, these crown representatives proved less determined in their opposition to the aggressive policy of the assembly.

Legislative independence gained an advantage also at this time by the change in the official management of colonial affairs in England. In 1696 the general supervision of the colonies had been placed in the hands of the "board for trade and the plantations," consisting of certain of the ministry with eight appointed commissioners. Subsequently, the functions of this board were restricted simply to legislative and clerical

duties pertaining to the administration of the colonies; in the cabinet, the American colonies were represented by the secretary of State for the southern department; and to the privy council was reserved the framing of measures to enforce the instructions of the board of trade. It thus happened that on one side was the legislative power and on the other the executive power; between them stood the secretary, necessary to connect the cause and the effect of the administration of colonial affairs, but subject to neither, and often busy with projects which led him to ignore the colonies altogether. Amid all this official circumlocution the crown could not maintain effective control of the growing insubordination of the colonies, and unsatisfactory "instructions" were easily evaded or compliance refused outright.

America was now rife with the bickerings between governor and assembly; governors came armed with instructions to the assemblies to provide "a permanent revenue, solid, definite and without limitation." This demand was refused, with more or less circumlocution, in every case. Limited grants, only in return for the sanction of legislation which gradually sapped the foundation of arbitrary power, were made, but even these were so completely guarded as to give little satisfaction to the representatives of the crown. The result was a series of complaints from the governors, and protests from the assemblies. "To preserve the dependency of America," declared the badgered and defeated officials, "the constitution must be new modelled." To this the assemblies calmly replied, basing their arguments upon the rights of all Englishmen gained through Magna Charta, and upon the co-ordinate authority of the assembly with parliament. These premises were not allowed by English statesmen, but there was that in the undemonstrative attitude of the colonies that forbade rash procedure, and the question of a fixed revenue continued to vex the souls of crown officers.

The struggle with France for the possession of the Ohio valley added its influence to bring matters to a crisis. The "great woods" was the indeterminate title which stood for the vast expanse of field and forest west of the line of the Alleghanies, from the lakes to the gulf. Traders brought the intelligence of the French quietly pushing eastward from the Illinois country, and southward from the lakes at Detroit and Niagara into the valley of the Ohio. This progress of the French people was viewed with jealousy both in England and America, but the lack of harmony between the mother country and the colonies prevented union of action. The French were keen observers of all this, and placed their dependence more upon the division of their opponents than in their own strength; "the English," said they, "can raise two men to our one; but they are too dilatory to prevent any enterprise of ours." It was the opinion of the leading men on both sides of the ocean, that the colonies should unite to resist the French, but even a liberal plan of union for this purpose, conceived by Benjamin Franklin, failed to satisfy the jealous demands of the colonies, though its independence startled the statesmen of England.

In 1754, the board of trade proposed a complicated scheme for the same purpose, the chief feature of which was "a certain and permanent revenue." No determined effort was made to materialize this proposition, and resort was finally had to the prerogative. Gen. Braddock was commissioned to take command of the American forces to be employed against the French, and the colonial governors were notified that it was the king's pleasure "that a fund be established for the benefit of all the colonies collectively in North America."

The opposition which had defeated a plan devised to meet the difficulties of the situation by one who sympathised with the colonial prejudices, was not likely to be dispelled by the king's peremptory demand. "The assembly of this dominion," said Gov. Dinwiddie, "will not be directed what supplies to grant, and will always be guided by their own free determinations; they would think any restraint or direction an insult on their privileges, that they are so fond of." When

Braddock reached America in 1755, he called a convention of the governors, and expressed his indignation "that no such fund was already established." The governors could only protest their inability to accomplish it, and the convention, in which Virginia was represented, united in a paper to the king; "such a fund," said the governors, "can never be established in the colonies without the aid of parliament. Having found it impracticable to obtain in their respective governments the proportion expected by his majesty toward defraying of his services in North America, they are unanimously of the opinion that it should be proposed to his majesty's ministers to find out some method of compelling them to do it, and of assessing the several governments in proportion of their respective abilities." This was fatal advice; and the initiatory act of the inevitable conflict thus clearly defined was reserved for the reckless ministry of that royal bigot who,

> Like the base Indian threw a pearl away,
> Richer than all his tribe.

In the end, while the colonies declined the proposition of the ministry, they consented to *loan* the English government sufficient to carry on that struggle which left no barrier to the English sway between the Gulf of Mexico and the North Pole.

Thus matters stood when George III came to the throne of England in October, 1760; a sovereign who sought to revive theories of government that had practically been laid aside for three-quarters of a century; and who thrust the royal dictum in the face of a defiant nation, whose power was but vaguely guessed.

At this time Virginia was the most docile of the English colonies; the governor and council were appointees of the crown; they constituted the court of last appeal in the colony, and the lower courts were held by judges appointed by the governor and held office during his pleasure. Admirality courts, a later invention of the trade laws, were constituted by the lords of admirality in England, while the comptroller and collectors of customs, found in every considerable harbor, were appointed by the commissioners of customs; officers of the militia and magistrates were appointed by the governor. The elective franchise was still confined to freeholders, and the assembly consisted of two houses sitting separately, the burgesses and the council of state. There was less of bickering between governor and assemby than in other colonies, but no more subservience to the royal prerogative. The governor holding his office as a sinecure, exercised a wholesome restraint upon his lieutenant, and the permanent grants to the crown removed the oft recurring collision which agitated the less loyal colonies.

The cavaliers were still here, and the old sentiment of loyalty to the mother country was still the prevailing one, but the royal policy was rapidly blending the classes that had been widely separated in 1676, and immigration was gradually reinforcing the yeomanry. The sturdy emigrants whom royal oppression was driving out of Scotland, Ireland and Germany were finding homes in the valley, and settling on the frontier, far from the restraints and influences of the older centers of civilization; were drawing in the inspiration of freedom from the very atmosphere of woodland homes. The "man of the people" had arisen, and initial opposition to royal tyranny was to be transferred from the representatives to the constituency.

In 1763 Patrick Henry declared, in the famous "parson's cause," that the burgesses were "the only authority which could give force to the laws for the government of this colony," and denounced the king as a tyrant amid the cries of treason from the opposing counsel. In 1765 he offered five resolutions in the assembly opposed to the stamp act of parliament, the purport of which was summed up in the conclusion that "the general assembly of this colony has the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of this colony." The assembly still counseled delay, but the passionate eloquence of Henry, with which he declared amid cries of treason, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third may profit by their example," pre-

cipitated action. Gov. Fauquier dissolved the independent assembly which had caught the sentiment of the people, but freedom had gained a voice, never to be stifled. Jefferson, the "apostle of Democracy," reinforced Henry, and the people under these leaders swept away opposition. But this was not a converting power; the cavalier element had resisted the eloquence of Bacon, and democracy had no charm for the gentlemen in powdered wigs and ruffles of lace who still exerted the dominant influence in colonial affairs. The ruthless policy of the king supplied the deficiency; the undiscriminating oppression of trade laws afforded the bond of union which made the colonies practically unanimous for independence.

On the accession of Charles I, Virginia, whose population was less than 3,000, had no trade of importance save to itself. Tobacco was the only staple source of income, and this product was shut out of the whole world save England. In the closing years of the preceding reign, the colony with the Somer Islands—Bermuda—enjoyed the monopoly of this market, which was confirmed by Charles. The increasing growth of the colony, together with the stimulated production, soon glutted the restricted market; the price of tobacco gradually declined, and the utmost distress afflicted the colonists. Tobacco was then the circulating medium of exchange, the money of the country, and continued the standard of business exchanges, with slight exceptions, until 1656. The evil grew under the administration of Harvey, and under his successor a "stint" was resorted to for relief. The whole product of the colony was limited to 1,500,000 pounds of tobacco; the rotten, unmerchantable and half the good crop was legally burned. The two years following, the whole product was limited to 1,300,000 pounds, and "all creditors were to take forty pounds for a hundred."

During the rule of the commonwealth rigorous navigation laws were enacted, but under the toleration which Cromwell accorded to all colonial affairs, these were evaded, and Virginia enjoyed "as free trade as the people of England." Trade with the Indians, which had been trammeled with license, was made free, and the traffic with the Dutch was conducted under a slight cover of evasion. Under the reign of Charles II, however, a radical change was effected. The "navigation acts" restored the commercial restrictions of the commonwealth, and, under the closer scrutiny of a royal regime, became a mighty engine of grinding oppression.

By these acts it was provided that "no merchandise shall be imported into the plantation but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture." The greed of the English merchant was not yet satisfied; the carrying of trade was monopolized, and the trade in supplies to the colonies practically secured, but now the privilege of fixing the price of colonial products was demanded, and so such American products as did not compete with English industries were restricted to the market of England under penalty of forfeiture. These products were specifically named, others being added as developed, and included all the staples of the country. Again, in 1663, lines were more strictly drawn; there was danger that the trade in supplies might be partially diverted, notwithstanding the English had command of the carrying trade, and supplies were required to be bought in England alone. This left the colonies still the privilege of supplying each other so far as their limited resources would allow, but in 1763 this last vestige of privilege was cut off; traffic between the colonies was made subject to a duty equal to that placed upon the same commodities in England.

Against these oppressions Virginia could make no formidable resistance; against them and the system of government which made them possible, Bacon entered his protest by force of arms, and the near success of the rebellion showed how far these measures had united the sentiments of royalists and people. Its failure prevented the "consummation devoutly to be wished;" the cavaliers returned to the support of royal tyranny, and the people to the galling yoke of oppression. The royal favorite conceived that the growth of the colony would be accelerated

by the establishment of towns, and certain town sites were appointed from which all tobacco should be shipped. The penalties affixed to disobedience of these laws were so severe as to drive traders out of the country, and small planters, unable to market their crop, saw the fruit of their labor rot on their premises or wrested from them by the minions of the law. Complaints remained unredressed, and despair drove the poor and ignorant to destroy the growing plant wherever found when the season was too far advanced to replant. Then followed the attacks upon the privileges of the assembly, which united all classes again in opposition to the despotic measures of the king, only to again fall apart under the seductive smiles of the royal representative. But each time the division between the classes grew less.

The revolution of 1688 brought relief to the strained situation, and free trade once more sprang into existence. This forestalled rebellion, but did not bring freedom from oppression. The wasted energies of the people and country were restored, and something of prosperity began to dawn, when, in 1696, commercial tyranny was again brought back to power. New inventions added rigor to its enforcement. It was provided that even after the payment of export duties products should not be taken to a foreign market, and customs officials were authorized to enter warehouse and wharf to enforce these stipulations. Still the fear of evasion haunted the commercial oligarchs, and courts of admiralty were established "that offences against these acts of navigation might no longer be decided by judge and jurors who were themselves often the greatest offenders."

But in spite of these inventions, or rather in direct result of this tyranny, the colonists began to turn their resources to domestic account. "The people" it was said, "more of necessity than of inclination, attempted to clothe themselves with their own manufactures." In 1699, therefore, a blow was aimed at domestic manufactures, lest the flocks and fireside industries should "inevitably sink the value of the lands" in England. Hence it was enacted that "after the first day of December, 1699, no wool, or manufactures made or mixed with wool, being the product or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden in any ship or vessel, upon any pretext whatsoever—nor loaden upon any horse, cart or other carriage—to be carried out of the English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever." Still, in 1719, it was reported of the colonies that "the inhabitants worked up their wool and flax, and made a coarse cloth for their own use; that they manufactured great part of their leather; that they were hatters in the maritime towns; and that six furnaces and nineteen forges were set up for making iron." This called forth renewed restrictions, and every manufacture was forbidden, save those of bolts and nails, a concession reluctantly granted to the long and determined opposition of the northern colonies. And thus the monotonous course of commercial oppression was pursued until even hops were allowed to be shipped only to England.

The grievous burdens entailed by this policy were rendered the more intolerable because they resulted in no revenue to the English government. The colonists were bred to support vampires; the trade enriched the English merchant, while the system gave origin to and supported "a crew of villains," who did not hesitate "to betray his (the king's) interests and break the acts of trade," provided they could make greater gains from bribes than from the exorbitant fees they were authorized to exact and retain. This state of affairs was not unknown to the home government, but the system, it was thought, served a purpose other than to provide revenue, equally desirable; it was declared in a resolution of parliament that "the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence."

There could be no greater mistake either in political economy or in theory of government. As was declared by a colonial agent, "London" indeed "arose out of the plantations, not out of England," but was a means of continuing the dependence of the colonies; the policy was a conspicuous fail-

ure. The "most pernicious doctrines" increased daily under this oppression; Massachusetts was declared to be "a kind of commonwealth, where the king is hardly a stadholder," and royal governors repeated the same story elsewhere. The ministry was repeatedly warned that "the American assemblies aimed at nothing less than being independent of Great Britain as fast as they could."

The colonies were in this attitude, when England, burdened with the cost of continental wars, sought relief from the expense of colonial maintenance. The stupendous trade folly brought in no revenue; the colonists refused a fixed and permanent fund; and now a direct tax was proposed. Independence, which had disturbed the imagination of royal governors from one end of the country to the other, and which Franklin declared could not be achieved "unless they (the colonies) could first strengthen themselves by a confederation of all the parts," was about to be accomplished through the agency of its opponents. The stamp act was passed to raise a revenue; it was resisted and repealed. Then followed the duty laid on paper, glass and tea, for the same purpose; this was resisted, and again England conceded all but the principle—the cause of resistance. The duty on tea alone was retained, and the English premier declared, "a total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet." The issue was now made up; freeman and cavalier, Puritan and churchman, proprietary and royal colony, north and south—all united in resistance. The war was inevitable. "Virginia gave the signal to the continent" in 1765, and ten years later declared, "the cause of Boston is the cause of all."

Virginia did not live entirely on the surface of political agitation, however. The old-time adventurers amid many vicissitudes had taken a deep root in its soil, and during the nearly two centuries which had elapsed at this time, had developed the thrifty State which now defied its king. In the preceding pages have been traced the causes which transformed the English colonist into an American patriot; similar causes in other colonies wrought a similar result. The Virginian exhibited no striking marks of individuality in this development; the people of the thirteen colonies were of common stock, and were actuated by common motives to seek the same end, but here the cognate development ended, and individuality began. In the home influences, in the limitations of nature, and in social traditions, Virginia had a marked individuality which prevailed through all these years, and which made itself felt as a molding influence upon the nation that grew out of that oppression which "effaced the boundaries of the several colonies."

In 1628, Virginia was a colony of 3,000 inhabitants; it had just passed from the dominion of a proprietary company to that of the king; its people were composed of indented servants, freemen, tenants, planters, and a few large landholders. A large majority of the people came to the New World with no capital but their own industry, and with no prestige save their own achievements. The class of indented servants, at times reinforced by new importations, was gradually changing, the laws tending to facilitate their early enfranchisement, when they became eligible for any elective office. Planters were generally settled upon lands held under a not burdensome quit-rent, but were gradually acquiring freeholds. The liberal land laws allowed settlers to locate lands at their own pleasure; and settling widely apart, without the natural rendezvous of towns, the forms and restraints of society had scarcely become established, and the colonists early imbibed a carelessness of government to which the adventurous character of a large part of the population naturally inclined them. The people were not without governmental traditions, however; they were Englishmen by birth, and rendered willing allegiance; they had come to the New World under the combined patronage of all the ruling classes of England, and brought with them a matured prejudice for English institutions. They looked to the mother country as the model after which the institutions of

the new State should be fashioned; a monarchical form of government, an established church, and a privileged aristocracy were sought as advantages.

During the reign of Charles I, "possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staples, and having England for their guardian against foreign oppression, rather than their ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws and general uniformity of condition and industry could bestow" (Bancroft). During this halcyon period the population rapidly increased, until, in 1650, it was estimated at 20,000 souls. This resulted largely from immigration, but the colonial statute book notes also that "among other blessings God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony."

The following decade proved equally propitious to the happy development of the colony, the population increasing fifty per cent. The widespread story of its prosperity challenged the attention of all classes; it was accounted "the best poor man's country in the world;" loyalists of rank, education and wealth found it a congenial asylum; and travelers from England, charmed with the milder climate, the profusion of game, and the beauty of new birds and flowers, united to confirm the opinion that "if a happy peace be settled in poor England, then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under Heaven." Once settled in the country, the immigrant thought no more of returning. Land was cheap and abundant; waterfowl thronged the sedgy streams; fish swarmed in the rivers; thousands of quail and turkeys supplied a new delicacy; and oysters "heaped together in inexhaustible beds" cost only the gathering. Such abundance gave rise to a lavish hospitality which became proverbial, and leisure, following the possession of wealth, found no difficulty in transferring the exports of the old country to the new. The prolific forests furnished unstinted shooting, while the chase and race track followed the increase of horses, the improvement of which was early fostered by legislation.

The restoration found the early planted germ of aristocracy well developed. Estates of 1,000 acres were not infrequent; the colonial governor maintained a brick house at the capital, and a manor-house on his large estate, provided with plate, servants, carriages, and orchards, in which he counted 1,500 apple trees, besides apricots, peaches, pears, etc. Silk and lace, fashionable attire, official trappings, English furniture, wine and books were the rule among the dominant class. The success of the commonwealth had contributed large numbers of cavaliers to colonial society, as many as 330 coming in one ship. These persons were "among the nobility, clergy, and gentry," and brought with them the prejudices and habits of this class in the mother country. The loyalty of the colony and the readiness with which the conditions of the New World lent themselves to the disposition of the cavaliers made them a permanent acquisition to the colony, and social forms as well as material prosperity soon showed the result of their molding influence. The "general uniformity of social condition" underwent a striking change. The simplicity of frontier life gave way to the courtly bearing of the aristocracy and the subservient politeness of peasantry; the democratic log home of the wealthy was replaced by the manor-house or frame dwelling of the well-to-do planter; and imported elegancies vied with the native luxuries in their grand entertainments.

With the accession of the large cavalier immigration Virginia possessed two classes of people, which had been distinct in England, and which must, in the natural order of things, be distinct in the colony. The great mass of the colonists were drawn from the middle and lower walks of English life, a considerable number was originally indented servants, and had become freemen, while some had been transported on criminal charges, though principally of political offenses. The more successful of these original colonists formed the middle class in Virginia, and insisted no less upon their privileges than the cavalier class. This system of gradation was further emphasized by "the

almost general want of schools." "Every man instructs his children according to his ability," wrote the governor; a system calculated to perpetuate ignorance in a community where few had any education save that gained by daily experience. The wealthy fared better; their children were sent to England or provided with tutors, supplied from the clergy, who gave instruction at their homes.

In such a community only the nicest adjustment of the balance of power could prevent the intelligent and privileged classes from assuming the supreme and undivided control of affairs. The lower classes, however, had gained something by the change of continents which could not be sequestered by the advent of an aristocracy, and the sterling character, practical good sense and independent spirit of the common people were not readily overawed by the large domain, superior intelligence, and gentle breeding of the favored class. And so, during the rule of the commonwealth, the equipoise was maintained; the commoners sat in the assembly and resisted the encroachments of the governors in right democratic fashion, while the aristocracy molded the social institutions, instructed themselves in the prestige of Old World traditions, and awaited the expected return of a royal administration.

The restoration of Charles II was the signal for their advancement to full power; the commoners naturally retired with the commonwealth, and the royalists came in with the return of royalty. The first assembly elected under the restored king's reign was composed almost solely of the cavalier element; but this portentous change did not then occasion serious consideration—it was of the eternal fitness of things, and the colony had not yet learned the folly of trusting in princes. The legislation which followed was not the suggestion of revenge, nor a greedy grasp at unwarrantable power. The cavalier believed in the *jus divinum* of kings not more absolutely than in the *jus divinum* of king's men; and in freeing the governor from incidental restraint, in securing to the burgess independence of his obligations to constituents, in the restriction of the elective franchise, and in augmenting the arbitrary power of the church, the royalist only carried out the precepts of a form of government which all the people saw restored with satisfaction. It was the only proper thing in the view of the restored refugees, and the cavalier governor for the same reason found in the absence of means for popular education a cause for congratulation. "I thank God," said Berkeley, "there are no free schools or printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged them, and libel against the best government. God keep us from both."

The people, however, did not accept these logical deductions of the restoration; the free air of the New World had educated them to a point which made them refuse to accept the position accorded to them by the institutions of the Old World. They complained, and when fortune gave them a capable leader, they rebelled. It is true that the disaffection caused by the wanton policy of the king reinforced the people by a goodly contingent of the cavalier element, but had the charter they sought been granted, had they, "for the future" been secured "from our fears of being enslaved," it is safe to say fewer cavaliers would have given Bacon moral support, as in fact very few were under arms. At the death of "the generall" the rebellion failed, not for lack of victory nor of capable leaders among the cavaliers who had given the cause moral support, but for the lack of such a leader to assert the rights of the commons. On their return to power the cavaliers systematically undid the whole work of the Bacon assembly, and sat quietly by until the outraged representative of royalty disgraced his manhood as well as his office in his quasi legal butcheries; until, as the king said: "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country then I have done for the murder of my father." If indeed the cavalier element did sympathise with the people in their rebellion, they were the most miserable paltroons recorded in history. The prepon-

derating evidence is to the contrary; in a fit of pique they maintained neutrality; the rebellion failing, they returned to their natural vocation of ruling the people in their own way.

In 1670 the governor reported the condition of the colony to the lords commissioners of foreign plantations. There are 40,000 people in Virginia, of whom 6,000 are white, and 2,000 are black servants; the freemen muster monthly in every county, and number more than "8,000 horse;" five forts—two on the James River and one each on the York, Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, are armed with thirty cannon; of shipping there are some eighty vessels from England and Ireland yearly, and a few "ketches" from New England; of home shipping there is none, as neither "small nor great vessels are built here, for we are most obedient to all laws, whilst the New England men break through and trade to any place that their interest leads them to."

This is the outline. Bancroft writes in the details under date of 1674, as follows: "the paths were bridle-ways rather than roads; and highway surveyors aimed at nothing more than to keep them clear of logs and fallen trees. There was not an engineer in the country. I doubt if there existed what we should call a bridge in the whole dominion. Visits were made in boats or on horseback; and the Virginian, traveling with his pouch of tobacco for currency, swam the rivers when there was neither ford nor ferry. Almost every planter was his own mechanic. The houses, for the most part of one story and made of wood, often of logs, the windows closed by shutters for want of glass, were sprinkled at great distance on both sides of the Chesapeake. There was hardly such a sight as a cluster of three dwellings. Jamestown was but a place of a State House, one church and eighteen houses, occupied by about a dozen families. Till very recently the legislature had assembled in the hall of an ale house. Virginia had neither towns nor lawyers. A few of the wealthier planters lived in braver state at their large plantations surrounded by indented servants and slaves."

In the period succeeding the English revolution the "people" gradually came back to power; "pernicious notions" increased so rapidly that, in 1710, certain counties discarded "gentlemen" in their choice of burgesses and sent "persons of mean character and figure" to represent them. Immigration, which almost ceased during the troubled times of Bacon's rebellion, set in again with increased numbers. The disfranchisement of dissenters in England stimulated emigration by which the colony gained considerable accessions of a kind which strengthened the opposition to arbitrary or privileged power. The divine right of king's-men was no longer supported by the instructions of the crown, and the grinding oppression of the "navigation acts" was gradually effacing the political lines of colonial classes. Settlements were pushing into the interior; a colony of Huguenots had settled, in 1699, on the upper James River; a colony of "Germans of Palatines," sent over by Queen Anne to aid in the manufacture of wine and iron, were settled on the Rapidan; and yet, with about 100,000 population, the colony, "as to outward appearance, looks all like a wild desert." In 1680 the assembly sought to correct the evil to commerce by this dispersion of settlements and selected a site in each of the twenty counties for a village, and brought all the power of legislation to encourage their growth, but not more than three or four of these sites contained villages at the time of the Revolution.

Under the house of Hanover the progress of colonization received a powerful influence from the disturbed state of Europe; Germans came in large numbers; in 1728 Ireland was in a ferment; "people every day engaging one another to go the next year to the West Indies," *i. e.* the British colonies; and colonial authorities were "very much surprised at the vast crowd of people pouring in upon us from the north of Ireland." An important part of this immigration came by way of Pennsylvania, and attracted by the fertility of the Shenandoah valley, began to make settlements in the lower part of it, extending above the present site of Winchester. This

tide came in about 1732, and consisted chiefly of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Following closely in their wake came the Germans, settling, still further up the valley, the village of Strasburg recalling in its name the nationality of its founders. These new settlers were generally divided among three religious sects: Lutheran, Mennonists and Calvinists; and so completely did they occupy the country, that the native language and customs long maintained their purity against the innovating influences of the new country. Winchester was the dividing line between the two nationalities, and St. Patrick's day and the festival of "St. Michael, the patron of the Dutch," regularly occasioned collisions of opposing partisans. In 1736, the valley was entered by Virginians, who followed up the James River to the fertile land beyond the Blue Ridge. These were almost entirely of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians driven from Ulster by English oppression. Thus the wooded slopes of the mountain ridge and the fertile valley beyond were settled by a class of sturdy dissenters, dissenting not only to an established church, but also to a political system founded only on the divine right of kings and kings'-men.

Thus the American Revolution found Virginia a thrifty agricultural State in spite of the burdens it had borne; its population a vigorous people but less homogeneous than in New England, and its social institutions a type of England in new environments. The counties, in 1652 thirteen in number, and in 1680, twenty, had gradually increased to seventy-four: thirty-five on the tide-waters or in that parallel; twenty-three between the tide-water counties and the Blue Ridge Mountains; eight between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains; and eight west of the latter range. There were no townships, and village growth was still greatly retarded by the character of the country. The lowlands, intersected by numerous navigable streams, allowed trade to find its way to the very doors of the people, and limited the necessity for merchants and distributing points. Williamsburg, the seat of government for over eighty years, never contained over 1,800 inhabitants; and Norfolk, the most populous town the colony ever had, numbered but 6,000 people. Besides these leading towns there were some twenty-four more or less vigorous villages; on the James River and its tributaries were Portsmouth, Hampton, Suffolk, Smithfield, Petersburg, Richmond, Manchester, Charlottesville and New London; on the York River and tributaries, were York, New Castle, Hanover; on the Rappahannock, Urbana, Port Royal, Fredericksburg, Falmouth; on the Potomac and tributaries, Dumfries, Colchester, Alexandria, Winchester, Staunton; and on the Ohio, Louisville (1780). There were other places "where the laws have said there shall be towns; but nature has said there shall not." Tobacco was still the great staple production of the country; but the later immigration had not taken kindly to its culture, and wheat and stock-raising occupied the attention of the larger part of the valley farmers.

Of internal development, the keenly critical Jefferson writes (Notes on Virginia, 1781): "Private buildings are very rarely constructed of stone or brick, much the greatest portion of scantling and boards, plastered with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable and, happily, more perishable. There are two or three plans, on one of which, according to its size, most of the houses in the State are built. The poorest people build huts of logs laid horizontally in pens, stopping the interstices with mud. The wealthy are attentive to the raising of vegetables, but very little so to fruits. The poorer people attend to neither, living principally on milk and animal diet. The only public buildings worthy of mention are the capital, the palace, and the hospital for lunatics. * * * There are no other public buildings but churches and court houses, in which no attempts are made at elegance. Indeed, it would not be easy to execute such an attempt, as workmen could scarcely be found here capable of drawing an order. The genius of architecture seems to have shed its maledictions over this land. Buildings are often erected by individuals,

of considerable expense. To give these symmetry and taste would not increase their cost, * * * would often cost less than the burthen of barbarous ornament with which these buildings are sometimes charged."

The old social regime was in its prime; the large immigration in the second quarter of the eighteenth century had given rise to two societies, in popular terms: the "Cohees" of the mountains and valley, and the "Tuckahoes" of the lowlands. The former were the hardy frontiersmen who lived the adventurous life of the pioneer, pressing westward over the Alleghanies into the "great woods" in daily combat with wild men and beasts; the latter made up of 'longshoremen of Accomack and the seaboard, the small landholder—the yeomen of Virginia—the merchant or factor of the towns and the planters on the James and York. Social forms had been settled at the beginning of the century, but since then its grooves had been fixed, and customs were planted upon a foundation that promised perpetuity. A spirit of mutual toleration had grown and flourished under the varying experiences of the century, and in political sentiment there was general unanimity; social classifications had originated in the natural "love of ease and rule in Virginia character." "Nabobs," a term of ridicule applied to the wealthy planters by their opponents, were numerous in the lowlands, and lived in a luxurious and ostentatious style. Many possessed immense estates held under the rigorous laws of entail, while others acquired them through their own talents and enterprise. A sumptuous six-oared barge or a coach and four were the familiar means of travel; two-horse carriages were rare. At the capitol a ceremonious hospitality was dispensed with lavish hand; liveried servants did the bidding of the host; plate and china decked the table; the rarest wines of England cheered the guest; and an imported *chef* directed the cuisine, which the luxuriance of the country amply supplied with every delicacy. On his own estate the planter "was a feudal patriarch mildly ruling everybody; drank wholesome wine, sherry or canary of his own importation; entertained every one; held great festivities at Christmas, with huge log-fires in the great fire-places, around which the family clan gathered; and everybody, high and low, seemed to be happy." All luxuries were imported from England in exchange for tobacco, which was loaded from warehouses on the river bank into the ship's hold. Nothing was manufactured in the colony. The passion for country life was universal. Gov. Spotswood is pictured by the historian of the period (Hon. William Byrd of Westover) as residing at "Temple Farm;" the rooms of his manor house are "elegantly set off with pier glasses," and adorned with bric-a-brac; two tame deer enjoy the freedom of the house, and "one of the handsomest and easiest chariots made in London" provides a means of conveyance for himself, family and friends.

During the session of the assembly it was very much the habit of planters to come to the capital with their families to enjoy the gaiety of the season. The original capital was fixed at Jamestown; the "city" was twice destroyed by fire, and in 1698, when the capitol and prison were again burned, Lieut.-Gov. Nicholson removed the seat of government to the middle plantation, where he laid out the town of Williamsburg. The original plan of the town was a monogram composed of the initial letters of the reigning sovereigns—William and Mary. The plan was not fully carried out, but the village became the centre of political and social influences. It "consisted of Gloucester Street, the main thoroughfare, with the old capitol at one end and William and Mary College at the other, Palace Street debouching upon it, and a few others, as in undeveloped towns" (Cooke). The capitol was a two storied building, "a light airy structure" according to Jefferson, "with a portico in front, of two orders;" it was architecturally inaccurate in its construction, yet on the whole it was the pleasantest piece of architecture in the colony. In this building the use of fire, candles and tobacco were forbidden, least it should share the fate of its predecessors.

The college, established in 1693, and later provided with a home at the capital, and the lunatic asylum built here, were "rude, misshapen piles, which, but that they have roofs would be taken for brick kilns." Near Gloucester Street was the palace, which the burgesses, in 1710, grateful for the concession of the writ of *habeas corpus*, granted Spotswood £2,000 to build. The structure was not handsome without, but spacious and commodious within; was "prettily situated" with grounds embracing some 300 acres, set with lindens and other trees. Among other notable buildings of the old capital, were the "old magazine" built by the same governor in 1716, a stone octagon in which were stored muskets and powder, and the "Raleigh Tavern on Gloucester Street, a building of wood erected in 1700, with entrances on both fronts, and a leaden bust of Sir Walter Raleigh over the main doorway." A large apartment, called the "Apollo Room," is a historic feature of this structure; this was the favorite place for dancing; here were given inaugural balls, and assembly receptions; and here the burgesses, dissolved by the irate governor, deliberated on revolutionary topics.

In the fashionable season, "Gloucester Street was an animated spectacle of coaches and four, containing the 'Nabobs' and their dames, of maidens in silk and lace with high heeled shoes and clocked stockings; of youths passing on spirited horses—and all these people are engaged in attending the assemblies at the palace, in dancing in the Apollo, in snatching the pleasure of the moment, and enjoying life under a *regime* which seemed made for enjoyment. The love of official intercourse had been a marked trait of the Virginians in all generations, and at the middle of the century the instinct had culminated. The violins seemed to be ever playing for the divertisement of the youths and maidens; the good horses were running for the purse or cup; cocks were fighting; the college students were mingling with the throng in their 'academic dress;' and his serene Excellency, in his fine coach, drawn by six milk white horses, goes to open the house of burgesses, after which he will sternly dissolve them."*

Of this royalist "Nabob" class, but few were actual Tories during the Revolutionary struggle. Some quite naturally were disposed to favor conciliatory measures to the last moment; while others, among whom were Washington, Mason, the Lees, Pendleton, Peyton, Edmund Randolph, Cary, Madison and Monroe, were foremost in their opposition to the royal prerogative. But the asserted equality of mankind, as applied to the issue between assembly and parliament, was, to many of this class, only an assertion of the equality of the *jus divinum* of kings and king's-men. Democracy became an inevitable though unwelcome consequence of the revolutionary spirit which they had helped to evoke, and which Jefferson guided with inexorable logic. The application of the principles of the Revolution to social institutions, therefore, aroused the most spirited opposition. On the fourth day of the first legislature under revolutionary auspices, Jefferson introduced a bill for establishing a free judiciary, and three days later a bill to convert estates in tail into fee simple. This measure was opposed by a strong minority, and forced to run the gauntlet of various amendments calculated to preserve the principle; it finally passed by a bare majority. The nature of the contest is explained in Mr. Jefferson's reason for the bill; that "instead of an aristocracy of wealth, (of more harm and danger than benefit to society), to make an opening for the aristocracy of virtue and talent * * was deemed essential to a well ordered republic." This law of entail had been more strongly guarded in Virginia than in England, and had been a powerful instrument in building up the aristocratic class. The passage of the bill abolishing this law, and another measure introduced by Jefferson abolishing primogeniture and the Salic principle in the laws of inheritence, did more to loosen the hold of the aristocracy upon Virginia society than all the liberal constitutional changes effected.

The original constitution made only slight

*"Virginia: a History of the People," by John Esten Cooke, a work to which the preceding pages are largely indebted for the description of Virginia society.

changes in the form of government; it did not extend the elective franchise, and mentioned the church only to exclude "all ministers of the gospel" from membership in the assembly. The established church, however, was a matter which was not to be allowed to pass in silence. In the last article of the bill of rights, Mason gave expression to the undoubted sentiments of the "people;" the people believed "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion," and the first legislature received numerous petitions for relief from the assessments in support of the established church. In this session Jefferson introduced a bill for the relief of dissenters, and brought on a contest which lasted from the 11th of October, 1776, to the 5th of December following. No other innovation of the Revolutionary period provoked a contest so obstinate, or aroused so bitter feelings—for the time. It was in fact, the initial act in a new movement, which, after a contest of 134 years, sustained by the established church with unvarying success, was about to give victory to the large and growing class of dissenters.

The Church of England came with the first colonists as a part of their equipment provided by the company, and was accepted as a feature which no well furnished community should be without. The first minister in the colony was Robert Hunt, "an honest, religious and courageous divine" in the opinion of the rough old soldier writers of the time. He was succeeded by Mr. Bucke, Mr. Wickham, Mr. Whitaker and others. They were men of irreproachable character, and actuated by the true missionary spirit. The latter was especially unselfish in his devotion to the colony, and is known as "the apostle of Virginia." Under the ministry of these men, the churches at Jamestown, Henrico, Smithfield, Bruton, and the Blanford Churches at Williamsburg and Petersburg were founded. For years the subject of dissent did not agitate the colonial government. Delaware set an ostentatious example of church going, attending services accompanied by his staff and "fifty halberd-bearers in red clocks." In 1611, Dale came armed with "stripes for negligence and death for infidelity," but dissent had not yet sprung up.

The church became a subject of legislation as early as 1624, when it was decreed that the whole colony should conform; "both in canons and constitution, to the Church of England;" parishes were laid off, to each of which was assigned a minister with a fixed salary of tobacco. Up to 1630, the presence of dissenters had not attracted hostile attention; on the contrary, the puritans were invited to leave their sterile country and settle in the more favored land of Virginia. The first of this sect came to the colony as early as 1619, and a considerable company of these people was prevented from coming at the same time only through the interposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the coming of Berkeley in 1642, their numbers were sensibly felt by the jealous churchman, and were considered almost as objectionable as papists. Against the latter the commander of the fort at Point Comfort was directed, in 1632, to administer the oath of allegiance and supremacy to all passengers of ships arriving there from abroad, and to commit any refusing the oath to prison.

Berkeley was "very malignant toward the way of the churches" and exercised his ample powers freely to keep the established church pure and undefiled by dissent. In 1643, the assembly pronounced the sentence of banishment against the "Independents," as they called themselves; they were forbidden to teach or preach publicly or privately unless comformable to the "orders and constitution of the Church of England," and directed to "be compelled to depart out of the colony with all convenience," when notified. The governor lost no time in giving the notification by proclamation, and large numbers were "compelled" to leave Virginia finding an asylum in catholic Maryland and elsewhere. Notwithstanding these rigorous measures against the "Independents," dissent still continued to be a subject of complaint by zealous churchmen, but there were grave difficulties in the way of persistent persecution. As time passed on other matters engaged the at-

tention of the governor; the zealous complainants found themselves in a hopeless minority; and, for ministers, the governor reported, in 1670, "the worst are sent us," who would do well to "pray oftener and preach less."

The criticism in regard to the character of the ministers was one of long standing. In 1632, the assembly thought it neccessary to warn them not to "give themselves to excess in drinking or riot, playing at dice, cards, or any unlawful game," and the governor found few to boast of "since Cromwell's tyranny drove divers men hither." It seems, therefore, that the successors of the early eminent divines were illy calculated to build up the church; but there was also another difficulty in the great extent of the parish. Some of these extended over more than one of the large early counties, a distance in a single direction of more than fifty miles. Such a field was not inviting to those who were qualified to fill the better places in England, and so Virginia was principally dependent upon such as could do no better. Under such circumstances dissent flourished, and was ignored, and "neither surplice nor subscription spoken of."

The government, at times, aroused itself from this course of tolerant inaction and leveled its stern decrees against the obnoxious sects, but only eventually to stimulate their growth, as the established church possessed scarcely vigor enough to keep dissent out of its own pulpits. In 1650, the loyal colony, alarmed at the progress of dissent in England, and fearing the effect of the development of the puritan element in Virginia, again banished the nonconformists. The church was too weak, however, to lend any valuable assistance to these efforts; meeting-houses were to be found only in the heart of the colony, although there were some forty-eight parishes; and ministers, though "well paid," were so few that a bounty was offered by the assembly to secure the immigration of more. After the restoration, the most rigorous legislation was resorted to in aid of the church; the whole liturgy was required "to be thoroughly read," and the ministry provided for by granting the vestry extraordinary power. In the last measure the zealous churchmen overreached themselves; the burdens imposed by these exacting vestries was an important cause which contributed to the armed dissent of Bacon. And so the church fared for half a century; the colony in 1684 driven to the verge of treason in their alarm at the papist tendencies of James II, and in 1710 in "gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England."

The great tide of immigration which flowed into Virginia in 1732, brought in a powerful element of dissent, the old "Tuscorora Meeting House" and the "Opequon Church" remaining for years the enduring evidence that their religious faith was not left behind nor inactive in the wilderness. This population was composed chiefly of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians and German Lutherans, Mennonists and Calvinists. All this class of dissenters, while conscientious, law-abiding people, were in sentiments and tastes as much opposed as possible to the easy-going gaiety-loving Episcopalians of the lowlands. While "dancing and other amusements," according to the historian of the valley (Kercheval), "were common, and were sometimes kept up for weeks together," they were deeply in earnest, and the solicitous churchmen declared that "paganism, atheism, and sectaries" threatened the solidity of the church, and created "faction in the civil government." Various remedies were suggested; prominent among these was the appointment of a resident prelate, and at one time "all the hopes of Jonathan Swift terminated in the bishopric of Virginia." Sectarians, however, continued to increase; the Episcopal clergy, secure for life in their glebes and salaries, devoted the Sabbath only to the care of their parishes, and gave the balance of the week to the cultivation of their estates or other remunerative employment; their character, also, was still the subject of grave and not unfounded suspicion. In direct contrast with the churchmen, the zeal of sectarian missionaries made their untiring efforts to be felt in all parts of the upland country, where it was largely an open and undisputed field.

The general deadness of the Church of

England gave rise to the Methodists, who sought rather to infuse life into it than to overturn it. In 1740, the "new light stir" reached Virginia, and under the powerful preaching of Whitfield, disrupted dissenting sects as well as the established church, and drew thousands to its ranks. The Presbyterians were active in the colony as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, but a presbytery was not established until 1755; the Baptists were quite as early in Virginia, but the first church was not established until 1760. The latter were especially aggressive in the propagation of their faith; this, with the peculiar freedom of their church constitution, rendered them especially obnoxious to the government, and the laws against them were rigorously enforced, the wealthy members being obliged to pay the fines of the poor. Persecution incited the Baptists to renewed zeal, and united other dissenting sects in opposition to a power that tolerated none. In 1768, imprisonment followed fines; three Baptist ministers were arrested, and marched through the streets of Fredericksburg, singing, to prison. The feeling between the dissenting sects, save the Methodists, and the established church was intensified into factional hostility, destined to be waged with bitterness on both sides, and only to cease with the complete overthrow of one of the two religious systems. The Revolutionary period gave the dissenters the additional support of political sympathy, and without this aid the established church hopelessly failed in the contest.

The inevitable result hastened to its conclusion; the bill for relief of dissenters brought victory in sight, and incited the sects in opposition to exact the utmost privileges of religious freedom. The act of 1776 left the question of "a general assessment for the support of religion," to be acted upon by general vote. In 1779, this was rejected; in 1785, the "act for religious freedom" consolidated all the previous legislation in this matter, and effectually divorced the church and State. In 1802, the sale of Episcopal glebes was provided for; this ended the struggle against the established church; donations, church edifices, inclosures and furniture were preserved by this law to the church, but fate even despoiled her of these, and the once dominant church sank almost out of existence, to rise only after years of effort to a secondary place of power and influence.

One relic of the old aristocratic *regime*, however, survived the Revolutionary spirit of the period in the "peculiar institution." Conditional servitude under indentures existed in Virginia from the first settlement. These servants were bound to their masters to discharge by their labor the cost of transportation; under the reign of James I, 100 convicts were sent to the colony at the express command of the king, and sold to the planters; subsequently the city of London sent a similar number of homeless children, who were disposed of in the same way. White servants gradually became a common article of commerce; were sold in England to be shipped to the colony, where they were purchased on board ships of the masters of the vessels. In August, 1619, Dutch ships landed and sold twenty negroes as slaves, and from this period until the revolution of 1688, white and black servants were found in the colony. The two classes differed in their treatment only in the term of their service. The facility with which the white servant made his escape enforced humane treatment, which alone, however, was not found sufficient to retain them in servitude. The law provided severe punishment for runaways; in 1642, such offenders were liable, for a second offense, to be branded upon the cheek, a penalty which was subsequently so far mitigated as to place the brand upon the shoulder. Twenty years later the offense of running away was punished by increasing the term of servitude at the discretion of a magistrate, while the master was permitted to inflict "moderate corporal punishment." Subsequent importations of white servants were generally of those convicted of political offenses. "Scots taken in the battle of Dunbar; Royalists, prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester; and leaders of the insurrection of Penruddoc."

The Oliverian plot in 1663, when certain recently imported "roundhead" servants instigated a nearly successful insurrection, awoke the colonists to the danger of such additions to the population, and the assembly prohibited the further importation of "jail-birds." Such legislation did not receive the sanction of the crown, and in 1685 the suppression of the Monmouth rebellion afforded a new supply of this objectionable class of servants. In the meanwhile, kidnaping had become common, in Bristol, at least; not only felons, but innocent persons were hurried across the Atlantic to enrich those engaged in the nefarious business. Even the mayor and aldermen were found guilty of terrifying culprits charged with venial crimes until they begged to be transported and were sold into servitude. The revolution of 1688 brought about a general amnesty for political offenses, and thereafter the trade in servants was chiefly confined to blacks, who were sold into perpetual bondage.

For more than fifty years after the introduction of slavery in to Virginia, the system languished; the people enslaved as well as slavery was repugnant to the people. In 1671, among a population of 40,000, the number of white servants reached only 6,000, and that of slaves only 2,000; of the latter, Gov. Berkeley reported that only two or three cargoes had arrived in seven years, while some 1,500 of white servants—"most were English, few Scotch and fewer Irish"—were imported annually. By a system of sophistry drawn from the bigotry of the early church, the scruples of conscience and of a manly faith in the freedom of mankind were evaded. In 1670, it was enacted that "all servants not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping, shall be slaves;" in the natural order of evil progression, it was declared by statute in 1682—what had been practically affirmed as early as 1667—that "conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free."

Self-interest came to the support of this sophistry; the system of indentured service prepared the way for bond labor, and made it almost a social necessity; and even before indentured service ceased, the condition of perpetual bondage found a willing convert in the Virginia planter's love of unrestrained power. In the purchase price the two classes of servants showed little difference; in 1672, the white servant, with five years of labor due, was worth about £10; the negro, with the expectation of thirty years of full labor, brought from £20 to £25. In cost of maintenance the balance was largely in favor of the negro, and there was a natural disinclination to hold in bondage persons who differed from their superiors only in their misfortune, and whom a few years might convert into equals with ability to avenge any grudges born of bondage. White servants, too, unstamped by nature with the ineffaceable marks of race, found escape not difficult; and laws which gave them the right to complain to a magistrate of undue punishment, or neglect of care in the matter of food, clothing or shelter, constituted an irksome restraint upon the master. The blacks, on the contrary, placed no such conditions upon the master; they were easily traced in attempting to escape; they had no champion in the law, and enforced ignorance made them powerless to resist legal power.

Slavery thus became engrafted upon the social system, and the general sentiment gradually emphasized the contrast between the two classes of servants; the early enfranchisement of the whites was favored, while every trace of black blood carried with it the stigma of bondage; and by degrees, all trace of the humanity of the slave was lost in the laws. In 1692, a statute made it lawful for "persons pursuing fugitive colored slaves to wound or even kill them;" and in 1699, the "death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted a felony, since it cannot be presumed that prepense malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce a man to destroy his estate." Thus the slave became the absolute property of his master, with no other protection from his passions than that accorded to the brute.

The large profit accruing from bond labor employed in the production of tobacco, which

then brought a price ten times that realized to-day, was sufficient to give a marked impetus to the growth of slavery, but it is doubtful if the actual number of slaves subsequently imported would have reached the final proportions without the artificial encouragement of the English government. Measures "for the better supply of the plantation" were considered by parliament in the reign of William and Mary; an English statute of 1695 declared "the trade is highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and colonies;" in 1708, a house of commons committee reported the slave-trade, "important and ought to be free;" and three years later a similar committee thought "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates." During these years the traffic in slaves was encouraged by the English government in behalf of the interests of its merchants; but slave-trading soon became a royal monopoly, and legislative suggestions became laws, which were enforced by all the power and influence in the kingdom.

At the close of the war of the Spanish succession, England demanded and secured the monopoly of this horrible traffic. In the treaty of Utrecht (1713) "Her Brittanic Majesty did offer and undertake, by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic Majesty, in the space of thirty years, 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4,800 in each of the said thirty years." In this royal monopoly, Philip V took a fourth share, and a similar proportion of the common stock was reserved to the queen herself; the balance being distributed among her subjects. The queen's individual share was subsequently assigned to the South Sea Company, at the earnest solicitations of her minister. From this time forward the traffic in humanity received the earnest support of the English government, and attained large and increasing proportions, great numbers of slaves finding their way to the colonies by way of the West-Indies, and direct from the shores of Africa; the single exception to the iron rule of colonial commerce being made in 1750, in favor of free trade in slaves. Colonial governors were instructed to give particular encouragement to the Royal African Company of England, and to maintain "a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes." These instructions illustrate the royal policy in Virginia, and in 1754 slave marts were maintained at every court house "as far at least as the southwest mountain."

Freedom was not without its champions even in this mercenary age. In England, Baxter, Addison, Steele, Savage, Hutcheon and others, united the authority of religion, the power of logic, the pathos of poetry and romance, and the sanction of philosophy in behalf of the brotherhood of man; in America a variety of considerations led a strong sentiment in the same direction. As early as 1701, the Boston colony sought "to encourage the bringing of white servants and to put a period to negroes being slaves;" under the influence of Keith in Pennsylvania, the Quakers in considerable numbers were led to emancipate their blacks on religious grounds, Penn taking early and prominent part in the movement. In the southern colonies opposition to the trade was based upon the "excessive production and the consequent low price of their staple;" the heavy debt incurred by the purchase of slaves on credit; "and the dangerous increase of the colored population."

The subject of their increase seems to have claimed a good deal of consideration; it had been gradual, but in later colonial times had proportionately greatly exceeded the white population. In 1619, the first 20 came; in 1649 there were, in Virginia, 300; in 1670, 2,000; in 1714, 23,000; in 1756, 120,000; in 1790, 293,427. The increase of slaves in Virginia from 1670 to 1790, was in the proportion of 1 to 146; while the whites in the same period, increased only as 1 to 12. In 1725 the Virginia assembly, alarmed at this rapid increase, attempted to repress slave importation by tax; this was resorted to in 1732; in 1740 it was increased to ten per cent, and in 1761 a prohibitory duty was established. In each case the royal government nullified colonial restrictions, whether

in form of tax or duty; and the incontestable charge of a Virginia statesman stands unimpeached, that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic."

Both English and colonial authorities shared the opinion that the large body of slaves in Virginia constituted a menace to the independent action of the colony. The military forces needed on the frontier were in early days robbed of considerable numbers by the apparent necessity of maintaining a sufficient force of planters in the lowlands to overawe the large body of blacks, and a potent argument with the English ministry in behalf of unrestricted trade in slaves was that they would not "leave their employers the entire security that might prepare revolt." Such reasoning proceeded upon very narrow grounds. Negroes were gathered from widely separated districts in Africa, and taken from widely differing conditions in life; they were grossly ignorant and stupid, with neither dialect nor traditions in common, and were as completely dependent upon their owners as brutes. There were occasional flashes of manhood among them, where the harshness of the master or the exceptional spirit of some captive warrior led one to acts of desperation, but there never was any good cause for apprehension of serious insurrection save in the imagination of the slaveholders.

Public sentiment was very generally divided on the institution of slavery until after the Revolution. By many it was held: "Except the immediate interest he has in the property of his slaves, it would be for every man's interest that there were no slaves, because the free labor of a free man * * * is in the end cheaper than the eye service of the slave." (Boucher, 1763.) Others based their opposition on moral grounds, and questioned whether "the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God." (Jefferson, 1781.) On the other hand an honest few believed slavery one of the means employed by a benevolent Providence to reach the heathen outcasts of Africa; but the main prop of the institution was "the immediate interest in the property of slaves." But, divided as the people were in regard to the institution in Virginia, there was practical unanimity in opposition to the further importation of blacks, and in 1761, Virginia found in this her chief cause of complaint to the English government. In this opposition Richard Henry Lee was one of the foremost actors, declaring the further importation dangerous to the political as well as the moral interests of the colony; this was the general sentiment of the people, and when the first general legislative assembly of the united colonies prohibited the traffic, the act received the general assent of every loyal citizen.

In this achievement the vigorous opposition to slavery in the State ended; the hope expressed by Jefferson, that the way was preparing "under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation," was disappointed; slavery became a permanent institution, the influence of which gave an imperishable character to every phase of society. The abhorrence of the foreign slave traffic was transferred to the internal trade and the slave-trader became an object of contempt, though tolerated as a necessary evil. Agriculture was confirmed as the prevailing industry, and tobacco as the only profitable staple; the miserable bondage of credit was continued, the factors of Baltimore and Charleston gradually taking place of the English and Scotch merchant; and the same improvident expenditure, the same open-handed hospitality, with more of republican simplicity, remained.

Such was the first colony in Virginia; and such were the molding influences of the State that was rapidly extending its territorial limits westward, destined to make the Mississippi its western boundary, and leave the birth-mark of its institutions upon four great States.

CHAPTER III.

BEYOND THE ALLEGHANIES—VIRGINIA'S CONQUESTS IN THE WEST.

VIRGINIA, in the time of Elizabeth, included all that indefinite region of the New World not occupied by Spain or France. As described by an old writer, "the bounds thereof on the east are the ocean, on the south lieth Florida, on the north Nova Francia; as for the west thereof, the limitations are unknown." In 1606, James I divided this territory between the "first" and "second colony to Virginia," and the subsequent failure of the "second colony," gradually led to the restriction of the original name of the territory assigned to the colony settled at Jamestown. This tendency was emphasized by the explorations of John Smith (1614); the name of New England applied by him to the north Atlantic coast supplanted the older one of Virginia, and the two parts became generally known under these respective names.

Notwithstanding their charter granted them the territory "up into the land from sea to sea," the Virginians seem to have laid but little stress upon this inland extension. They were very jealous of their rights along the sea-coast, and continued to protest in season and out of season against the infringement of their ancient bounds and limits involved in the royal grants to colonies north and south of them. But when these protests proved unavailing, they found little incentive and no necessity for pushing their explorations westward. Practically, therefore, Virginia for 125 years was restricted to the narrow scope of country between the Potomac and Nottoway, from Chesapeake Bay to the Blue Ridge.

The first authenticated attempt to explore the tramontane country was made by order of Gov. Berkeley. In 1670, Capt. Henry Batte commanded a force which penetrated into the New River country; the Blue Ridge was found high, rocky and well covered with timber; and just beyond, the party found their progress obstructed by a rapid, rock-strewn river, which they estimated to be 450 yards wide. The banks were high and precipitous, in places estimated at a height of 1,000 yards; beyond they saw other hills, bare of timber and broken by white cliffs, but with these meager results the party returned. In the fall of the following year the valley of the Kanawha was further explored, but with no recorded results. Interest in this unknown region found no other public expression for nearly half a century. In 1716, Gov. Spotswood undertook a trip to the mountains, more as a novel entertainment than as a serious attempt to increase the general knowledge. A gay company of cavaliers was gathered at Williamsburg, in August of this year; "rangers, pioneers and Indians" were provided to bear the toil of the expedition, while pack-horses and servants supplied the comforts and luxuries demanded by the sumptuous character of the explorers. The journey was made with leisure; halts were made where the abundant game attracted the sportsman, and the nightly bivouac under the summer sky lent zest to the revels which closed the day's sport. The Blue Ridge at length was reached; on its summit the king's health was drank, and two neighboring peaks were named "Mt. George" and "Mt. Alexander," after the king and governor. Descending into the valley, the river, Shenandoah, was named "Euphrates;" an empty bottle was made the depository of a document proclaiming the valley the territory of the king, and buried, when the merry party returned to the colonial capital to found the order of the

"Knights of the Golden Horsehoe" in commemoration of the festive occasion.

No active emigration followed; the beauty and fertility of the valley were extolled, but the lowland planters were not of pioneer stock; the rocky barrier of the Blue Ridge forbade the life of luxury and ease to which they had grown accustomed, and another half century would probably have elapsed in inaction, had not the agitation of Europe supplied a hardier race. In 1732 a vast throng "of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands" found their way to America.

The glowing tales of the middle valley fell upon attentive ears, and following up the course of the James one current of this tide of immigration flowed into the upper valley, barely preceded by another which found its way through Pennsylvania and across the Potomac into the lower valley. These pioneers were early followed by large numbers seeking a refuge remote from European intolerance, and the settlements were rapidly extended to the western confines of the valley. Beyond the Alleghanies lay "the great woods," in the hidden recesses of which was to be determined not only the limit of Virginia, but the destiny of the continent also.

East of the Blue Ridge the extension of English settlements was not seriously hindered. The Indian race, apparently isolated by the natural features of the country, and divided into unfriendly tribes, fell an easy prey to the diplomacy and force of the whites. The colonists made little pretense of purchase in the acquisition of territory. The Indian massacre, of 1622, according to the ethical system of the time, placed the savages beyond the pale of diplomacy, and the whites proceeded to demand the forfeit of their lands as rapidly as the increasing population required more room. It was not to be expected that the untutored mind of the savage would grasp this theological subtlety; and in 1644 the aged successor of Powhatan, who had always cherished a determined hostility to the whites, signalized his closing career by a repetition of the earlier attack. Some 300 of the colonists perished, but the prompt and vigorous rally of the whites inflicted a crushing blow upon the savages; their aged chief was captured and subsequently assassinated by his guard; and the tribe was forced to sue for peace, which was granted only on terms that made their presence south of the York River, without the badge of a messenger, the signal for their destruction by the vigilant whites.

In 1656 the presence of a mountain tribe near the falls of the James River was construed into a menace to the settlements, and a colonial force, aided by friendly Indians, was sent against them. In this engagement the whites were repelled, but the foreign tribe did not wait for further demonstrations, and retired to the Blue Ridge. Again, in 1676, the Indians, provoked by the steady encroachment of the whites, and the unwarrantable slaughter of certain chiefs, united to attack the settlements. This last blow of the savages was delivered with less effect than earlier ones, while the punishment returned by the whites was by far the most effective. Under the command of Bacon, the "well-armed housekeepers" of Virginia inflicted frightful slaughter upon a party of savages that made a stand near the site of Richmond, and in succeeding expeditions forever broke their power in the lowlands. This campaign transferred the irrepressible conflict to the region beyond the mountains. Here the two contestants were less unevenly matched; settlements less compactly made afforded less facility for organization, while the Indians, united in a common hostility, proved more formidable in numbers, and having their villages more remote, retreated from their forays with greater security.

A new and formidable element added to this tramontane struggle was the influence of the French. Preceding the English in these western waters, and even contesting with Spain the honors of original discovery, France claimed the whole continent from the Gulf to the polar sea, and from Newfoundland westward to the unknown limits of the New World. The discovery and exploration of America found the Gallic nation eager to improve the advantages offered by a virgin territory; the heresy of Calvin had made great inroads upon

the strongholds of the Roman Church; and the Huguenot party, a political as well as religious organization, was for the time not unequally matched against the Catholic court. But the tenure of its power depended upon the most delicate adjustment of social equipoise, to the uncertainty of which none was more keenly alive than the "calm, stern man who represented and led the Protestantism of France." The New World, therefore, was hailed by one party, at least, as an asylum for the persecuted sect, and half a century before the origin of the "First Colony of Virginia," Coligny cautiously projected a city of refuge in America. The unsuccessful colony on the Brazilian coast, in 1555, and the unfortunate settlement on the St. John River in Florida, in 1564, marked the rise and fall of this project.

In the meanwhile French adventurers were pushing their explorations in the far North, scanning the Atlantic seaboard from the Carolinas to Newfoundland. In 1518 the first of a number of abortive attempts at colonization was made on the coast of Nova Scotia, but it was not until 1604 that the foundation of the colony of Acadia was laid. This colony, constantly harassed by the jealous opposition of Jesuits and illicit fur traders during its early career, was brought to the verge of ruin by the English in 1613–14, but was subsequently revived, and, in the hands of the French, remained a constant menace to the outlying settlements of New England until the peace of Utrecht (1713) gave it to England.

The seat of French power in America, however, was on the St. Lawrence. Here Champlain founded Quebec, in 1608, and inaugurated the policy which remained to the last the ruling principle of the French power in the New World. This adventure was projected and supported by a private enterprise of slender means, and with little recognition from the king. In 1615, recognizing the precarious foundation on which he was building, Champlain used his efforts to secure such recognition for his colony as would protect it against the jealousy which future success would be sure to awaken. A viceroy was appointed, who turned his sinecure to account by granting a monopoly of the fur-trade to such as would pay the most for the privilege. Under this *regime* no attempt was made to encourage immigration; Quebec was half mission and half trading station; none tilled the soil, and, save the priests, the less than one hundred whites in Canada were all in the employ of the merchants who controlled the fur-trade. In 1627, Richelieu, who had recently (1624) come into power as minister of finance, suppressed this monopoly and organized the company of one-hundred associates. The resources of France were exhausted, and the great minister sought to build up New France from the resources of her own forests and rivers. To the new company was granted a monopoly of the fur-trade for fifteen years, and for this concession it was required to send two or three hundred mechanics of all trades to Canada at once, and to transfer thither, within the period of its monopoly, 4,000 colonists. This experiment, however wisely conceived, was fated to miserably fail; the "associates" made vast outlays and received but meager returns, and in face of the multiplied hindrances to carry out their obligations would have ruined the company.

The policy of the home government alone proved an insurmountable obstacle to success; the only emigrating class in France was the Huguenots, thousands of whom hailed the New World as an asylum where the reform religion could find a secure retreat from persecution; but Jesuit bigotry cut off this resource, and permitted none but Catholics to people New France. Of the latter class there were no voluntary emigrants save monks and nuns, who added discord but no increase of population to the feeble settlements. The resources of the company were still further crippled in another direction; the implacable hostility of the Iroquois destroyed its remaining hope of success by practically suppressing the fur-trade. Possessed by a satanic malice which braved death in a thousand forms, the implacable savages carried their war of extermination to

the farthest bounds of human habitation, and eventually made the populous region north of the St. Lawrence a tenantless wilderness.

In 1640, therefore, there were not more than 300 whites in Canada, of whom scarcely ten were self-supporting. Five years later the company surrendered its monopoly of the fur-trade, with its debts and obligations, to the people of the settlement, retaining all its seigniorial rights, and, in 1663, it surrendered these rights, with its charter, to the king. In accepting this surrender, Louis XIV expressed the hope that "through the re-establishment of commerce," he should secure "abundance of people" in New France; but led by Colbert, his prime minister, in the following year the king granted a monopoly of the fur-trade to the "great company of the West."

The new grant aroused a spirited remonstrance, which demonstrated the fact that this grant, if maintained, would be the death of the settlement; the company was therefore forced to surrender a part of its monopoly, and eventually failed, as its predecessors had done. At the same time the king seemed to awake to the importance of the St. Lawrence settlement, and henceforth the French possessions in the New World became, notwithstanding the monopoly granted, the especial care of the crown. This new dispensation was signalized, in 1665, by the appointment of a governor and intendant for Canada, and a lieutenant-general for New France, which included both Acadia and Canada. With these officials came a regiment of regular troops, which was employed in the next two or three years against the Mohawks with such effect as to secure a peace unbroken for twenty years.

With this departure a new era opened in Canada: Sieur Talon, the intendant, was instructed to "cause justice to reign, establish a good police, protect the inhabitants, discipline them against their enemies, and procure for them peace, repose and plenty; * * encourage them to trade and industry, * * and put them in the way of making some profit." The intendant entered with vigor upon the discharge of his duties; aided by the resources of the royal treasury, he developed the manufacture of the common necessities of the colonists; sent engineers to explore the copper mines of Lake Superior, attempted to establish trade with the West Indies, and laid the foundations for those explorations which established the French in possession of the great West from the mouth of the Mississippi to Hudson's Bay.

The new king, scarcely out of his minority, heartily seconded his able representative; as early as 1659 the king had exerted his power to supply Canada with colonists, and each succeeding year shiploads of immigrants were landed at Quebec at the royal charge. Most of these additions to the colonial population were single men and women. At first, men alone constituted the bulk of the exportations from France, but in 1667 the institution of families received attention, and "eighty-four girls from Dieppe, and twenty-five from Rochelle" were sent, among whom were "fifteen or twenty of pretty good birth." This plan was continued for years; troops were sent to the colony, and at the expiration of their term of service were disbanded, and every inducement made both officers and men to remain as colonists. Women suitable as wives to officers were sent over, and bounties were offered for marriage, the common people when married being presented with "an ox, a cow, a pair of fowls, two barrels of salted meat, and 11 crowns in money." The royal dowry was varied to reach all classes, and in some cases reached the extent of a gift of a house, with provisions for eight months.

Nor did the royal solicitude stop here. Bounties were offered on children: parents having ten living children born in wedlock were granted a pension of 300 livres a year; while to those having twelve children, the pension was increased by 100 livres. At the same time the royal power found exercise in stimulating this artificially grown colony to take root in the new soil; a modified form of feudalism was devised, and along both sides of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers were planted seigniories, for which the beneficiaries gave only "faith and homage."

Under such fostering care the colony gradually attained considerable expansion, if not solidity, but everywhere was felt the limiting hand of French absolutism. "The new settler was found by the king, sent over by the king, and supplied by the king with a wife, a farm, and sometimes with a house;" it was the forcing and pruning process of the garden, not the vigorous luxuriance of nature. In 1672 the king was diverted by more pressing cares in Europe, and the artificial symmetry of the Canadian colony took on some of the rugged vigor of nature.

The colonial policy of France, inaugurated by Champlain, made the Indian the chief corner-stone of New France; while other civilizations crushed or ignored the savages, the French embraced and cherished them. Of this policy the zeal of propagandism and the fur-trade were the vital forces, and "policy and commerce built their hopes on the priest." In 1625, the order of Jesuits was planted in Quebec. Undaunted by the rigors of the climate or the malignity of their savage foes, they bore the cross, the symbol of French religion and of French sovereignity, to the remotest recesses of fur-bearing America. Robbed of their occupation by the destruction of the Hurons, the Jesuits turned to the interior, and vied with hardy *couriers de bois* in pioneering the way of France in the great West. Here their explorations opened up a vast territory which the plan of their colonial development enabled the French to readily seize and hold.

This plan had its origin in the geographical situation of the parent colony and the character of the home government. Vitally dependent upon the fur-trade, the trapper and trader constituted an important element of colonial life, and all recognized the necessity for a wide and free range for the pursuit of their vocation; and the people, held under arbitrary rule, gave a military character to the order of colonial development. Strategic points were seized upon, where stations, half mission and half trading-post, were established; diplomacy with the Indians was conducted under the guise of the black hat and robe of the priest; and the fealty of native allies was confirmed and maintained by conversion to the religion of the dominant race. Thus Quebec, Montreal, Fort Frontenac, Michillimackinac and Fort St. Louis were *points d'appui* from which French influences dominated the whole interior. Later development multiplied these points, and Presque Isle, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and New Orleans completed the chain which connected the St. Lawrence with the Gulf, and constituted a claim to the valley of the Mississippi, which would have been well nigh irresistible, had it been properly and early supported by the French nation.

In the Indian confederation of New York, the colonial policy of Canada sustained the earliest and most serious check. Champlain found the northern tribes everywhere terrorized by the incessant attacks of the Iroquois; he therefore counseled a confederation of these tribes under the protectorate of France, and gave it an initial impulse by joining them in reprisals upon the universal enemy. Previous to 1616 he won three signal victories over these all-conquering savages, through the fatal power of the arquebuse, and for thirty years the progress of Iroquois conquest was stayed.

In the meanwhile, the thrifty Dutch traders of New Netherland supplied the Mohawks with the enginery of civilized warfare and, thus equipped, their superstitious fear of the whiteman's weapon gone, they renewed their unrelenting hostility. Nation after nation of the savage allies of the French were swept out of existence, and the whites, whose vaunted prowess had so imposed upon the simplicity of their allies, were reduced to the pitiable necessity of beholding these vital blows struck without raising a hand to prevent it. Emboldened by such victories the Iroquois conceived a comtempt for the French, and carried their successful forays against the Canadian settlements until they were brought to the verge of extinction.

At this juncture, France awoke to the importance of her trans-Atlantic possessions: the signal punishment of the Mokawks followed;

but even this obtained peace for the whites only; the savage butchery of the faithful allies went forward, unchallenged by the feeble colony, until the whole region was depopulated of natives.

Short-lived cessation of hostilities between the French and Iroquois occurred, but these intractable savages were never really at peace with the power that gradually circumscribed their warlike enterprise. Located between the eastern and western colonies, they held the balance of power, and acknowledged fealty to neither; but notwithstanding a subtlety that almost attained the dignity of diplomacy, they became the cat's paw of the Dutch and English. The eastern colonies, with nothing to demand, pandered to the savage instincts and easily won them; guns, powder and lead were freely given them in liberal exchange for furs, and secret aid was granted them in their warfare upon the French and their allies. On the other hand the French had little to grant and everything to demand; the war policy of the Iroquois was dictated by the demands of revenge and trade alike; their territory afforded few furs with which to carry on the profitable barter with the colonists at Albany, and they carried their forays to the west and north to levy an indemnity in furs, the staple of aboriginal trade. This the policy of the French hindered; and this alone under the influence of the seaboard colonists afforded a sufficient *casus belli*. At the same time, the French gave sufficient evidence of their power to convince the Iroquois of their inability to cope single-handed with this formidable people, and the savages were accordingly driven into closer relations with their English allies.

New Netherland was the key to the situation, and even after it passed into the hands of the English (1664), Sieur Talon persistently urged upon the prime minister, Colbert, the importance of buying or seizing this territory and thus bringing the Iroquois to submission. His successor continued to urge this action, but, through the short-sighted policy of Louis XIV, the golden opportunity was allowed to pass unimproved. Accordingly the issue between the two colonial powers was joined. The Iroquois, pursuing their policy of independence, had carried their forays into the borders of Maryland and Virginia as well as into the Illinois country. Barre, the Canadian governor, determined to chastise them, and desirous of disabusing the English of the erroneous opinion that these attacks had been instigated by the Jesuits, announced his intention to the governor of New York, and suggested that he co-operate, at least so far as to suppress the traffic in arms for the time. With less frankness but more diplomacy, the governor of New York declined to accede to Barre's request, claimed the Iroquois as British subjects, and at the same time informed the Indians of the French governor's intentions. An angry correspondence ensued, and while the French gained some minor advantages, the practical result of this diplomatic collision was largely in favor of the English. Alarmed by the prospect of punishment by the French, the Iroquois entered into a treaty for protection (1684) with Lord Howard, the governor of Virginia, and though denying any fealty to the English, the Iroquois thenceforward were not often in doubtful relations to the two powers.

The antagonism of the two nations did not rest alone upon colonial rivalry; it found a deeper origin in their repugnant civilizations. England stood, on the one hand, for the supremacy of the people through law; France, on the other, stood for the absolutism of the *jus divinum*, and between these principles there could be no lasting peace. The rising of the English people, in 1687, precipitated the struggle which was destined to end only with the humiliation of absolutism. At the end of ten years, France gained territory and England gained the recognition of the people's king. In 1702, the struggle was renewed; the issue was unchanged but the results were less evenly balanced; at the close of the war of the Spanish succession, France was forced, in the peace of Utrecht (1713), to concede both principle and territory. In America, England gained by this war

Hudson's Bay and its borders, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the recognition of the Iroquois as British subjects.

Incomparably the greatest of these gains was the recognition of the English dominion over the New York confederation. With this concession was granted the English claim to the territory occupied by the Six Nations, a grant which not only seriously curtailed French pretentions, but also cut off all hope of a direct line of communication with the Mississippi Valley, and left their line by way of the lakes and Niagara River open to attack. This concession also made the English heirs to Iroquois claims of conquest in the West, an advantage of the highest importance, and which they ultimately improved. As yet, however, the English seemed utterly indifferent to the possession of the interior. The charters of the seaboard colonies granted the territory from "sea to sea;" but, separate in organization, and jealous of each other as well as of the king, their policy was narrowed and their power divided. Living by agriculture and trade, their expansion, while deep-rooted and permanent, was necessarily slow. A powerful incentive for the rapid acquisition of territory was thus wanting during the early period of English colonial history, and for more than a century their western horizon was bounded by the mountains.

In 1739, the warring civilizations were again arrayed in arms. The treaty of Utrecht had effected only a truce, in which the combatants gained the opportunity for needed recuperation; it defined many things but settled nothing, and the "war with Spain" was an inevitable result of this Machiavellian compact. In 1744, France became involved in the struggle which convulsed all Europe, but with the exception of the fruitless conquest in Acadia, the peace of the American colonies was undisturbed, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) referred to the new world only to leave the possessions of the respective powers "the same as before the war." This was but the evasion of an issue which sooner or later must demand adjudication, and left a peaceable adjustment of conflicting colonial claims, raised by the former treaty, out of the question.

It is difficult to define the geographical scope of the early claim of the French in America. Generally stated it included the entire valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Rivers; but of this broad claim the details were as illy defined in the minds of the claimants as in the minds of the English. Southeast of the Ohio, the Alleghany range afforded a natural boundary, which was seized upon by the French as the western limit of their rival; but the projection of this line northward necessitated the conquest or purchase of New York. The ratification of this line was, therefore, persistently urged by the Canadian officials, but neglected by the king, until the war of the Spanish succession set the matter at rest by the extinguishment of all French claims to the northeast and to central and eastern New York. The terms of the treaty, however, left the dividing line between the colonies of the two nations as obscure as before. This was not an oversight but the direct dictate of diplomacy; might was the only real basis of territorial right in the new world, and each nation was eager to anticipate the other in establishing its power within the coveted limits before trying conclusions; accordingly the inevitable collision was transferred to the valley of the Ohio.

At the date of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the English settlement had not yet crossed the mountains, but this coming event had long since cast its shadow athwart the pathway of the French. As early as 1715, Father Mermet, at Kaskaskia, wrote the governor of Canada that "the encroaching English were building forts near the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers," and there are certain traditions of English explorations in the valleys of these rivers as early as the decade ending with 1664. In 1678, it is said* "a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded so far as New Mexico, 150 leagues beyond the river Meschasebe;" twenty years later an expedition up the Mississippi River from the

*Western Annals, p. 44.

Gulf is related, and again, in 1742, the voyage of one John Howard down the same river by way of the Ohio, ending in his capture by the French. Whatever the truth may be in regard to these traditions, the French found plenty of evidence to confirm their apprehension that the English were about to dispute their possession of the interior, and in 1749 Gallisoniere, the governor of Canada, sent a party to plant lead plates, bearing the declaration of French claims to the territory, along the Ohio River.

But the adventurous English traders had preceded this party; on the Big Miami they built a trading house this very year, and on the Maumee they came in contact with the French, who arrested them for their intrusion. The French did not rest with these precautions; in 1750 a fort was built at Vincennes; and Fort Chartres, originally built of wood in 1718, was rebuilt of cut stone and garrisoned by a regiment of grenadiers. Nearer the scene of action the greatest activity prevailed; the loyalty of friendly Indians was confirmed by a judicious combination of threats and subsidies; Presque Isle (Erie) was fortified; a wagon road was built from thence to the Alleghany River; a second fort was built at Venango, fifteen miles southward of Erie, and a force sent to keep the Ohio clear. In the early part of 1752 these troops came upon the trading house on the Miami, and resistance being offered, attacked the place, capturing the traders, and inflicted considerable loss upon the tribe of Twigtwees who supported the Englishmen. Thus was struck the first blow of the "old French war."

In the meanwhile the English had not been inactive. The adventurous spirit of the colonists on the Atlantic coast early led to the exploration of the surrounding wilds; but, as has been noted, the character of the English settlements was such as to prevent a rapid or widespread occupation of the land, and notwithstanding the explorations set on foot by Virginia, and the somewhat mythical voyages referred to, it was the middle of the eighteenth century before the English began seriously to think of possessing the country beyond the "great mountains." Though possessed of a very inadequate knowledge of the interior, Gov. Keith, of Pennsylvania, as early as 1719 urged upon the home government the necessity of securing the great West, but the importance of this acquisition did not impress the ministry until some thirty years later, when Lord Halifax wrote to his colleagues in the ministry that "the country west of the great mountains is the centre of the British dominions."

In the meanwhile, the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley had developed the trader, whose adventurous instincts led him to cross the Alleghanies and penetrate the pathless forests to the Miami and Maumee in search of trade. Here was carried on a profitable system of barter, the reports of which stimulated the commercial enterprise of the Virginians; and in 1748, Conrad Weiser was sent to the Indians of the Ohio Valley with a double mission: to subsidize the natives in behalf of the Pennsylvania government, and to sound them on the subject of allowing a series of trading posts to be erected in their country. The result of this mission was favorable to the projected trading enterprise, and in the same year, Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia council, Lawrence and Augustus Washington and ten other Virginians, with a Mr. Hanbury of London, joined in a petition for a grant beyond the mountains. In the following year the governor of Virginia was instructed to grant to John Hanbury and his associates, 500,000 acres between the Monongahela and the Kanawha Rivers, or on the northern margin of the Ohio. This organization, known as the "Ohio Company," was to pay no quit rent for ten years, to select two-fifths of their territory at once, and at their own cost to construct and garrison a fort. Other companies of a similar character came rapidly into existence; in 1749, in addition to the concession of the Ohio Company, a grant of 800,000 acres, north and west of the line of Canada, was made to the "Loyal Company," and in 1757, one of 100,000 acres to the "Greenbrier Company," which was projected, however, about the time of the others.

Of these trading corporations the Ohio Company alone showed early activity. Profiting by information gained from Indian hunters and traders, this company imported goods from England and had them transported to Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), from whence they were distributed to traders who carried them to the interior. At the same time (1750) the company summoned the "adventurous Gist from his frontier home on the Yadkin" to explore the country west of the "great mountains." He was instructed to push his explorations as far as the falls of the Ohio, to search for a large tract of good level land, to note the general features of the country, and mark the strength and number of the tribes.

"On the last day of October, 1750, the bold envoy of civilization parted from the Potomac. He passed through snows over 'the stony and broken land' of the Alleghanies; he halted among the twenty Delaware families that composed Shanoppin's town on the southeast of the Ohio; swimming across the river, he descended through the rich but narrow valley of Logstown." From thence he proceeded to Great Beaver Creek, and on to the Muskingum, where he met George Crogan, the trader-envoy of Pennsylvania. Parting from this point in January, 1751, he proceeded to the mouth of the Scioto, and thence across the Little Miami to the larger stream of the same name. From thence he retraced his steps, and descending to the Ohio by way of the Little Miami, proceeded within fifteen miles of the falls of the Ohio, when he checked his course and ascended the valley of the Kentucky; found a pass to the Bluestone and returned to his principals by way of the Roanoke.

In April, 1751, Crogan again visited the Indians at Piqua, and through him Pennsylvania was invited to build a fort at the forks of the Monongahela. This, from motives of economy, the Pennsylvania Assembly declined to do. In fact, each one of the provinces sought to evade the burden of securing the valley of the Ohio. The proprietaries and Assembly of Pennsylvania tossed the subject from one to the other in fruitless dispute as to their responsibility in the matter; New York would only remonstrate with the governor of Canada, and Virginia, limited in resources, was equally reluctant to assume the expense involved in such an undertaking. The key to the Ohio Valley was the forks of the Monongahela; the nearness of this point to Virginia, and her charter claims to this territory, at length devolved the initiative upon her.

The claims of the English were based upon the discoveries referred to in the preceding pages, and upon a title secured by purchase. The discoveries were of too mythical a character to be strongly advanced against the superior claim of the French, and were made little account of; but the purchase of this territory from the Iroquois was more plausible, if not more valid.

In 1744, with Conrad Weiser as interpreter, the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia met these Indians at "the filthy town" of Lancaster. Twelve days were consumed in ceremonies that partook more of the character of an orgie than a diplomatic conference. Punch, wine and "bumbo" were freely distributed, and the Indians kept stupidly drunk most of the twelve days. The history of the whole proceeding as given in the quaint, unvarnished language of the secretary of the Maryland commissioners, stamps the whole proceeding as a barefaced fraud, in which either party over-reached the other; the whites gaining concessions from the incapacitated natives, and the Indians selling that to which they had no more right than to Quebec. At each conference the whites "put about the glass pretty briskly," the Indians "fed lustily, drank heartily," and after such preparations enormous concessions were hurriedly made for trifling considerations.

It was the negotiations of the Virginians, however, upon which the English claims to the Ohio Valley were founded. To them the Indians gave "a deed releasing their claim to a large quantity of land lying in that colony," and recognized "the king's right to all lands that are, or by his majesty's ap-

pointment shall be, within the colony of Virginia." For this elastic concession the natives received £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, with a promise that, as settlements increased, more should be paid. It was under this treaty that Virginia subsequently claimed all the lands westward to the Mississippi.

The settlements did increase, and the Indians, those who had as well as those who had not been represented at Lancaster, began to murmur. In 1752, Virginia sent commissioners to Logstown, a little village on the north side of the Ohio, seventeen and a half miles below Pittsburg, to meet the chiefs of these tribes. They declined to recognize the Lancaster treaty, but consented to have the English build a fort at the forks of the Monongahela. The Virginians were not satisfied with this concession, and through the white interpreter finally secured a questionable confirmation of the former treaty, and consent for a settlement southeast of the Ohio. The activity of the French in fomenting the dissatisfaction of the Indians kept the English busy in allaying their aroused suspicions and confirming them in their treaty relations with the colonies. In 1753, therefore, Fairfax met the chiefs at Winchester, but such were the feelings toward the Lancaster treaty that he dared not refer to it at Carlisle. A month later, the commissioners of Pennsylvania, in a conference with the representatives of all the tribes, had more success. Here a treaty was concluded with them against the French, but which, in the end, proved quite as empty of good results as the others.

In the meantime, the two powers in Europe professed a state of "profound peace," and commissioners were in Paris seeking to outwit each other in regard to the disputed lands in the Ohio Valley. At the same time, England did not hesitate to instruct her colonial governors that France was invading her dominions, and to direct them at their own cost to build forts, and with their own militia to repress the savages and repel the French. Under these instructions, Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent "a person of distinction" to the commander of the French forces to ascertain the purpose of the warlike preparations on French Creek. The envoy, a young surveyor named George Washington, found the Indians terrorized by the threats of the French; observed the enemy strongly fortified at Presque Isle and Venango; learned of a projected descent upon the forks of the Monongahela in the spring, and ascertained that the courteous St. Pierre proposed to carry out the orders of his superiors, regardless of consequences.

Washington reached Will's Creek on his return, early in January, 1754. In his absence, the Ohio Company had taken steps to fortify the location it had chosen, and the returning envoy met "seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio."

The report of Washington was followed by immediate activity. Expresses were sent to the governors of Pennsylvania and New York, conveying the startling intelligence, and calling for assistance. Two companies of volunteers were authorized by Virginia, the one to be raised west of the mountains by the frontiersman Trent, and the other to be raised in the older part of the colony by Washington. The former consisted of seventy men, and was at once employed in completing the fort begun by the Ohio Company, while Washington's command, consisting of 150 men, was to proceed to the fort, garrison it, and "to make prisoner, kill or destroy all who interrupted the English settlements." Men and munitions were gathering along the Potomac, as far west as Will's Creek, but before they could reach the new fort spring had come and with it the French.

On the 17th of April, 1754, the ensign in command of the thirty-three men at the incomplete fort, suddenly found himself beset by sixty batteaux and 300 canoes, laden with men, cannon and stores. Successful resistance to such a force was impossible, and the English capitulated and withdrew. This success on the part of the French was followed by the most active measures in securing its fruits; the fort was completed, armed and named DuQuesne, for the governor of

Canada. Troops from the Illinois country were hurried up the Ohio to reinforce its garrison; spies were sent throughout the Monongahela Valley to win the savages and watch the force at Will's Creek; and armed reconnoitering parties hovered about the English front to give warning of the first military advance.

Washington was at Will's Creek pushing forward the preparations to reinforce the frontier fort, when the news of its capture was brought in; scouts continued to bring information of the enemy's activities, but the tedious preparations for an advance were not allowed to cease. The line of march lay over a broken mountainous country to the mouth of the Red Stone Creek (Brownsville, Penn.), where the Ohio Company had already built a trading post, and thence down the valley to the fort; roads had to be prepared for the artillery and trains, and progress was made at the slow rate of from two to four miles a day. On the 27th of May, the English had reached a point known as Great Meadows; here a body of French troops was reported to be in the vicinity, and Washington, fearing a surprise, started out on the following morning to develop the strength of this enemy. A collision occurred in which the French lost their commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine men, the Americans losing but one. This was the first act of open hostilities between the regular forces of the opposing nations in the Ohio Valley, and was held by the French as the commencement of war.

The march of the American forces was continued without further incident until the latter part of June, when the report coming in that the enemy was approaching in force, a council of war determined on a retreat to a more defensible point. Great Meadows was again reached on the 1st of July, and at this point the exhausted state of the provincials determined Washington to make a stand. Here, as Washington reported, "with nature's assistance, he made a good intrenchment and prepared a charming field for an encounter," to which the circumstances of the troops gave the name of "Fort Necessity," and here on the 3d of July, the Americans were assailed by some 900 French. For nine hours an ineffectual resistance was made against overwhelming odds, when a capitulation was agreed upon, the Americans being allowed to retire with everything save the artillery. This action was one of the causes subsequently assigned by George II for a declaration of war.

Thus matters stood at the beginning of 1755; both nations professed the most peaceful intentions, while vigorously pushing preparations to continue the war on a larger scale. Negotiations in Europe continued; France proposed to restore American lines as they were before the war of the Spanish succession, and refer all matters in dispute to the commissioners in Paris; England refused to go back of the treaty of Utrecht. France rejected this basis of discussion, and and offered another compromise—that both nations should retire from the country lying between the Alleghanies and the Ohio; to this England agreed, stipulating, however, that the French should destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches, but this the French court refused to accept.

This decision was not reached until the latter part of March, but in February, Braddock had landed in Virginia, and French stores and troops were embarked on a fleet which was crowding all sail across the Atlantic. War was not yet declared, and Braddock planning a three-fold campaign against the French posts in Nova Scotia, at Crown Point and by way of Fort Du Quesne against Niagara, did not meditate the conquest of Canada; he was instructed only to resist encroachment on English territory. The first onset was disastrous to the English; Braddock's terrible defeat near Fort Du Quesne was scarcely mitigated by the trifling successes at Lake George and at Louisburg.

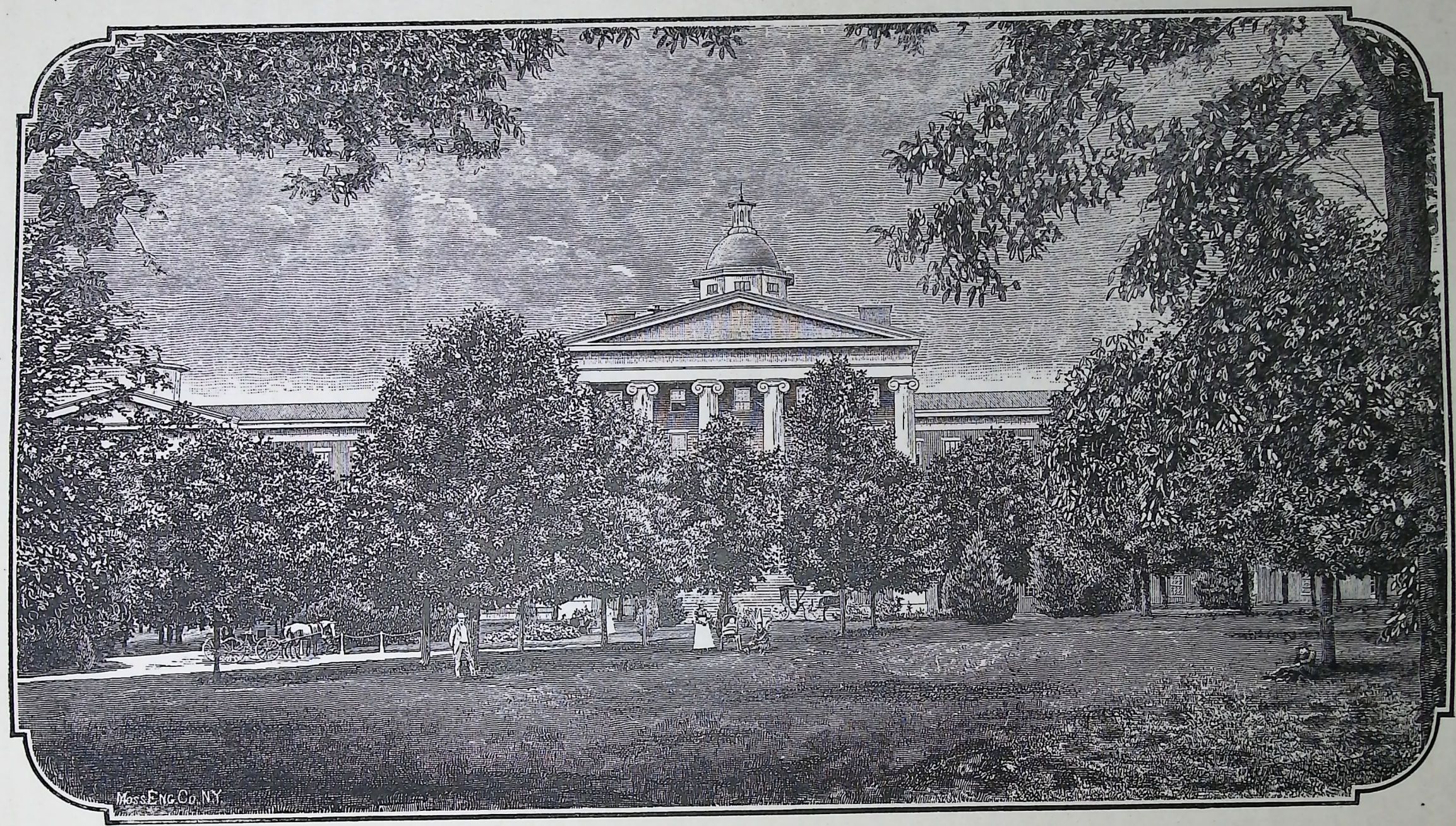
Early in 1756 France formed an alliance with Austria, Russia and Sweden, and England with Frederick the Great. In May England declared war, and forthwith began a struggle, the influence of which was felt throughout the civilized world. At the end of seven years, England gained Canada, and

all the territory claimed by the French east of the Mississippi River, save Louisiana. By a secret convention in 1762, the latter had been ceded to Spain, and in the treaty of Paris (1763), France surrendered the last of her possessions in the New World. With these vast accessions came grave doubts as to the value of the conquest; statesmen of both nations declared that with the menace of a foreign power removed from their western border, the colonies would grow more independent, and cause of rupture with the home government would not be wanting; and so the event proved. "The seven years war, which doubled the debt of England, increasing it to $700,000,000, was begun by her for the acquisition of the Ohio Valley. She achieved that conquest, but not for herself." (Bancroft.)

While the fate of nationality was thus being decided amid the din of arms, and the dire conflict of armies on the skirmish lines of opposing civilizations, the solid English phalanxes were pushing their way westward beyond the mountains, subject to many and terrible vicissitudes. Immigration once directed to the Shenandoah Valley, the people "spread more and more widely over the mild, productive, and enchanting interior," and at the opening of the French and Indian war were ready to surmount the rocky barrier of the Alleghanies. At the same time the attention of statesmen was drawn to this scarcely known region, and the necessity of planting a colony here, to more effectually resist the claims of the French, began to be considered in diplomatic circles. One of the professed aims of the Ohio Company was to plant a colony beyond the mountains in order to secure Ohio for the English, and while the more immediate object was the building up of a profitable trade with the Indians, a rapid settlement would certainly have followed its success. The first steps in the prosecution of the company's plan have been noted. Returning from his extended tour of exploration, Gist made the necessary surveys which preceded the erection of the posts on the sites of Brownsville and Pittsburgh, and, in 1752, the Indians in the treaty of Logstown, having agreed not to molest settlements on the lands granted the company, he began laying out a town, two miles below the fort at the forks; founded a colony of eleven families beside himself near Laurel Hill; and projected roads to connect the whole together, and with Will's Creek, the base of supplies. Two years later, 1754, in response to action by the burgesses of Virginia, the king instructed the governor of that province to grant lands west of the Alleghanies to any person desiring to settle thereon, not to exceed 1,000 acres to one person, and upward of 3,000,000 of acres are said to have been thus granted.

At this point the war intervened, and less pacific measures became necessary to resist foreign encroachments. The French, with their Indian allies, descended upon the forks of the Ohio, and the scattering settlements west of the mountains were rapidly destroyed. Then followed Braddock's disastrous defeat, and the Indians, emboldened by the first show of success, carried the tomahawk and fire brand east of the mountains with such terrible effect that in April, 1756, Washington wrote from Winchester: "The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left in this county (Frederick) except a few who keep close with a number of women and children in forts." In the fall of this year a powerful blow was struck at these savage marauders by the destruction of their principal rendezvous at Kittanning, about forty miles above Fort Du Quesne. This gave partial relief to the border, and, in the summer of 1758, the English sent a trusty messenger to the Indians, who were beginning to waver in their friendship for the French. An informal treaty was thus effected, and a few months later the fall of Fort Du Quesne transferred the seat of war to the north.

A treaty with all the tribes at Easton, Penn., followed this event, and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, thus relieved from the menace of these savage foes, were rapidly repeopled; traders began once more to bear their burdens of trinkets to the interior in quest of Indian barter; settlers began to slowly push into the "great woods," and the Ohio Company prepared to push their enter-



WESTERN LUNATIC ASYLUM, HOPKINSVILLE.—SEE PAGE 535.

prise. Again the Indians began to murmur, and, in 1762, the English commandant at Fort Du Quesne, now called Fort Pitt, issued his proclamation declaring that the treaty at Easton (1758) secured all the lands west of the mountains to the Indians as hunting grounds, and forbidding all settlements or intrusion of traders within this region. This was followed (October, 1763) by general instructions from the king forbidding any grants of "lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions," by any colonial governors.

These precautions came too late, however. In the northwest was heard the voice of Pontiac crying: "Why, says the Great Spirit, do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the lands I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress I will help you;" and the wide-spread disaffection among the tribes made them willing listeners to this preacher of the new crusade. At length the blow fell without warning upon the unsuspecting whites; traders were everywhere despoiled of their goods, and many of them murdered; the frontier forts from Mackinac to Fort Pitt were everywhere simultaneously assailed, and nine fell in one day. Along the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers the streams ran red with blood, and more than 20,000 settlers were driven from their homes in western Virginia. But the forts at Detroit, Niagara and Pittsburgh did not yield, and the expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet (1764) once more brought the Indians to sue for peace.

The treaty made at Niagara in the fall, settled only the status of the frontier forts, and provided for a complete surrender of prisoners. Accordingly in the following year, a conference was held with the various Indian nations at German Flats. At this meeting the whites submitted two propositions; the one, to fix a satisfactory line as a westward boundary to the white settlements; the other, that the Indians should grant the surviving traders, who had suffered by the conspiracy, a tract of land as a compensation for their losses.* To the latter proposition the Indians readily agreed, and offered, in response to the first, the line of the "Ohio or the Alleghany and Susquehannah." The agent of the English not being empowered to act upon this boundary question, the whole matter was left unsettled until definite instructions could be received from England. Through the criminal carelessness of the ministry, this important business did not receive attention until late in 1767; and in the meanwhile settlements were rapidly extending into the disputed territory in open defiance of treaty stipulations, proclamations and the express orders of Gen. Gage, the commander of the English forces.

The Indians began to grow restive under this state of things, but in apparent indifference to the critical character of the situation, the attention of the English ministry was absorbed in adjusting the conflicting claims to lands not yet secured from the threatening savages. The Ohio Company was pressing for an adjustment of its affairs, which the war had greatly deranged; two new companies were asking consideration of projects involving large grants of lands in this region; and in conflict with all these, the Virginia troops, who had served in the French war, and who had been promised a bounty in western lands, were represented by an agent who was urging their claims. Before any adjustment of these matters was reached, however, the attitude of the savages gave rise to a wide-spread apprehension of another border war, and urgent appeals were sent to the ministry to have the boundary line fixed at once. Instructions were accordingly received, and in October, 1678, a meeting of the Iroquois and certain of the Delawares and Shawanese, was held at Fort Stanwix. At this conference the boundary was settled to begin on the Ohio at the mouth of the Tennessee; thence up the Ohio and Alleghany to Kittanning; thence northward to the Susquehanna, etc., thus granting to the English a title to Pennsylvania, western Virginia and Kentucky, so far as the Indian representatives could do so.

*Appendix A, Note 8.

The settlement of this question, though giving only a defective title to the region granted, gave rise to the greatest activity in land speculation. A new organization was formed in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," which presented a petition for a grant of 2,500,000 acres. This project was referred to the Board of Trade with the other matters mentioned, and no more heard of it. In the case of the others, a final issue was not reached until 1772; in the meanwhile, the Ohio Company being merged in one of the new ones, and the soldiers' claims being recognized by the united companies and the government, all the claims were adjusted by the royal sanction of the "Walpole Company."

The royal instructions of 1763 were generally considered as a temporary expedient to quiet the natives, and during the tedious negotiations of the land companies, private speculators were busy in exploring the country south of the Ohio. It is said, though denied by the governor, that Lord Dunmore sent surveyors into this region, and was pushing an extensive speculation in the public lands on his own account. Whatever the truth may be in this matter, it is well known that Washington, to whom the Virginia bounty gave 10,000 acres, and others were investigating and selecting lands through their agents, when the war of the Revolution put a stop to both corporate and individual speculation. At the same time adventurous settlers were rapidly over-running the hunting grounds of the savage, building their cabins and planting their fields where the situation appeared the most inviting; and surveyors, the most convincing evidence to the Indians of the intended permanent occupation by the whites, were found on the Ohio as far down as the falls, and on the Kentucky as far up its course as the site of Frankfort.

The futility of the purchase made at Fort Stanwix daily grew more apparent; the Iroquois, who sacrificed no substantial interest in this transaction, and who alone of the savages signed the treaty, were the only satisfied ones to the bargain. The Delawares and Shawanees, who were only feebly represented at the conference, and who at best only partially sanctioned the treaty, when removed from the presence of their conquerors, or after sober second thought, began to view the "settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and declared "that they must be compensated for their right, if the people settled thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations." Occasional fatal collisions between the two races intensified the hopeless hatred of the Indian toward the whites, and it only needed some new grievance, of importance sufficient to overcome the prudence of influential chiefs, to precipitate another bloody struggle upon the border.

This came at last, and the result is recorded in history as "Dunmore's war." This inconclusive contest had its origin in the assassination of the family of Logan, the Cayuga chieftain, and was determined by a single stubborn passage-at-arms near Point Pleasant. The promptness of the whites in anticipating the action of the Indians prevented the usual forays on the border, but the fear of the ordinary bloody consequences drove most of the settlers from Kentucky. The close of the war settled nothing but the armed contest, and gave rise to the suspicion that the governor meditated treachery to one of his subordinate officers, and that he was even then preparing for the Revolutionary struggle which was already foreshadowed in the minds of many.

In the war of the Revolution, which so closely followed these events that the battle of Point Pleasant is frequently called the first engagement of that memorable struggle, the Indians bore a prominent part. During the protracted contest between the French and English, they had been such important factors that many believed that a general war could not be carried on free of Indian alliances, and in this view Washington coincided, though congress for a time labored to keep the natives neutral. The action of the British rendered such efforts fruitless, and civilization once more joined hands with the savage to deface the product of its own labor.

In the diplomacy of the forest, the British possessed great advantages over the Americans. They were represented by the same persons who had for thirty years exerted a great personal as well as official influence over the savages, and the natives, whose friendships were not fickle and whose hatred was implacable, had great difficulty in understanding the reasons or policy which set one part of the English against the other. There was scarcely a tribe in the Mississippi Valley, however, that was not embittered by the memory of a great wrong perpetrated by the colonists, and since the removal of the French, they had sullenly maintained a fitful peace, induced thereto only by a prudent regard for the power that had inflicted severe punishment on various fields; but they still cherished the vain hope of keeping their remaining lands free from the aggressive advance of the settlements, and were not slow to believe that this division in the ranks of the common enemy would bring them aid against those who were the source of their annoyance. The British agents, therefore, found their policy outlined for them, and promptly confirmed the Indians in their logical deductions.

It is a fact highly creditable to the Indian character that there were individuals and tribes among the natives who were favorable to the American side in the beginning of the war; and it was upon these that the Americans mainly depended to reach those less amicably disposed. Through this agency, the "pack-proverb" illustrating the issue between the colonists and the home government was industriously circulated in the west, and the natives counseled to observe neutrality in the impending struggle.

The main dependence of the English, at the onset, was Sir William Johnson, who had resided in the Mohawk Valley since 1738, and who, since 1746, had held in charge the important Iroquois confederation. In 1774, Johnson suddenly died, leaving his son, Col. Guy Johnson, to succeed him as Indian superintendent, and another son, John, to succeed to his estate and honors. Both sons shared their father's influence with the natives, and with them joined, at this juncture of American affairs, the noted half-breed and Mohawk chieftain, Joseph Brant—all of whom were in sympathy with the royal cause. The colonists, from the first, entertained well grounded fears that the influence of this trio would be exerted against the Americans, and caused them to be watched with so close a scrutiny that, notwithstanding the moral and material support of the wealthy tories of the Mohawk Valley, they deemed it advisable to remove the center of their operations further westward. They first went to Fort Stanwix, and thence to Oswego, from whence they directed their murderous assaults, which subsequently fell with such cruel force upon the frontiers of the central colonies. Opposed to the machinations of the Johnsons, the colonists had a faithful and judicious friend in the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Oneidas, and through him, his charge and the Tuscaroras were persuaded to stand neutral.

Both parties to the war were early in approaching the Indians. The Massachusetts congress appealed to the Iroquois to aid them or stand neutral, as early as April, 1775; in the following June, the Virginia house of burgesses sent an agent to the western tribes; in August a congress was held at Albany to confer with the New York tribes; and in October another meeting was held at Pittsburgh to treat with the Delawares, Senecas, and certain of the Shawanees; but in each case the Americans found the English had preceded them, and gained the hearts of the tribes. Accordingly, less pacific measures having failed, congress authorized (June 17, 1776) Washington to employ the natives where and when he could, and to offer them rewards for prisoners.

The British were not less practical than prompt in securing Indian alliances. Through the Johnsons, the savages were employed in pursuance of carefully prepared military plans in conjunction with the movements of the regular troops, and each of the western forts were made stations from which the Indians were furnished for, and directed, in their nefarious work. To Detroit, which

early attained a bad eminence in this respect, and the forts in the Illinois country, was assigned the conduct of the war in Kentucky and on the Virginia frontier, and the Indians, stimulated by a reward for scalps, so filled the Kentucky forests with their straggling parties that none of the settlers felt safe when outside of the protecting palisades of their frontier forts. It should be observed, however, that in all this "troublous time," when the imminent danger of an Indian war, with all its terrible barbarities was well understood, the flow of immigration into Kentucky was scarcely checked. And later, when hostilities had actually begun; when each day brought its tale of murder and destruction; when the incoming pioneer found the less stout-hearted crowding the homeward trails to the safer retreat of the older colonies—even then the decimated ranks of the Kentucky settlers were gradually reinforced by those whom all the terrors of an Indian invasion could not daunt. The situation cannot be more graphically portrayed than is done in a letter of John Floyd to Col. William Preston:

BOONESBORO, July 21, 1776.

My Dear Sir:—The situation of our country is much altered since I wrote you last. The Indians seem determined to break up our settlement; and I really doubt, unless it is possible to give us some assistance, that the greater part of the people may fall a prey to them. They have, I am satisfied, killed several whom, at this time, I know not how to mention. Many are missing, who some time ago went out about their business, of whom we can hear nothing. Fresh sign of Indians is seen almost every day. I think I mentioned to you before, some damage they had done in Lees' town. On the seventh of this month they killed one Cooper, on Licking Creek, and on the fourteenth, a man whose name I know not, at your salt spring on the same creek.

On the same day they took out of a canoe within sight of this place, Miss Betsey Callaway, her sister Frances and a daughter of Daniel Boone, the two last about thirteen or fourteen years old, and the other grown. The affair happened late in the afternoon. They left the canoe on the opposite side of the river from us, which prevented our getting over for some time to pursue them. We could not that night follow more than five miles. Next morning by daylight we were on their track; but they had entirely prevented our following them by walking some distance apart through the thickest cane they could find. We observed their course, and on which side they had left their sign, and traveled upwards of thirty miles. We then supposed they would be less cautious in travelling, and making a turn in order to cross their traces, we had gone but a few miles when we found their tracks in a buffalo path—pursued and overtook them in going about ten miles, just as they were kindling a fire to cook. Our study had been how to get the prisoners without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us. We saw each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired and all rushed on them, by which they were prevented from carrying anything away except one shot-gun without any ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had each a pretty fair shot as they began to move off. I am well convinced that I shot one through the body. The one he shot dropped his gun; mine had none. The place was covered with thick cane, and being so much elated on recovering the three poor little heart-broken girls, we were prevented from making any further search. We sent the Indians off almost naked, some without their moccasins, and none of them without so much as a knife or tomahawk. After the girls came to themselves sufficiently to speak they told us there were only five Indians—four Shawanese and one Cherokee. They could speak good English and said they should go to the Shawanese towns. The war-club we got was like some I have seen of that nation. Several words of their language which the girls retained, were known to be Shawanese. They also told them that the Cherokees had killed or driven all the people from Watauga and thereabout, and that fourteen Cherokees were then in Kentucky waiting to do mischief. If the war becomes general, of which there is the greatest appearance, our situation is truly alarming. We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible. They are, I understand, doing the same thing at Harrodsburg, and also on Elkhorn, at the Royal Spring. The settlement at Licking Creek, known by the name of Hinkston's, has been broken up; nineteen of the settlers are now here on their way in—Hinkston among the rest. They all seem deaf to anything we can say to dissuade them. Ten, at least, of our own people are going to join them, which will leave us with less than thirty men at this fort. I think more than three hundred men have left the country since I came out, and not one has arrived, except a few cabiners down the Ohio.

I want to return as much as any person can do; but if I leave the country now, there is scarcely one single man who will not follow the example. When I think of the deplorable condition a few helpless families are likely to be in, I conclude to sell my life as dearly as I can in their defense, rather than make an ignominious escape. I am afraid it is in vain to sue for any relief from Virginia; yet the convention encouraged the settlement of this country, and why should not the ex-

treme parts of Fincastle be as justly entitled to protection as any other part of the country. If an expedition were carried on against those nations who are at open war with the people in general, we might be in great measure relieved, by drawing them off to defend their towns. If anything under Heaven can be done for us, I know of no person who would more willingly engage in forwarding us assistance than yourself. I do, at the request and in behalf of all the distressed women and children and other inhabitants of this place, implore the aid of every leading man who may have it in his power to give us relief. I cannot write. You can better guess at my ideas from what I have said than I can express them.

I am, dear sir,

Yours most affectionately,

To my last moments,

J. FLOYD.

To Col. Preston.

Happily, strength is not only in numbers, and assistance was nearer at hand than the author of the above letter dreamed. The year 1776 brought several valuable accessions to the sorely beset settlement in Kentucky, and most important of all was the arrival of George Rogers Clark, as a permanent settler. He was a native of Albemarle County, Va., where he was born in November, 1752;* his early life was spent as a surveyor, a service which, at that day, demanded the highest qualifications of heart and brain. He took part in Dunmore's war, in which he served as commander of a company, and in the following year made a visit to Kentucky. Pleased with the prospect, he determined to adopt the newly opened country as his home, and accordingly, in 1776, he made his appearance on the frontier. "He fixed on no particular residence—was much in the wood; incidentally visiting the forts and ostensible camps, cultivated the acquaintance of the people, and acquired an extensive knowledge of the various objects presented to his curiosity or to his inspection." (Marshall.) His mind took a bolder flight than those of his contemporaries on the border, and looking beyond the present defense of isolated forts his plans contemplated the organization and protection of the whole region purchased at Fort Stanwix.

The immediate demand, which outweighed all other considerations at this period, was the political organization of this border land. Fincastle County, of Virginia, was supposed to include the frontier posts of Kentucky, though of this the pioneers had no tangible evidence, as the scattered condition of the settlements and their remoteness from the seat of government gave them neither a voice in the constitution of the administration, nor the benefit of its provisions. At the same time, a great uncertainty prevailed, whether the country south of the Ohio River actually fell within the charter lines of North Carolina or Virginia; the Henderson Purchase still further complicated the situation, and the pioneers, affected both in their property and lives by these disintegrating influences, determined to settle their political relations by an appeal to Virginia.

In this movement Clark was a prominent factor, and in June, 1776, the convention at Harrodstown elected him and Gabriel John Jones as members of the Virginia legislature. The election obviously had no legal force, and was not what Clark contemplated; but he had been absent from the convention, and it was evidently too late to remedy its action when he was notified of his election. He accordingly accepted the result as constituting him an agent for the border community, and repaired at once to Virginia. Here he found the legislature adjourned, and the governor, Patrick Henry, lying sick at his residence in Hanover. Visiting the governor at once, Clark laid before him the necessities of the frontier and his plan for its relief. In this the governor heartily joined and gave him a letter to the council. Thus equipped, the envoy of the frontier settlements appeared before that body, presented his case and asked for 500 pounds of powder for the use of the various stations on the border. The legal status of the petitioners was not clear, however, and the council, rendered uncertain as to the political relations of these frontier settlements, felt constrained to act with great caution. With every desire to aid the distressed settlers, the council still felt impelled to refuse the gunpowder as a gift to fellow-citizens, but offered to lend it to them

* Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky; the date given by Marshall is September, 1743.

as friends. But Clark wanted something more than gunpowder; he wanted recognition, and with a boldness that characterizes his whole career, he returned the order for a loan of gunpowder, with a letter setting forth his reasons for not accepting it on such terms, intimating that the Kentuckians would look elsewhere for assistance, and added "that a country which was not worth defending, was not worth claiming." This spirited course had its intended effect; the council re-assembled, and without reservation placed the required powder at Pittsburgh, subject to Clark's orders for the use of "Kentucki."

This important matter happily adjusted, Clark wrote to his constituents of the first results of his mission and prepared to present their interests before the legislature when it should meet in the fall. It is sufficient to say in this place that in this part of his mission he was equally successful, and the County of Kentucky was formed. He now prepared to return to the frontier, but fortunately at the moment of departure he learned that the pcwder had not yet been removed from Pittsburgh, and he determined to take this route in his return, to insure the safe and prompt delivery of the needed ammunition. This undertaking was attended with difficulties of no little importance, but with his usual happy fortune, Clark succeeded in getting the needed supply to its destination.

The following year (1777) was characterized by a more determined effort on the part of the Indians and English; the number of straggling parties of hostile savages was greatly augmented; determined attacks were made upon the strongest posts; and all but, the three principal stations were broken up and abandoned. But notwithstanding these forbidding experiences, the Kentucky settlement received frequent accessions, and the course of life ran on not unmixed with merriment in the midst of vicissitudes which made violent death a daily visitor. The good result of Clark's mission was soon seen by the arrival of meager but acceptable reinforcements; but that hero had not settled down into inactivity. His mind was busy with larger plans, and observing the advantage the British derived from the possession of the Illinois forts he conceived the plan of striking a powerful blow in defense of Kentucky by the capture of these posts. The necessity for some such action had already been brought to the attention of congress, and commissioners had been appointed to confer with Gen. Hand, commanding at Fort Pitt, in regard to the subject, but the achievement of this object was reserved for Clark. In the summer of this year (1777), he had sent spies to reconnoiter the forts. On their return they brought intelligence of increased activity in this quarter, and such account of the whole situation as to convince Clark of the practicability of the meditated enterprise. Accordingly in August, he set out for Williamsburg to submit his project, but with no definite intention of asking the command of the expedition.

Under date of November 19, 1779, Clark wrote a letter from "Louisville, Falls of Ohio," to Hon. George Mason, in which he gives a short sketch of his enterprise and proceeding in the Illinois, and from this are taken the following extracts descriptive of the organization of the expedition:

I had just Reasons known to few but myself that occationed me to resolve not to have any farther Command whatever, without I should find a very great call for Troops and my Country in danger, in such case I was determined to lose my Life rather (than) we should submit. * * * * But finding that we were in (an) alarming situation, the Indians desperate on one side, the Britains on the others, I immediately resolved to encourage an Expedition to the Illinois. But to make it publick was a certain loss of it. I proposed the plan of it to a few Gentlemen, they communicated it to the Governor, it was immediately determined on, to put in Excution as soon as a Bill could be passed to enable the Governour to order it; it accordingly pass'd though but a few in the House knew the real intent of it. After giving the Council all the intelligence I possibly could, I resolv'd to pursue my other Plans. But being desired by the Governor to stay sometime in town, I wated with impatience he, I suppose, believing that I wanted the Command, and was determined to give it to me; But it was far from my inclination at that time. I was summoned to attend the Council Board, the instructions and necessary papers were ready for puting in the name of the Person to Command; I believed they expected

me to selicit for it, but I resolved not to do so, for reasons I hinted you before. However I excepted it after being told the Command of this little Army was designed for me. I then got every request granted, and (was) fully empowered to raise as many Men as I could, not exceeding a certain number; after being engaged I was then as Determined to prosecute it with Vigour, as I was before indifferent about the Command; I had since the beginning of the War taken pains to make myself acquainted with the situation of the British posts on the Fronteers, and since find that I was not mistaken in my judgement. I was ordered to attact the Illinois, in case of Success to carry my Arms to any quarter I pleased. I was certain that with 500 Men I could take the Illinois, and by my treating the Inhabitants as fellow Citizens, and show them that I meant to protect them rather than treat them as a Conquered People. Engaging the Indians to our Interests, etc., It might probably have so great an effect on their Countrymen at Detroyet (they already disliked their Master) that it would be an easy prey for me. I should have mentioned my design to his Excellency, but was convinced or afraid that it might lessen his esteem for me, as it was a general opinion that it would take several thousand to approach that Place. I was happy with the thoughts of a fair prospect of undeceiving the Publick respecting their formidable Enemies on our Fronteers. I left Williamsburg January the 18th, made as quick dispatch as possible to the fronteers, and by the end of the month had Recruiting Parties disposed from Pitsburgh to Carolina, had my little Army Recruited in half the time I expected.

Elivated with the Thoughts of the great service we should do our Country in some measure puting an end to the Indian War on our fronteers, it may appear to you to be mear presumption in me, but I was always too jealous of myself to be far wrong in the plans that I had so long studied, and since find that I could have executed it with the greatest ease if it had not been (the) following Conduct of many leading Men in the fronteers, that had like to have put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my Destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did everything that lay in their power to stop the Men that had Enlisted, and set the whole Fronteers in an uproar, even condescended to harbor and protect those that Deserted; I found my case desperate, and the longer I remained the worse it was—I plainly saw that my Principal Design was baffled—I was resolved to push to Kentucky with what Men I could gather in West Augusta; being Joined by Capts. Bowman and Helms who had each raised a Company for the Expedition, but two-thirds of them was stopped by the undersigned Enemies to the Country that I before mentioned. In the whole I had about one hundred and fifty men collected and set sail for the Falls. I had previous to this received Letters from Capt. Smith on Holdston Enforming me that he intended to meet me at that place with near two hundred Men, which encouraged me much as I was enabled by that reinforcement at least to attack the Illinois with a probability of Success, &c.

I set out from Redstone the 12th day of May, leaving the Country in great confusion, much distressed by the Indians. General Hand, pleased with my intentions, furnished me with every necessary I wanted and the — of May I arrived at Canoweay (Kanawha) to the Joy of the Garrison as they were very weak, & had the day before been attacted by a large Body of Indians.

Being Joined by Captain Oharrard's compy. on his way to the Osark; after spending a day or two, We set out and had a very pleasant Voyage to the falls of the Ohio, having sent Expresses to the Stations on Kentucky from the mouth of the River, for Capt. Smith to join me immediately as I made no doubt but that he was wateing for me; But you may easily guess at my mortification on being informed that he had not arrived, that all his Men had been stopped by the incessant labours of the populace, except part of a compy., that had arrived under the Command of one captain Dellands, some on their march being threatened to be put in Prison if they did not return; this information made me Desperate as I was before Determined.

Reflecting on the information that I had of some of my greatest opponents censuring the Governour for his conduct, as they thought ordering me for the protection of Kentucky only; that and other secret impulses Occationed me in spite of all Counsel to risque the Expedition, to convince them of their error until that moment, secret to the Principal officers I had. I was sensible of the impression it would have on many, to be taken near a thousand (miles) from the Body of their Country, to attack a People five times their number, and merciless Tribes of Indians their Allies, and determined Enemies to us.

I knew that my case was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the Enterprise. Joined by a few Kentuckians under Colonel Montgomery to stop desertion I knew would ensue on the Troops knowing their Destination, I had encamped on a small Island in the middle of the Falls, kept strict Guard on the Boats, but Lieutenant Hutchings of Dillard's Compy. contrived to make his escape with his party after being refused leave to return, luckely a few of his Men was taken the next day by a party sent after them; on this Island I first began to discipline my little Army knowing that to be the most essential point toward success, most of them determined to follow me, the rest seeing no probability of making escape I soon got that subordination as I could wish for; about twenty families that had followed me much against my Inclination I found now to be of service to me guarding a Block-house that I had erected on the Island to secure my Provisions.

On the second of January, 1778, two sets of instructions were issued to "Lieut.-Col." Clark; the one for the public, authorized him "to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia; * * * * to proceed to Kentucky, and there to obey such orders and directions as you shall give them for three months after their arrival at that place," etc.; the other, for the guidance of the expedition, was secret, and designated the number of men for each company as fifty; directed him "with this force attack the British post at Kaskasky;" and stated that it was "in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio," for which the cannon captured at Kaskaskia might be available, etc.

The point against which the expedition was thus projected was the center of a considerable French settlement, and the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi. In 1700, the French and Indians at old Kaskaskia had removed to a point on Kaskaskia River, near the Mississippi, 100 miles or more above the mouth of the Ohio. In 1702, Juchereau had gone across to the Wabash and founded Vincennes, and each of these points had been centers of active trade with the Indians. In 1718, Fort Chartres was erected on the Mississippi, sixteen miles above the village; about it sprang up the village of New Chartres; five miles away the village of Prairie du Rocher was founded; and some sixty miles above Kaskaskia was the village of Cahokia. During the ascendency of the French power, the fort was an important *point d'appui;* it was from this point that a strong contingent went up the Ohio to the capture of George Washington and his forces at Fort Necessity; from here the detachment went out which destroyed Fort Granville, within sixty miles of Philadelphia; another body of its troops aided in the defeat of Maj. Grant at Fort Du Quesne; and another assisted in the vain attempt to raise the British siege of Niagara.

Though transferred by treaty to the English in 1763, the fort was the last place in North America to lower the white ensign of the Bourbon king, and it was not until the latter part of 1765 that the British formally accepted the surrender of this most remote citadel. Pontiac, the unwavering friend of the French, took upon himself, unaided by his former allies, to hold back the victorious English. Maj. Loftus, Capts. Pitman and Morris, Lieut. Frazer, and George Crogan, some with force, some in disguise, and others with diplomacy, sought to reach the fort to accept its capitulation, but each one was foiled and turned back with his mission unaccomplished, glad to escape the fate of that Englishman, for whom Pontiac assured them he kept a "kettle boiling over a large fire."

The subsequent defeat of the Indians finally gave this forest fortress into the hands of the English, thus projecting another nationality into this "neck of the woods." The secret treaty of 1762 had brought the Spanish to the west bank of the river, and it is suggestive of the different races and varying sovereignties of this locality "that a French soldier from the Spanish city of St. Louis should be married to an Englishwoman by a French priest in the British colony of Illinois." The English garrison occupied the old French fort until one day in 1772, when the river, having overflowed its banks, swept away a bastion and the river wall; at this, the occupants fled with precipitate haste to the high ground near Kaskaskia, where they erected a palisade fort.

Clark's original plan contemplated the capture of these outlying posts only as a step towards the capture of Detroit, but the difficulties under which he labored, as well as the fact that his "principal plan was baffled," have been noted in his letter. On reaching the falls of the Ohio, his plans were forced to undergo another change, which he thus describes in his journal: "As Post Vincennes at this time was a town of considerable force, consisting of nearly 400 militia, with an Indian town adjoining, and great numbers continually in the neighborhood, and in the scale of Indian affairs of more importance than any other, I had thought of attacking it first; but now found that I could by no means venture near it. I resolved to begin my career in the Illinois, where there were more inhabitants,

but scattered in different villages and less danger of being immediately overpowered by the Indians; in case of necessity we could probably make our retreat to the Spanish side of the Mississippi; but if successful we might pave our way to the possession of Post Vincennes."

Accordingly on the 26th* of June, the expedition set out from Corn Island with 153 men, and proceeded day and night until the mouth of the Tennessee was reached. Here the troops were disembarked to prepare "for a march by land;" a few hours later a company of hunters, "but eight days from Kaskaskias," were taken, who on being questioned were found to be colonists favorable to the American cause. The intelligence they gave was not favorable to the expedition, but they asked permission to join its fortunes and showed their loyalty by giving out to the men only such reports as they had been instructed by Clark to do. The company was re-embarked, and on the evening of the same day ran their boats into a small creek about a mile "above the old Fort Massac." After resting one night, the invaders struck out for the northwest "and had a very fatiguing journey for about fifty miles," until the plains were struck.

Nothing extraordinary happened through the march except the guide's losing his way, which for a time put the "troops in the greatest confusion," and the commander in a great "flow of rage." The guide recovered his bearings, however, and on the evening of July 4, the little army reached a point within three miles of Kaskaskia. Marching after night to a farm-house on the same side of the river, about a mile above the town, boats were found to take them to the side on which the fort stood; and, at the same time, it was learned from the captured family that some suspicion had been entertained of an attack a few days before, when some preparations for defense were made, but the people, "making no discoveries, had got off their guard." The force was subsequently divided into two divisions; the one to cross the river again, and surround the town, the other to follow the commander in the attack on the fort. Acting upon the information that the French had been taught to hold the Americans in deadly fear, Clark provided that if the attack on the fort should succeed, persons who could speak French were to be sent through the streets of the village to proclaim "that every man of the enemy who should appear in them would be shot down." The attack on the fort was successful, the Americans entering it by "a postern gate left open on the river side of the fortification," which was revealed by a hunting soldier, taken prisoner the evening before.* The programme in reference to the town was successfully carried out, and in about two hours the inhabitants were disarmed; the whole having been accomplished without one drop of bloodshed. On the 6th, Cahokia fell in like manner without a blow.

"Post St. Vincent, a town about the size of Williamsburg," writes Clark, "was the next object in my view," but at this juncture of affairs new difficulties arose to vex the sorely beset commander. The term for which the troops had enlisted had expired, and the greater part of them were determined to return to their homes. The situation was most disheartening; by a happy stroke of diplomacy the horror and detestation of the French citizens had been turned to the most enthusiastic loyalty, but the peasantry were an unwarlike people, and still held the power of the British in great respect. Nothing, therefore, but a show of power could confirm them in their new attitude, and secure their hearty co-operation in the plans contemplated for the capture of Vincennes and the detachment of the Indians from the British interests. The retirement of the troops meant the tame surrender of all the valuable results of the ably planned and executed campaign—an issue which the bold leader did not concede possible for a moment. Acting upon implied powers bestowed by his instructions, Clark secured the re-enlistment of about 100 men for eight months, though not without the use of "great preasents and promises."

*Clark's letter to Preston. Butler places it on June 24, p. 50, note.

* Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 53.

"To color my staying with so few troops," writes Clark, "I made a feint of returning to the falls, as though I had sufficient confidence in the people, hoping that the inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving them, which they did in the warmest terms, proving the necessity of the troops at that place, in that they were afraid, if I returned, the English would again possess the country. Then, seemingly by their request, I agreed to stay with two companies of troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alleged, that so many was necessary; but if more was wanted I could get them at any time from the falls, where they were made to believe was a considerable garrison." In the meanwhile the French had shown their faith by their works; some had accompanied the troops to Cahokia to assure its citizens of the hearty co-operation of Kaskaskia; some days later, the priest, with others, proposed to carry a proclamation to Vincennes, and by their representations to secure the voluntary allegiance of that post; and now that troops were needed, sufficient of the citizens volunteered to complete the two companies which remained with Clark. These services were promptly accepted, and on August 1st, the deputation to Vincennes returned with the cheering intelligence that the people of that place had publicly taken the oath of allegiance, and raised the flag of the colonists.

"Domestic affairs being partly well settled, the Indian department came next the object" of Col. Clark's attention, and of the first importance, as his appearance in the country had put them in the greatest consternation. "They were generally at war against us," writes Clark, "but the French and Spaniards, appearing so fond of us, confused them; they counseled with the French traders, to know what was the best to be done, and of course was advised to come and solicit for peace." Capt. Helm was sent to Vincennes as commandant of that post and superintendent of the Indians thereabouts, and by him were "sent letters and speeches to the Kickapoos and Piankeshaws." In September negotiations were opened with the Illinois tribes at Cahokia, where Capt. Bowman commanded. Here the remarkable diplomatic talent of Col. Clark shone with new luster; spending five weeks at this point, he negotiated treaties with ten or twelve nations; sent agents to all quarters and made his influence felt among the savages "even to the borders of the lakes." At Vincennes the wisdom of Clark's selection was abundantly confirmed by the tact and prudence displayed by Capt. Helm; the savages were speedily won, and joined with a small detachment of troops from Kaskaskia in attempting the capture of a British agent located near the site of Lafayette, Ind.

Such success on the part of the Americans was not likely to pass unnoticed on the part of the enemy at Detroit, and no precaution was omitted to guard against surprise. The result of the abortive campaign by McIntosh against the lake posts was learned by the capture of an English spy at Cahokia, and at the same time uncertain information was gained of Hamilton's intended descent upon the Illinois country. Supposing that Kaskaskia as the most important post would be first attacked, the scouts were increased and every approach guarded with increased vigilance. Some of these spies were captured by the enemy, but the force at Kaskaskia learned nothing certain of the movements of the British, until news was brought in the latter part of January, 1779, that Vincennes had been taken. The garrison at this place, consisting of Capt. Helm and *one* man, was surprised on the 17th of December, by the appearance of Hamilton at the head of 800 French, Indians and regulars, and forced to surrender, but not until the usual honors of war had been accorded by the over-anxious commander of the besieging forces.

The British plan contemplated the reduction of Kaskaskia also, to be followed by a vigorous attack upon the whole of Kentucky border, but the gallant behavior of Capt. Helm on this occasion gave the English general an impressive example of the character of the enemy he must expect to meet, and the rest of the fall's campaign was deferred, the season being so far advanced as to prevent any protracted movement. There was some alarm at Kaskaskia, caused by the approach

of a party of Indians to waylay and capture Col. Clark; this attempt was soon discovered and foiled, but the general situation was none the less critical. Hamilton, deciding on no further operations that season, dispersed his Indian allies to attack various points on the borders, but with orders to rejoin him in the spring, and sent messengers to the southern tribes, 500 of whom he expected to join him in time for the spring campaign.

Clark at once perceived the importance of checking these designs, and that the only probability of holding the country was to take advantage of the enemy's present weakness. He accordingly proceeded to concentrate his forces, which, all counted, numbered "only a little upwards of 200 men," and having prepared a large boat "mounting two four-pounders" and "four large swivels," he set out for Vincennes with an "inward assurance of success." "But I had some secret check," writes Clark;* "we had now a route before us of 240 miles in length, through, I suppose, one of the most beautiful countries in the world, but at this time in many parts flowing with water and exceeding bad marching; * * * the first obstruction of any consequence that I met with was on the 13th (February), arriving at the two little Wabachees; although three miles asunder, they now make but one, the flowed water between them being at least three feet deep, and in many places four * * *

"This would have been enough to have stopped any set of men that was not in the same temper as we were. But in three days we continued to cross, by building a large canoe, ferried across the two channels—the rest of the way we waded—building scaffolds at each to lodge our baggage until the horses crossed to take it; it rained nearly a third of our march, but we never halted for it; on the evening of the 17th we got to the lowlands of the river Umbara (Embarrass), which we found deep in water, it being nine miles to St. Vincent's, which stood on the east side of the Wabache, and every foot of the way covered with deep water; we marched down the little river in order to gain the banks of the main, which we did in about three leagues, made a small canoe and sent an express to meet the boat and hurry it up; from the spot we now lay on (it) was about ten miles to town, and every foot of the way put together, that was not three feet and upward under water, would not have made the length of two miles and a half, and not a mouthful of provision. * * * But to our inexpressible joy, on the evening of the 23d we got safe on *terra firma* within half a league of the fort, covered by a small grove of trees where we had a full view of the wished-for spot. * * * We had already taken some prisoners that was coming from the town. Laying in this grove some time to dry our clothes by the sun, we took another prisoner known to be a friend, by which we got all the intelligence we wished for."

At this point Clark determined to act with his accustomed boldness. Writing a letter to the inhabitants that he was before the town, and of his designs, he expressed the wish that those who intended to support the English would repair to the fort, while others should keep close to their houses, "other ways there should be no mercy shown them." He also sent the "compliments of several officers that was known to be expected to reinforce me"; and with this he dispatched the prisoner to the beleagured village. As it was an open plain from his point of cover to the fort, Clark timed his approach so as to bring his lines in sight of the place just before dark, and taking advantage of the undulations of the land, disposed the lines in such a manner that nothing but the pavilions* could be seen, having as many of them as would be sufficient for a thousand men." The houses so obstructed the view from the fort that the garrison was not apprised of the presence of the foe until the Americans had full possession of the town, and a soldier was wounded while looking out of a port-hole to learn the cause of the disturbance, supposing it to be occasioned by drunken Indians.

With this the battle began; the artillery of the fort "played briskly but did no execu-

*Letter to Col. Preston.

*Flags.

tion;" the Americans, "shielded by houses, palings and ditches," got up within eighty or a hundred yards of the fort, and maintained a continuous fire all night; but "never was a heavier fire kept up for eighteen hours with so little damage done." The boldness of Col. Clark had not been without its effect, however, and notwithstanding the "little damage done," the English commandant seemed to delay his surrender only for a fitting opportunity. About 9 o'clock on the following morning (February 24), Clark sent a flag to the garrison, demanding its immediate surrender, warning the officer in command against the destruction of any papers in his possession, and adding: "For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer."

To this Hamilton returned a dignified refusal, whereupon the besiegers began a hot fire upon the fort, killing or wounding several of the garrison through the port-holes. The English commander's apprehensions rapidly getting the better of his dignity he soon proposed a truce for three days; this Clark peremptorily declined, and reiterated his demand for an immediate and unconditional surrender. After a conference in which the fears of the English lieutenant-governor were raised to the highest point, articles of surrender were agreed upon. About 10 o'clock on the 25th, the American flag rose over the fort, and the American troops took possession. With this surrender ended all English pretensions to this region.

On the official announcement of Clark's first success in the Illinois country, the Virginia legislature took prompt action to secure the dominion thus acquired, and in October, 1778, passed "an act for the establishing of the County of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defense thereof." This act, after reciting the facts of the expedition, projected and carried to success by Virginia militia, provided that all citizens of Virginia settled west of Ohio should be included in the new and distinct county, and authorized the governor to appoint the usual officers for the administration of civil affairs. For the important post of county-lieutenant, Gov. Henry selected John Todd, and on the 12th of December indited upon the opening pages of a record-book, his letter of instructions to the newly appointed officer. This also constituted his commission and reached him at Vincennes, shortly after its surrender, in February, 1779, whither Col. Todd had accompanied the expedition which had effected its capture. The adjustment of private affairs engaged his attention for the time, and it was not until the following May that he arrived at Kaskaskia, and assumed the duties of his new office, in the discharge of which he continued until his death at the battle of Blue Lick, in 1782. No successor to him seems to have been appointed, the cession of the Northwest having been made by the Virginia assembly in December of the following year.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DARK AND BLOODY GROUND—ITS PREHISTORIC ANNALS.

KAN-TUCK-KEE, pronounced, according to Marshall, with "a strong emphasis," is a word of Indian origin, applied by the savages to a "long deep-channeled, and clifty river," emptying into the Ohio from the South about midway between Louisville and Cincinnati, and was very early used by this people to designate a considerable scope of country lying adjacent to its banks. It is said to signify "river of blood," and to refer to that prehistoric age of which there are few scientific data save those found in certain mounds found here and there in the country,—"casual relics of antiquity, thus left upon this distant shore of time, telling no tale but that such things had been and had perished." Of these mementoes of a forgotten past, Kentucky divides with Ohio and Illinois the distinction of possessing the larger share of those found in North America.

It was not to be expected that these ancient monuments should long escape the exploring eye of science, and their discovery, with the presence of the Indian, early gave rise to numerous hypotheses to account for the peopling of the "New World." In the early history of scientific investigation, however, these relics formed but a minor part of the evidence relied upon to support the various theories entertained in regard to the origin of the Americans. Philological and ethnological peculiarities of the various peoples on the earth, with more or less mythical traditions current in every nation, supplied a more tangible and accommodating material with which to eke out preconceived theories, and from such materials arose hypotheses that, while they did not answer all the conditions of the problem, yet possessed so many half truths as to make them for years not untenable in the dawn of scientific progress. Even now in the brighter light of recent investigations, however, much later developments may disallow the authority of their data, or the justness of their conclusion, these early fancies still possess a fascination for the speculative student that will not let them utterly die.

Geologists have long believed that there was a time when the "lands now called Italy and Spain were joined to Africa, and in place of the Mediterranean Sea were only a few land-locked basins; when the British Islands as far north as the Shetlands were a part of the continent; when the present bottom of the North Sea was a low, wide plain covered probably by magnificent forests, through which the Rhine, with the Elbe and the Thames as its tributaries, wound its way to discharge its waters at length into the ocean north of Scandinavia; and when the western boundary of Europe was far out in the Atlantic beyond the present coasts of Ireland and France, extending in an unbroken line from the Arctic Ocean to Africa."* Bolder theorists, accepting the suggestions of Humboldt that the summits of the Madeira and Canary Islands may once have been a part of the chain of the Atlas Mountains, have extended this hypothetical range to the West Indies, and constructed a continent which once joined Africa with Central America.

It would be impossible to note within ordinary limits the philological and ethnological comparisons which afford the data from which are drawn the plausible arguments arrayed in support of these early theories, or the legends which form so important a feature in the chain of evidence relied upon. Prominent among the latter, however, is the story of the lost Atlantis,

*Prehistoric man; Bryant's History U. S.; *vide* Rafinesque, *et al.*

which Plato records as related to Solon by an Egyptian priest; some 9,000 years before his time, the priest said, a great insular continent, including the Azores, Madeira, Canary and Cape Verde Islands, and reaching far out into the ocean, was destroyed by an earthquake and submerged, with all its powerful and warlike race of inhabitants.

Of these early archæological speculations, one which possesses the additional interest afforded by a local coloring is found in the introductory pages of Marshall's "History of Kentucky," published in 1824. In this article the learned Prof. Rafinesque* has briefly noted the regular succession of the principal events which preceded the advent of the modern nations upon this continent. He adopts a theory which harmonizes the various suggestions as to a derivative origin of the Americans, and makes the "Atalan" and "Cutan" nations, which found their way thither from the east, the pioneers of human existence in America; subsequently the "Iztacan" and "Oghuzians" coming from the west invaded the first settlements, and eventually became masters of the situation. The periods which cover the evolution of this prehistoric society are, (1st) from the dispersion of mankind to the first discovery of America, including several centuries; (2nd) from the discovery of America to the founding of the western empires, including some centuries; (3d) from the foundation of these empires to the Pelegian revolution of nature, including several centuries; (4th) from the Pelegian revolution to the invasion of the Iztacan nations, including about twelve centuries; (5th) from the Iztacan invasion to the decline and fall of the Atalan and Cutan nations in North America, including about thirty centuries to the present time.

It will be observed that these periods are entirely arbitrary, good for this theory and theorist only, and begin with the cessation of the Biblical flood. To the first period is assigned the primary activities of the second era of human existence; the repeopling of the earth; the dispersion of mankind; the expansion of patriarchal families into the first colonies of primitive nations; and the growth of these nations into independent historical factors. Then followed those social convulsions that find expression in revolution, conquest and predatory wars, eventually resulting in the consolidation of many of the national fragments into one powerful empire by the prowess of the warlike "Atlantes" of Africa. The sway of this empire which "lasted many ages" extended from North Africa to the British Islands; and to the splendor of its power was added the glory of discovery.

Of the islands which now lie off the northwestern coast of Africa, Prof. Rafinesque constructs "one or more" prehistoric islands called "Atlantic Islands, which have given the name to the Atlantic Ocean." From these certain bold navigators are supposed to have found their way to the West Indies, driven by trade winds; and from thence to have discovered the mainland. This discovery found the people of the whole empire ready to seek new fortunes and adventure in the new land, and a great throng of immigrants soon spread over the American continent, the "marshy plains" bordering the large rivers, and the active volcanoes of South America, no less than the fertile spots of North America, determining the site of the new settlements. The "Atlantes" of America became known as "Atalans," from "Atala," a name given to the newly discovered land, while the emigrants of many subject nations contributing to the population of the New World were generically designated as "Cutans." The Atlantic shore, it is said, was then an arid waste but recently emerged from the sea, and the "Great White Land (Mahaswe-ta-Bhumi of Hind)" beyond the Alleghanies "became the seat of a great empire." This wonderful expansion does not seem to have endangered

*Prof. C. S. Rafinesque was a gentleman of great and very versatile talent. He was one of the pioneers in scientific research, and much of his work has been superseded by more recent investigations. His "Annals of Kentucky," of which extended notice is made in these pages is entitled to consideration only as a curious speculation which the vague ideas entertained at his time alone could warrant. He was born at Galata, Turkey, in 1784; came to America in 1802; in 1819 was made Professor of Natural Sciences in the Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., a position he held for seven years. He died in Philadelphia, in 1840. He published several works on scientific subjects, none of which survive save his writings on "Recent and Fossil Conchology," edited by W. G. Binney and G. W. Tryon, Jr.

the existence of the great aggregation of empires, the limits of which now touch the Ganges on the south and the Mississippi and Lake Ontario on the north. While the empire of the western continent had its own rulers, and a long succession of them, the African emperors were "acknowledged generally as lords paramount."

Such was the situation of affairs when occurred that wonderful cataclysm in which the traditional island of Atlantis was lost, and the whole face of the world materially changed. This fearful convulsion of nature severed all connection between the hemispheres, each survivor among the nations believing the other destroyed. Thus isolated, and the cohesive power of the government destroyed by the abolition of the object of common allegiance, the empire became divided into numerous nations, of which the "Talegans," occupying Kentucky and contiguous States, and the "Apalans, south of them, were two of the most powerful empires of that period." Then followed (5th period) the attack of the "Iztacans," named from their ancestor "Iztac." These people correspond to those of the "Mongolian immigration," to which many theorists assign the first peopling of America. According to Prof. Rafinesque, they may have crossed the Behring Strait before the "Pelegian" cataclysm, but it was some centuries before they came in contact with the older occupants of the Mississippi Valley. Of this race, the "Olmecas or Hulmecs" first came in contact with the "Talegans," but, unable to subdue them, passed into Tennessee, and finally went to Anahuac. Other Iztacan nations followed; came in collision with the "Talegans" with no better success, and followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, with whom they formed alliances, and constituted the great "Natchez" confederation or empire. This empire was found, more or less firmly established, northward from Anahuac to Alabama, Tennessee and Missouri, and waged frequent wars with the "Talegans."

About five centuries later occurred the "Oghuzian" invasion. The Natchez empire had gained some success in its wars with the "Atalans," and at this time held the country from "the Ohio to Florida, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. * * * The nations forming this empire or league, were civilized and cultivators; they became polished by their intercourse with the Atalans, and borrowed many customs from them. They worshiped the sun and fire, but did not build circular temples, erecting instead pyramids and high altars, generally of a square or angular form. * * * * * At the Oghuzian invasion, the Taencas, a Natchez tribe, occupied West Kentucky, the Huasiotos were in East Kentucky, and some Talegans still held the banks of the Ohio, etc.

"The Cherokees or Zulocans, an Atalan nation dwelling west of the Mississippi, being driven by the Oghuzians, came to Kentucky and Tennessee, and settled at last after many wars in the mountains of Carolina, where they became a nation of hunting mountaineers, and gradually destroyed the Huasioto nation of the Cumberland Mountains. The Shawanees, an Oghuzian tribe, came then in contact with the Natchez and expelled them from Kentucky, which the victors occupied for a long time. The Talegans north of the Ohio were partly destroyed or driven south through Kentucky to join the Apalachians, or down the Mississippi toward Louisiana and Mexico." And with these peoples, the Natchez (Iztacans) and Oghuzians, divided by various influences into numerous petty tribes, were waging their internecine wars when the Europeans came upon the scene.

Such confusions of fact and fable are certainly not history; but while the result of the latest and most exhaustive examination* of these theories, that "no man at the present day can tell the origin of the American," may be accepted as the truth of the matter, yet it is considered not impossible by a well informed essayist (Bryant's Hist. U. S.), that "in them may yet be found some aid in putting together the unwritten story of the early human race on this continent." But the true relation between these speculations and the teachings of true science does not yet ap-

*Native Races of the Pacific States. H. H. Bancroft.

pear. The developments of science during the past half-century have not been few nor unimportant, but they have supplied little of detail, and have rather widened than restricted the field for speculation. Thus far, scientific deductions have been largely negative in their conclusions, destroying confidence in old systems of chronology, and in the value of the various historical traditions formerly relied upon, without supplying anything definitive in their place. Here and there disconnected discoveries establish the fact that man existed in a period so remote, that, in its contemplation, a thousand years are "as a watch in the night," and in the archæological calendar, his career is marked by the chipped flint (Palæolithic) and the polished stone periods (Neolithic) of the stone age, the bronze and iron ages; but of the centuries involved in each or any age the scientist knows scarcely more of the number than the school-boy.

If, however, the later developments of science have only vaguely outlined the great problem of man's antiquity, they have been none the less radical in their influence upon the earlier deductions. Little more than twenty-five years ago, the Biblical chronology constructed by Bishop Usher had the supposed sanction of divine revelation as well as of science, and followers of this system had placed "the various migrations of men, the confusion of tongues, the peopling of continents, the development of types, the whole evolution of human society, within the narrow compass of little more than 4,000 years." (B. C.) Upon this settled state of security the revelation of the caves in England, Germany and France, and the lakes of Switzerland, came like an ominous lightning flash from a clear sky. Incredulous and pious people saw, in the new assumption of science, the covert attack of infidelity upon the validity of the Bible, while the scientist welcomed the new light, and sought in geology the only safe basis of antiquarian research. The receding echoes alone are left of this short-lived contest between dogma and discovery; attempts at constructing prehistoric chronologies are at least suspended; and without surrendering anything of biblical confidence, mankind is slowly acquiring a faint conception of the stupendous work of creation.

Whether the "elder man" was a resident of this continent is still an open question with scientists, but which the general belief expects to be decided in the affirmative. To this solution America's greatest geologist has paved the way in assigning to the Western Hemisphere an antiquity which was formerly believed not possible. "First-born among the continents, though so much later in culture and civilization than some of more recent birth, America, so far as her physical history is concerned, has been falsely denominated the New World. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters; hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the far West." (Agassiz.) If this high antiquity of the Western Hemisphere be true, it is obvious that communication between the two hemispheres may have been effected some ages earlier than the period heretofore assigned; and if the suggestion of early geologists that the continents once approached nearer to each other than now, or that the two worlds were once connected by a continental causeway, be accepted, speculation and science may unite to provide the primitive American a derivative origin in the Palæolithic age.

It is to geological research that science now turns for a solution of this question, and the principal obstacle in achieving unquestioned results is not so much the lack of evidence as the difficulty of its verification. In the absence of the cave and lake testimony, which has so authoritatively established the former existence of the primitive man on the Eastern Hemisphere, dependence is here placed upon the testimony of superficial deposits and natural or artificial exhumation of fossil remains. Of the superficial deposits, the more common are the stone relics found strewn broad-cast over the land. These are seriously invali-

dated as evidence, however, by the fact that the Indians were discovered here in the stone age of development, and so similar are the implements of this age in all countries and times, that in a confused collection of these remains no scientist professes ability to distinguish with certainty the modern product from the ancient, save as their original situation and surroundings mark the probable period of their origin. Other evidence of this character is supplied by the shell-heaps which are found along the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida. These have been classed by Sir Charles Lyell as identical with the garbage heaps (Kjökken-Möddings) of Denmark, which have given such satisfactory evidence of the presence of the primitive man. The American shell-heaps are much less positive in their testimony: they are evidently the refuse of shell-fish eaten by some race of men, and their number and frequent large size clearly indicate the presence of a large population. These relics have scarcely received merited attention from scientific explorers, though such examinations as have been made seem to justify the eminent English geologist's classification. The late Prof. Jeffries Wyman examined the structure and contents of some of these heaps and found no evidence of their having originated with the Indians, while trees growing upon them "showed, by their annular growth, an age antedating from one to three centuries the landing of Columbus."*

In addition to this evidence, several remarkable discoveries of human remains are recorded which, if only well authenticated, would seem to settle any doubt that may exist as to the presence of the "elder man" on this continent. Of these the earliest was made by Dr. Koch, of St. Louis (1839), who dug up from the bottom-land of the Bourbeuse River, in Missouri, the bones of a mastodon, about which were found weapons of the stone age "in such juxtaposition as to show that man and beast had met there in deadly hostility." There is no serious incongruity in the claims of this discovery, which would scarcely be questioned if the presence of the "first inhabitant" had been settled before this exploration. But science is very jealous for the truth and will accept nothing upon which a shadow of doubt can rest. It is considered remarkable "that subsequent deposits of earth should have so completely covered these frail remains, without disturbing them, that they could be exhumed in their original condition so long afterward." The discoverer proved to be an unscientific enthusiast, and notwithstanding his integrity is vouched for by respectable witnesses, the "find" is robbed of much of its scientific value by the doubt in which Dr. Koch's scientific ability is held. Other discoveries by the same explorer, equally remarkable and valuable if authenticated, share the fate of the former.

Some five years after Dr. Koch's first discovery, the fragment of a human bone was found at Natchez, Miss., in association with the bones of the extinct megalonyx and other extinct animals. These relics were found in a fissure in the earth caused by the memorable earthquake of 1811–12, and were examined by Lyell in 1846. There is no question as to the genuineness of these remains, but with an excess of caution the celebrated geologist suggests that these bones may have been brought into their discovered relation by the human bone falling from the surface. This opinion is now generally adopted, though Lyell subsequently held that "had the pelvic bone belonged to any recent mamifer other than man, such a theory would never have been resorted to." In 1852, a human skeleton was exhumed from a depth of sixteen feet, in New Orleans, while workmen were making an excavation for the foundation of gas works. Above the remains were found evidences of "four successive buried forests of cypress," and competent judges suggest that these bones may have rested there 50,000 years. On the Petit Anse Island evidences of man's activities have been discovered in close association with bones of the mastodon and elephant, but the erratic character of the river makes this

*These shell-heaps, it should be added, are not confined to the Atlantic border. They are also found at various points along the more important rivers of the country. P. 14, Bryant's History of the United States. See Note 1, Appendix A.

association of relics less conclusive, as it is suggested that the wash of the hills may have mingled the remains of various periods.*

Similar testimony is to be derived from discoveries made in Illinois, South Carolina, and especially in the gold drift of California. Of the contributions of the latter, the most notable is the "Pliocene skull," the popular conception of which is derived more widely, perhaps, from a characteristic poem by Bret Harte, than from scientific publications. A reputed discovery of a fragment of a human cranium "180 feet below the surface of Table Mountain, in association with fossil bones of extinct animals," was made in 1857. Some ten years later, "the Pliocene skull" was discovered, which the state geologist, Prof. Whitney, as well as other scientists, believes to be an authentic discovery. "The shaft in which the bone was buried is 150 feet deep, and was sunk through five beds of lava and volcanic tufa, and four beds of gold-bearing quartz. In this superincumbent mass no crack or crevice was apparent through which the bone could have fallen to so great a depth, and the inference, therefore, is that it was deposited in the place where it lay when that was on the surface of the earth's crust, and that over it in subsequent ages were piled up the successive beds of gravel and volcanic cinders. If this be true of these skulls, then the man they represented lived before the human race appeared in Europe, so far as yet ascertained." (Hist. U. S., Bryant.) Such evidences raise a strong presumption that the primitive man was once a resident of this continent, but the fact can be demonstrated only by such a recurrence of "finds" as will remove professional doubt from the scientific mind.

Coming down to a later time—one probably falling within the historic period, according to Prof. Foster—are found the more tangible traces of an early race of men. Of this people, named from the character of their remains, the Mound-Builders, the evidences are found vastly multiplied, and of such a character as to afford means of a reasonable conjecture as to their mode of life, their advancement in civilization, and final destiny. These evidences, though first accepted with great distrust, have been so amplified and confirmed by more recent researches, as to leave no room for intelligent dissent to the former existence of this race. The remains upon which this conclusion is based "consists," says Mr. Foster,* "of tumuli symmetrically raised and often inclosed in mathematical figures, such as the square, the octagon and circle, with long lines of circumvallation; of pits in the solid rock, and rubbish heaps formed in the prosecution of their mining operations, and of a variety of utensils, wrought in stone, copper or molded in clay."

In the theory of Prof. Rafinesque, the origin of these works are assigned to two different periods and peoples; those of "circular, elliptical and conical shapes" are referred to the "Atalans" and kindred nations, while those of pyramidal form and "high altars, generally of square or angular form," are referred to the succeeding "Iztacans," who may have been allied by origin to the Pyramid-Builders of other parts of the world. Though the professor claims that the earlier structures "may be easily distinguished from the subsequent Iztacan monuments by a greater antiquity," and the difference in form, later investigators have not accepted such a theory as supported by the evidence. All these remains are asigned to a single race, the different forms of the structure being held to indicate only the different uses for which they were designed.

The traces of the Mound-Builders' occupation are found throughout the broad expanse

*The recent discovery of pipes fashioned in the unmistakable form of the elephant seems to afford reasonable ground to believe that the people to whom they originally belonged had been co-existent with the elephant on this continent, and affords strong confirmation of the judgment of scientists, who assign this animal as the object which is symbolized in the Wisconsin mound. The first of these pipes was accidentally discovered about 1873, by a German farmer, in Louisa County, Iowa. He knew nothing of the importance of his discovery, and used it in his smoking, subsequently presenting it to a relative, who also used it. It was not until about 1880 that it came to the attention of scientists. The owner was then loth to part with what he esteemed a curious trinket, but it subsequently being broken he sold it for $2 or $3, to be placed in the State museum. This pipe stimulated the prosecution of explorations in mounds in the county in hope of discovering others, and Mr. Blumer was so fortunate as to find another equally good specimen of this rare relic. A full description of the pipes, with an account of their discovery, may be found in the *American Naturalist* for April, 1882, Vol. XVI, No. 4.

*"Prehistoric Races of the United States," Chicago, 1873.

of the Mississippi Valley, reaching as far north as the lakes, indicating the former existence of a great empire, the center of which, as marked by the more important works, being located on the Ohio River and on the Mississippi near the same latitude. There is a wide diversity of form and character in these remains, but a careful examination of all the evidences justifies the belief that a fixed principle underlies their construction, and that a different form indicates a different object to be attained in its erection. Typical mounds, therefore, have been classed by Squier and Davis* with reference to their supposed use as follows: Inclosures—1, for defense; 2, sacred; 3, miscellaneous. Mounds—1, of sacrifice; 2, for temple sites; 3, sepulture; 4, observation. Both enclosures and mounds belong to the same system, but instances are not wanting where each is found without the other.

Inclosures which are generally referred to the military operations of the Mound-Builders consist of simple earth-works thrown up to the height of from five to twenty-five feet, and upward of twenty five feet thick at the base, inclosing an area of from five to about 150 acres. At the foot of these lines of circumvallation is a moat or ditch of a width varying from twenty-five to fifty and eighty feet, the relative location of which is an important feature with many in determining the character of the structure. By some writers the ditch on the outside is considered essential to characterize the inclosure as a fortification; but to this demand Prof. Foster has pointed out the fact that the attack of savages and the natural defense are both quite different from the military operations of civilized people; and that in the fortifications of the Mandans, the ditch is constructed on the *inside*, an arrangement that would facilitate the mode of defense which certain circumstances suggest, *i. e.*, of rolling stones from the summit of the embankment upon the attacking party. Writers in general, however, disregard this distinction, and works with ditches on either side are classed as defensive, the location being the decisive feature in the investigation. In this connection an author remarks: "But when in addition to this (exterior ditch), we find a line of simple or bastioned works occupying a peninsular terrace or a precipitious height 'covering' an important region of country, commanding every position, guarding every approach, served by protected lines of communication, and convenient to points of supply, there would seem to be no further room to doubt."*

Other inclosures do not readily fall into any strict classification. Those classed as sacred differ from the defensive structures principally in being located on level plateaux, and including within their walls mounds of sacrifice, temple sites and sepulture, as all of these uses were undoubtedly sacred to the Mound-Builders. In the miscellaneous class are placed a large number of inclosures, the purpose of which there are no data to explain; the areas thus defined are irregular in form and vary greatly in size; and suggestions as to their use have assigned them a varying importance, from the demesne of a primitive lord to the site of a walled town. "There can be little doubt," suggests Prof. Foster, "that the Mound-Builders had their national games which were celebrated within these inclosures. They had, too, their religious observances, their funeral services, and their grand councils; but no clear line, I think, can be drawn in reference to the different purposes of these structures."

Mounds of sacrifice, or altars, as they are variously termed, are generally characterized by the fact "that they occur only within the vicinity of the inclosures or sacred places; that they are stratified, and that they contain symmetrical altars of burned clay or stone, on which were deposited various remains,

*"Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge," Washington D. C., 1848, Vol. I, p. 7.

*Thomas E. Pickett, M. D., in Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky. A remarkable stone fort situated on an elevated narrow ridge at the mouth of Fourteen-mile Creek, in Clarke County, Ind., is referred to this class of structures. The highest part of the ridge is 280 feet above the level of the Ohio, and its summit is guarded partly by an abrupt natnral escarpment of rock and partly by an artifical stone wall. The latter is constructed of loose stones regularly laid up but without mortar, and in one place is about 150 feet long. "It is built along the slope of the hill and had an elevation of about seventy-five feet above its base, the upper ten feet being vertical. The inside of the wall is protected by a ditch." Another much longer interval unprotected by the natural escarpment was defended by a similar artificial stone wall, "but not more than ten feet high." See Report of Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873, p. 126.

which in all cases have been more or less subjected to the action of fire." (Squier and Davis.) These characteristics are not all uniformly present, however. In the "American Bottom," where the mound system reached its highest development, the mounds of this class are not inclosed; and others are found with unmistakable evidences of being used for sacred purposes, but with no symmetrical structure answering to the typical altar. The remains found in these mounds consist of the manufactures of the people, beads of shell, pipes, tubes of copper, etc., etc. What the ceremonies were that were performed before these altars, archæologists are at a loss to conjecture. From certain evidences it is believed that human sacrifice found a place in their worship, but the data relied upon may only prove that the Mound-Builders practiced cremation. Fire was undoubtedly used in their worship, as "the altars or basins found are almost invariably of burned clay, although a few of stone have been discovered." These altars are elevated basins seldom exceeding a height of twenty inches, and are generally found resting on the surface level beneath a mound regularly heaped over it in layers of different materials, though in a few exceptions they are found on a thin layer of sand. They are symmetrical in their construction, but not uniform in size nor shape, varying in these respects from a circle of a two-foot diameter to a parallelogram of 50x15 feet.

Temple-Mounds are described by Squier and Davis as "distinguished by their great regularity of form and general large dimensions. They consist chiefly of pyramidal structures truncated, and generally having graded avenues to their tops. In some instances they are terraced, or have successive stages. But whatever their form, whether round, oval, octangular, square or oblong, they have invariably flat or level tops," upon which the temples are supposed to have been erected, but being constructed of perishable material they have decayed and left no sign of their former existence. Mounds of this class are found much less numerous toward the north, traces of them at Aztalan, Wis., being the northernmost limits of those discovered; they are not found in the lake region, nor on that line which seems to mark the farthest advance of these people.

The principal of these structures are found at Cahokia, Ill.; near Florence and Claiborne, Tenn.; at Selzartown, Miss.; at Marietta, Newark and Chillicothe, the only places where the temple-mound is found in southern Ohio, and at St. Louis, Mo. Some very remarkable mounds of this class occur in Kentucky, on the "Long Bottom" of Cumberland River, in Adair County, also near Cadiz, Trigg County, near Mount Sterling, and in Hickman and McCracken Counties. In Whitley County is one 360 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 12 feet high, with graded ascents, and at Hopkinsville, Christian County, is one of great size, upon which the court house is built. (See Squier and Davis, p. 175.)

The mound at Cahokia, "the monarch of all similar structures in the United States," may well serve as a type. When unimpaired by decay, this mound formed a huge parallelogram, with sides at the base respectively 500 and 700 feet in length, and reaching to the height of 90 feet. On the southwest there was a terrace, 160x300 feet, which was reached by a graded way; the summit was truncated, affording a level area of 200x400 feet in extent. This great mound covered an area of six acres, and, it is conjectured, bore up a great temple, perhaps the principal one of the Mound-Builders' empire. In close proximity to this mound were four other elevated platforms, varying from 250 to 300 feet in diameter. The great mounds at St. Louis and Marietta reach a height of thirty-five feet, and the one at Claiborne, Tenn., reaches nearly fifty feet in height.

The pyramidal form of this class of structure has given rise to a speculation which attempts to connect the Mound-Builders with the ancient Egyptians, but such an attempt seems to proceed upon hasty generalizations to conclusions which are generally rejected by archæologists. The relation of this form of the temple mound to the Teocallis of Central America appears to be well defined, and constitutes, according to Prof. Foster, "one of

the strongest links in the chain which connects the ancient inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley with those of Mexico and Central America."

"Sephulchral mounds," says Mr. Foster, "consist often of a simple knoll, or group of knolls, of no considerable height, without any definite arrangement. Examples of this character may be seen at Dubuque, Merom, Chicago and Laporte, which, on exploration, have yielded skulls differing widely from the Indian type. * * * The corpse was almost invariably placed near the original surface of the soil, enveloped in bark or coarse matting, and, in a few instances, fragments of cloth have been observed in this connection. Sometimes a vault of timber was built over it, and in others it was inclosed in long, and broad flags of stone. Sometimes it was placed in a sitting position, again it was extended, and still again compressed within contracted limits. Trinkets were often strung about the neck, and water jugs, drinking cups, and vases, which probably contained food, were placed near the head. Over the corpse, thus arrayed, a circular mound was often raised, but sometimes nothing more than a hillock."

There seems to have been a wide diversity in the burial customs of this people; a large number of mounds are found to be the depository of a single body; others seem to indicate that some distinguished person had been accompanied in death by his personal attendants, who were placed about him in the tomb; and still others indicate a miscellaneous burial of large numbers without particular arrangement. The use of fire in the disposition of the dead is apparent, though not in every case; nor is it clear that when used it was for the purpose of cremation. A thin coating of moist clay was applied to the body, nude or wrapped in a coarse fabric, and upon this a fire was maintained for a time, more or less prolonged, but in most cases the heat was not sufficient to destroy the cloth, which has sometimes been found in a good state of preservation. This, evidently, was not the result of inattention, as "all the circumstances seem to indicate that burial was a solemn and deliberate rite, regulated by fixed customs;" cremation and urn burial were also practiced.

"Mounds of observation," is rather a fanciful classification intended to mark isolated mounds found on elevated sites, the character of which generally discourages the idea that they could have been considered desirable places of residence. This theory of special purpose, however, has not been accepted as supported by any particular evidence; the Mound-Builders undoubtedly had need of such signals as the Indians still use, a flame by night and a smoke by day, and certain mounds have been found in positions where such a signal could be seen for a score of miles about.

There are also a large number of mounds found that do not fall into any of these classes. Of these, the widest divergence from the typical mound is found in Wisconsin. Here, instead of the circular or pyramidal structure, are found forms, for the most part consisting of rude, gigantic imitations of various animals of the region, such as the buffalo, bear, fox, wolf, etc.; of the eagle, and night-hawk, the lizard and turtle, and in some instances the unmistakable form of man. These, though not raised high above the surface, and even in some cases represented in *intaglio*, attain the largest dimensions; one representing a serpent extending 700 feet, and another representing a turtle, had a body fifty-six, and a tail 250 feet long. The significance of these peculiar forms has not been determined, but unmistakable evidences have been discovered, which mark them as the work of the same race whose structures are found elsewhere, so numerous throughout the Mississippi Valley.

The "Garden Beds of the Northwest" are found in lower Wisconsin, northern Indiana, and Michigan—all in the region bordering on Lake Michigan. Their resemblance to the beds of a garden suggests the name applied to them, though their lines are not uniformly regular. Some of the plats form a parallelogram, others are variously curved, while others are in the form of parallel ridges "as if corn had been planted in

drills." The beds in Wisconsin suggest an age more recent than the mounds, "as they sometimes extend across them in the same manner as over the adjoining grounds."

There is, in addition to these mounds, a large number which—following Mr. F. W. Putnam—whom Mr. Foster quotes at length, may be called "habitation mounds." A large number of these are described as located at Merom, Ind., and a group of fifty-nine mounds at Hutsonville, Ill., a few miles above the former place and across the Wabash River. These mounds were carefully examined, to ascertain if they were places of burial, without discovering a single bone or implement of any kind, but, on the contrary, the excavation showed that the mounds had been made of the various materials at hand, and in one case ashes were found, which had probably been scraped up with other material and thrown upon a heap. In the ancient fort at Merom, in depressions observed within the earth works, were found striking evidences of food having been cooked and eaten there, and the conclusion drawn by Mr. Putnam is that these pits were the houses of the inhabitants or defenders of the fort, who were probably further protected from the elements and the missiles of assailants by a roof of logs and bark, or boughs. Another writer,* in a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at their Boston meeting, August, 1880, says: "There is in this region a peculiar class of mounds, that was for a long time a puzzle to me. They are usually found in groups of from two or three to twenty or thirty, and even more, and are generally on some knoll or rising ground in the vicinity of a spring or water course, especially in the vicinity of our prairies or level areas of land. These mounds are from one to three, and, in a few instances, even four feet in height, and from twenty to fifty feet in diameter. One mound of the group is always larger than the rest, and always occupies a commanding position. Sometimes the group is arranged in a circle; other groups have no apparent design in arrangement. Numbers of these mounds can be seen in the cultivated fields. Although I have made excavations in them, and dug trenches entirely through them, I have found nothing but ashes, charcoal, decayed portions of bones of fishes and animals partially burned, shells from the adjacent streams, flint chippings, and in one or two instances a flint implement of a rude character.

"After examining many of these structures I am induced to believe that they are possibly the remains of ancient dwellings, made by placing in an upright position the trunks of young trees in a circle, or in parallel rows, the tops of the poles inclining inward and fastened together, the whole being covered with earth and sod to form a roof, or in the same manner as many Indian tribes make their mud lodges; as, for instance, the Mandans and the Omahas. Such a structure, after being repaired from time to time by the addition of more earth on top, would, finally, by the decay of the poles, fall inward, and the ruins would form a slight mound. Conant and Putnam describe such mounds in Missouri and Tennessee, some of the largest of these ancient towns being provided with highways and streets. They are also found in southern Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. Putnam has described an enclosed town in Tennessee, in which were many low mounds, or rather, as he calls them, earth circles, that he has pretty conclusively shown to be sites of the lodges or houses of the people."

The traces of the Mound-Builders are very numerous in Kentucky, and Prof. Rafinesque estimated that, of more than 1,000 of their towns on the waters of the Ohio, about 200 were found in this State, with "half a million of inhabitants at least." Temple sites of terraced mounds, are said to be more numerous here than in the States north of the Ohio, and notable examples of this class have been discovered and described* as located in the countries of Adair, Trigg, Montgomery, Hickman, McCracken, Whitley, Christian, Woodford, Greenup and Mason. Of these,

*Hon. William McAdams, Jr., Otterville, Ill.

* Collins' Historical Sketches, 1882. Also Dr. Pickett's article in same work; "Memoir of the Kentucky Geological Survey," Frankfort, 1883; Vol. II, by L. Carr, etc.

the structures found near Lovedale, in Woodford County, and in Montgomery and Greenup Counties, have excited unusual interest.

The latter Dr. Pickett describes as a "part of a connected series of works communicating by means of parallel embankments and embracing the chief structural elements peculiar to this class of works. On a commanding river terrace stands one of the groups of this series—an exact rectangle, 800 feet square, with gateway, bastion, ditch and hollow-way, with out-works consisting of parallel walls leading to the northeast, and to the southwest, from opposite sides of the rectangular inclosure. The work has many of the salient features of an extensive fortification, and appears to have been designed for purpose of military defense; and yet there is nothing to forbid the supposition, that its sloping areas were also devoted to the imposing rites of a ceremonial worship. There is a corresponding group on the opposite bank of the Ohio River, which is obviously sacred or superstitious in its origin and design.

"The third group of this series consists of four concentric circles, intersected at right angles by four broad avenues, conforming very nearly to the cardinal points of the compass. In the center is a large mound, truncated and terraced, with a graded way leading to the summit. This group rests upon a lofty terrace at the base of the hills, which border the beautiful river valley. About a mile to the west of this is a small circular work with a central mound, which is approached from the exterior by a narrow gateway, through the parapet, and a causeway over the ditch. There seems to have existed a connection originally by parallels, between the several groups of this unique and enigmatical series of works. The total length of the embankments now (1871) traceable is about eight miles."

Structures which are clearly assignable to the military operations of this people are also found in great numbers in the State. These are invariably situated along the large water-courses, and are especially marked in Allen, Bourbon, Boone, Fayette and Pendleton Counties, and suggest a confirmation of Indian traditions, that on the borders of the Ohio was waged the decisive battle for national existence.

These monuments of the Mound-Builders bear undoubted evidence of a great but indeterminate antiquity, and in attempting to form any conception of the period in which they had their origin, the student is met with obstacles that leave anything save vague results impossible. Inferences drawn from the physical character of the mounds and their surroundings, are especially unsatisfactory as to particulars. It is evident that these structures were built long after the country resumed its present topographical features, but the absence from the last formed terrace of those works which were undoubtedly designed to occupy the margin of the streams, suggests that the present river limits have been assumed since the construction of such works, if not since their abandonment.

Trees found growing upon these mounds are another source of indefinite suggestion. An examination of the concentric layers displayed in the trunk of these trees, indicates an age of four or five centuries, but this proves only that the works were not occupied at the time these trees took root. There must have been a long period after the abandonment of these works before the forest growth sprang up in the deserted haunts of man, and it is by no means certain that the trees now discovered standing were the first to occupy these ancient sites.

It is estimated on good authority* that it takes from 54 to 130 years for trees to increase their diameter by one foot, and that few individuals of the present standing timber were in existence at the time of Columbus' discovery of America. There seems to be a natural limit to the life of a tree, even when it is spared the ravages of destructive tempests and fire; the forests everywhere exhibit evidence of natural waste and repair. But once prostrated, the trunk rapidly disintegrates and leaves no trace of its former existence save in the humus, which forms so prominent a part of the forest soil. So far

* Dr. I. A. Lapham; calculation is made for Wisconsin, and would vary somewhat in more southern latitudes. Quoted by Foster.

as this evidence goes, therefore, the trees found growing upon these abandoned works may be the second, third, or an indefinite ordinal in the succession of arborescent occupants, and the period thus indicated is one of complete indefiniteness, though undoubtedly very remote.

Inquiries into the ethnical peculiarities of the Mound-Builders confirm this high antiquity. Only a few authentic crania have been discovered in such a state of preservation as to offer data for scientific deductions, but so far as these establish a typical character, they link these people with the Autochthones of the Western Hemisphere, and assign them a kinship with the Toltecs, of Mexico, who, according to the uncertain estimate of Clavigero, arrived at Anahuac in 648 A. D. Whatever date may be assigned to this immigration, the civilization indicated by the ruins in Central America was undoubtedly the result of the slow increment of many centuries, "and yet these ruins," says Prof. Foster, "I am disposed to believe are more recent than the mounds of the Mississippi Valley."

If it be accepted as science, and traditions seem to agree in pointing out that the Mound-Builders and the Toltecs were of the same race, an almost incredible vista of antiquity is opened up to conjecture, when the civilization of the primitive portion of the race is considered. "Their monuments indicate that they had entered upon a career of civilization; they lived in stationary communities, cultivating the soil and relying on its generous yield as a means of support; they clothed themselves, in part at least, in garments regularly spun and woven; they modeled clay and carved stone, even of the most obdurate character, into images representing animate objects, including even the human face and form, with a close adherence to nature; they mined and cast copper into a variety of useful forms; they quarried mica, steatite, chert and the novaculite slates, which they wrought into articles adapted to personal ornament, to domestic use, or to the chase; unlike the Indians, who were ignorant of the curative properties of salt, they collected the brine of the salines into earthen vessels molded into baskets, which they evaporated into a form which admitted of transportation; they erected an elaborate line of defense, stretching for many hundred miles, to guard against the sudden irruption of enemies; they had a national religion, in which the elements were the objects of supreme adoration; temples were erected upon the platform mounds, and watch-fires lighted upon the highest summits; and in the celebration of the mysteries of their faith, human sacrifices were probably offered up. The magnitude of their structures, involving an infinitude of labor, such only as could be expended except in a community where cheap food prevailed, and the great extent of their commercial relations reaching to widely separated portions of the continent, imply the existence of a stable and efficient government, based on the subordination of the masses." (Foster.) To reach such a pitch of power from an autochthonic barbarism implies a lapse of time for which science and experience afford no chronometric guide.

The question still remains in regard to the origin and fate of this people, and to it neither science nor tradition gives a satisfactory answer. As to their origin, speculation is divided between an autochthonic and derivative beginning, though the latter obtains the more general endorsement. Upon this theory are based two general hypotheses: the one supposes that the Mound-Builders reached the South American continent or Central America from the "Atlantic Islands," that, moved by natural causes, they immigrated northward to the Mississippi Valley, from whence they were subsequently driven by an irresistible foe, or a powerful political eruption among themselves, and that they found refuge in the "more congenial climate of Central America, where they developed those germs of civilization, originally planted in their northern homes, into a perfection which has elicited the admiration of every modern explorer."

The other supposition suggests that the Indian is a degenerate descendant of these

ancient people, and that the far-famed Montezuma, whose "halls" have furnished so rich a store of romantic illusion, was nothing but a dirty Indian, in a mud hut. This theory rests largely upon a comparison of the physical character of the remains found in the Mississippi Valley, Colorado and New Mexico; but notwithstanding the force of the argument thus derived, it is safe to say that by the great mass of evidence the Indian still stands an independent race. As suggested elsewhere, the conformation of such skulls as appear to be the well authenticated remains of the Mound-Builders closely allies this people with the Toltecs, while the distinctive character of their structures, as well as the mass of traditions presented, strongly confirms this relation. At the same time these evidences, as well as the character of their civil institutions, create a "well marked line of division from the Indian."

The two races are, nevertheless, historically closely connected, the traditions of both peoples raising a strong presumption that the Indian was the foe that dispossessed the Mound-Builders of their ancient sites in the Mississippi Valley. Writers generally agree that the physical character of their remains indicates that the empire of the extinct race expanded from the South, and that the line of defenses, "extending from the sources of the Alleghany and Susquehanna in New York diagonally across the country, through central and northern Ohio to the Wabash," marks the farthest limit of their domain. This line seems also to accurately indicate the region from whence the attacks were looked for and probably made. The traditions of the Mexican tribes are less definite then those of the northern Indians and relate only that their ancestors were overwhelmed in their northern home by the Chichimecs (barbarians) after a struggle protracted through some years; and that to escape annihilation the whole nation took flight southward, led by their chiefs. While these traditions are vague and little trusted by scientists, there are so many independent partial confirmations of their truth, that this theory in the absence of a better one, seems to be gaining ground.

Of the Indian traditions, the one most widely quoted is that current in the Delaware nation. According to this, many hundred years ago, when this nation boasted in the title of Lenni-Lenape—original or unmixed men—they occupied a country in the far West. From thence the whole nation set forth toward the rising sun, sweeping through the land in a great flood of migration, until their progess was stayed on the bank of a river by a race of giants, whom they called Allegewy, for whom the river was subsequently named Alleghany. Whether the river referred to be the one now bearing the name, or the Mississippi, writers do not agree. According to Davidson,* the starting point in the wanderings of the Algonkin tribes on the continent as determined by tradition and the cultivation of maize, their favorite cereal, was in the Southwest. Passing up the western side of the Mississippi Valley, they turned eastward across that river, the southern margin of their broad tract reaching about to the 35th parallel, while the center probably covered the present territory of Illinois.

Wherever the point may be that marked the meeting of these races, the contact gave rise to immediate hostilities, Delaware traditions assigning the perfidious conduct of the Mound-Builders as the *casus belli.* The Lenni-Lenape sought and gained permission to continue their journey eastward, but being assailed by the treacherous Allegewy, when in the act of crossing the river, the former were severely handled, though not destroyed. The Iroquois nation was engaged in a similar migration eastward at the same time, but along a higher line of latitude, and to them the defeated Delawares appealed for assistance against the Allegewy. Thenceforth the two migrating nations made persistent war upon the race of giants, until, after a struggle continued through many years, the giants were utterly defeated and driven from their homes.

The Delawares are not alone in the possession of traditions pertaining to this event in

* History of Illinois; Davidson and Stueve, 1877.

the prehistoric annals of their race. The most positive and explicit confirmation of this story is found in the tales of other tribes, some of which Dr. Pickett has compiled in an article of which mention has been made in the preceding pages. It is said that an old Indian told Col. James Moore, of Kentucky, that the original inhabitants of this State were destroyed by the Indians; that the decisive battle was fought near the falls of the Ohio, where the Indians succeeded in driving their foes on to a small island in the river and in slaughtering them to the last man. This the Indian declared was a tradition of undoubted authenticity in his tribe, and that the occurrence to which he referred was accepted as an unquestioned fact. But farther than this, the Indian sage declared that the island afforded ocular proof of the truth of the tradition, which a low stage of water would reveal. Subsequently Mr. Moore took occasion to examine Sandy Island and discovered a multitude of human bones.

The celebrated Indian chief, Tobacco, gave a similar confirmation of this tradition in a conversation with Gen. Clark, and it is said that Cornstalk told substantially the same story to Col. McKee. The latter chief said that the country on both sides of the Ohio was originally possessed by a white race, who were familiar with the arts of which the Indians were entirely ignorant; that this people had been entirely destroyed by the Indians, and that the earth-works found in the State were the remains of this "very long ago" people.

This Indian lore receives incidental corroboration from the character of the Mound-Builders' remains found along the Ohio border. The vast system of defensive works found on this line, admirably disposed to cover points most exposed to a general attack, as well as the evidences found in the counties of Bracken, Pendleton and Bourbon indicating siege operations, and a determined struggle, suggest that the Ohio River may have marked the site of the last obstinate stand of the doomed race. These closing contests were evidently attended with immense loss of life on the part of the vanquished people, and doubtless, as has been suggested, the familiar appellation of the "dark and bloody ground" originated in the gloom and horror with which the Indian imaginatiou naturally invested the traditional scenes and events of that strange and troubled period.

Another suggestion in reference to the ominous name the State bears, is that the Kentucky River formed the natural route taken by the northern and southern tribes to reach their enemies on either side of this neutral land. But whatever authority may be assigned to the one or the other of these suggestions, the fact remains, that a wide scope of country "where every prospect pleases" was originally shunned as a place of residence by the Indian nations. The larger portion of the State was certainly a land of ill-repute to the savages; to their superstitious imagination, the land was filled with the ghosts of its slaughtered inhabitants, and they repeatedly expressed their surprise that the whites could make it their home.

This ineligibility does not seemed to have extended to the western confines of the State, as the lower valley of the Cumberland River is marked by the earliest French authorities as the home of the Shawanese or Shawanee nation. How long they had occupied this region is unknown, but they were finally overtaken by the all-conquering rage of the Iroquois about 1672, and being defeated by these redoubtable warriors, the Shawanese fled up the valley, the principal bands finding new homes in South Carolina, on the head-waters of the Santee River. In the precipitation of their flight, the nation was broken into fragments, and a portion numbering some 450 souls wandered for years in the wilderness west of the Cherokees, who occupied the Tennessee Valley as far west as Muscle Shoals. This band subsequently found its way to the head of the Alabama River. In 1698, having obtained consent of the Pennsylvania authorities, part of the nation settled on the banks of the Susquehanna, where they attracted other bands un-

til, in 1732, their braves numbered fully one half of the fighting Indians of that section of the country. In 1751 this restless nation turned again westward, and located just below the mouth of the Scioto River. It was some years before the nation again united within the limits of the State of Ohio, the great unoccupied scope of country through which this people wandered from the Cumberland to the Alabama, and from the Santee to the Susquehanna, affording the various detachments a temporary home. A discontented portion of the nation, it is said, breaking off from the fragment sojourning in Virginia, came again in 1730 to Kentucky, and made a town in Clark County, near Winchester, which they called Lulbegrud. This party left about twenty years later, and joined their kinsmen in Ohio.

After the expulsion of the Shawanese the greater part of Kentucky remained the hunting ground of the Cherokees, though the Indian claims to this region were various and conflicting. The reputed conquest of the Shawanese, Delawares, Twigtwees and Illinois nations by the Iroquois, was made the basis of comprehensive claims by the victorious confederation. There is little question that this powerful nation carried their successful forays as far as the Tennessee River about 1672, but that this gave them any substantial claim to this region thus run over is opposed to the subsequent actual status as well as to all theories of conquest entertained by civilized nations. The Iroquois did not occupy this country and did not defend it, but it was occupied without the payment of tribute or homage, and tenaciously defended by other tribes, during upward of a century after the foray which is made the basis of Iróquois claims. That such a claim ever received serious recognition, is sufficiently explained by the obvious advantage which such a construction would yield the English in their diplomatic dealings with the French.

In 1684 the Iroquois voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the English; in 1701 this relation was reaffirmed or renewed; in the treaty of Utrecht (1713) this action was emphasized and recognized by the French, and in 1726 a formal deed of all the Iroquois lands conveyed them in trust to the English, "to be protected and defended by his majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." In the contest for the Ohio Valley it was obviously to the interest of the English to cover as much as possible of the coveted territory by this deed of trust, and hence they placed the most liberal construction upon the Iroquois claims. That such a construction would have stood the test of judicial examination may well be doubted, but the question between the rival powers was finally arbitrated not by law, but by might.

In 1768, when the English sought to acquire lands in western Virginia and Kentucky, they were met by the exaggerated pretensions which they had themselves fostered and urged against the French. In quieting these claims by purchase, the authorities undoubtedly acted with wisdom, but it was something worse than folly to press a title thus acquired against the occupying claimants of this region. It was well understood that the "Shawanees, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and other dependent tribes," rejected these pretensions of the eastern confederacy; and notwithstanding the presence of a single representative of the Shawanees, and two of the Delawares, at the Fort Stanwix conference—a fact upon which much stress is laid—it will be observed that the negotiations were had solely with the Iroquois; the treaty was signed alone of the Indians by their chieftains, and the whole price of the purchase placed in their hands. That the "dependent tribes" ever received any part of the consideration paid for the ceded territory was subsequently denied by these tribes, and this was accepted by the whites as the truth of the matter. Under such circumstances, to insist that the purchase of Fort Stanwix covered all just claims to this territory was simply to invite the murder of such settlers as should occupy the land, relying upon the validity of this treaty. As a matter of fact something of such a result did follow, culminating in the "Dunmore

war." This outbreak was summarily checked, and a short-lived peace consummated in a treaty negotiated by Lord Dunmore in 1774; in this it is said, though not supported by the circumstances attending the event, that the Stanwix Purchase was confirmed by the Ohio tribes.

Beside the claims thus recognized and presumably extinguished, the southern Indians made pretensions to this region. The justice of their claim was of course strenuously denied by the Iroquois, but in 1770, by a treaty with the Cherokees, at Lochaber, S. C., the whites recognized it, and the territory east of a line drawn from a point six miles above Big Island, in the Holston River, to the Kanawha, was purchased. In running this line, however, it is said that on reaching the head of the Kentucky, Little Carpenter, a Cherokee chief, observed that his people preferred to have their lands marked by natural boundaries, and proposed instead of the treaty line that the course of this river should be followed, including a much larger scope of country to be ceded. This was agreed upon, and the royal sanction obtained; the Virginia assembly voted the sum of £2,500, and paid it to the Cherokees for the additional territory thus granted. In 1775 the portion of Kentucky lying between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers was purchased of the Cherokees by Richard Henderson and others, for the sum of £10,000. This transaction was subsequently invalidated by the Virginia assembly as respected the grantees, but not as respected the grantors.

The Indian title to Kentucky was therefore extinguished by the treaty of 1768, which included all of its territory east of the Tennessee River; the treaty of 1770, which included the claims of the Cherokees to the region east of the Kentucky River; the treaty of 1774, by Lord Dunmore with the Ohio tribes, which, it is said, sanctioned the treaty of 1768; the treaty of 1775, between Henderson and the Cherokees, which included their claims to territory between the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers; and the treaty of 1818 with the Chickasaws for that portion of the State west of the Tennessee River, and known since as the "Jackson Purchase."

CHAPTER V.

EXPLORATION AND FIRST SETTLEMENTS OF KENTUCKY.

THE year 1763 saw the close of the French and English war, the issue of which, in America, had settled the right of possession to the country lying east of the Mississippi in the English. The Virginia frontier, however, was restricted by treaty with the Indians to the line of the Alleghanies. During the terrible vicissitudes of the preceding years, this line had practically fluctuated between the Blue Ridge and the more western ranges, but as the brunt of hostilities was removed to the Canadian border, settlers, emboldened by the comparative peace which prevailed, pushed westward to the line of Fort Pitt, and a few hardier adventurers extended their explorations into the unknown country beyond the Big Sandy Though contrary to the express stipulations of unquestioned treaties, and against the earnest protest of the natives, the Virginia authorities did not hesitate to encourage this intrusion, granting some 3,000,000 of acres west of the mountains as early as 1754, the Virginia assembly, in 1758, going so far as to enact a law to stimulate the growth of these settlements.

The natural consequences followed this unwise action. The Indians, finding their grievances unredressed, refused to lay aside their weapons on the defeat of their French allies, and rekindled the flame of war which swept over the western country with resist-

less fury, destroying all but the three principal ones of the newly-gained outposts, and visiting the border with frightful carnage. The campaigns of Bouquet and Bradstreet succeeded, and were followed by the treaty at Niagara and the subsequent conference at German Flats. While neither of these conferences effected any change in the frontier of Virginia, the latter was designed to prepare the way for such a change, and the too eager settlers, taking for granted what had only been proposed, rapidly regained the ground lost by the onslaught incident to Pontiac's conspiracy, and were once more endangering the general peace by their unwarrantable intrusion upon the Indian territory.

Accordingly, on the 1st of May, 1768, the president of the Virginia council, acting as governor, was found addressing the sessions in a speech, from which the following statement of the situation is taken: "By letters from his excellency, Gen. Gage, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, and from Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs (which I shall cause to be laid before you), it will appear that a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural justice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of royal proclamation, have dared to settle themselves upon the land near Redstone Creek and Cheat River, which are the property of the Indians; and notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the danger of such lawless proceedings and strict and spirited injunctions to them to desist, and quit their unjust possessions, they still remain unmoved, and seem to defy the orders and even powers of government." The gravity of the situation was fortunately not unknown in England, and instructions were therefore received which led to the purchase that made the Tennessee River the western boundary line.

The territory thus secured was practically, at this time, an undiscovered country. The Indian traders, who were the first explorers, and who long before had become familiar with every trail in the region between the Ohio and the Lakes, knew nothing of it. But this obscurity, strange as it appears, is simply accounted for by the fact that long before the approach of the whites, the last wigwam-blaze within its limits had been extinguished; and these adventurous merchants, attracted by the prospect of barter, had naturally been led northward to the valleys of Scioto and Miami in quest of the villages of the savages. The country west of the Big Sandy was not entirely unknown, however. As early as 1730, a white captive among the Indians had visited the southwestern portion of this newly acquired territory. This was John Salling, "a bold weaver," of Williamsburg, whom John Marlin induced to join him in an exploring expedition to the then undeveloped middle valley of Virginia. Marlin was a pack-peddler, who drove a thriving trade in small articles with the settlers on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge and over the mountains in the vicinity of Winchester, but, attracted by the half-disclosed beauties of the unsettled country beyond, he planned this expedition.

The two prosecuted their enterprise with safety until they reached the waters of the Roanoke, where they were met by a roving party of Cherokees. Marlin was so fortunate as to escape, but Salling was made captive and carried to the Indian towns upon the upper Tennessee. He remained with his captors, it is said, some three years, when he proceeded with a party for the salt licks of Kentucky in quest of buffalo. Here his party, falling in with a band of savages from Illinois, was attacked and beaten, Salling being made prisoner by the victors. Returning with his new captors to Kaskaskia, he was adopted by an old squaw as her son, a relation he sustained for some two years. In the meantime he became quite identified with his adopted tribe, and accompanied its parties on various expeditions, at one time reaching the Gulf coast in his wanderings. Salling was subsequently purchased from the squaw by an exploring party of Spaniards, who soon tired of their bargain and returned him to his Indian masters. Shortly afterward, accompanying a party of his tribe to Canada, Salling was generously redeemed by the French governor and sent to New York, from whence he found his

way back to Williamsburg. Here the story of his adventures was listened to with the keenest interest, and his description of the valley gave a new and vigorous impulse to the settlement of that portion of Virginia. But Kentucky profited little by this early visit; the region was too remote to excite permanent interest, even if Salling's opportunities for observation and description had been much better, and it was destined to rest in the obscurity of the "great woods" until another quarter century should bring it nearer, and develop grander interests in this unexplored wilderness.

The first exploration, and perhaps the next visit of the whites to this country, was that conducted by Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia, a gentleman prominently identified with early Indian affairs. This excursion was made in the year 1750, by a small party of Virginians from Orange and Culpeper Counties, of which, next to the leader, Ambrose Powell was the most prominent member. Their course led southward between the Alleghanies and Laurel Ridge to the valley which lies on the eastern side of the latter range, where, on a beech tree, Powell carved his name, which is still borne by the river and valley. Turning to the west, they crossed the rocky ridge which forms the dividing line between Kentucky and Virginia, by a gap, to which Walker* gave the name of Cumberland for the English duke, who was a favorite character with the Doctor—a name which still adheres to the range and a river as well. Crossing into the confines of Kentucky, the party found its way to the "hazel patch in Laurel County," where it divided. From this point, Walker, with such of the company as followed him, struck northward for the Ohio River. "Under the impression that the Ohio was to be found east of north" says Marshall, "he took an erroneous course which kept him in a rough and mountainous country until, having passed the Kentucky River—which he named Louisa—he came upon Big Sandy." Thence the party took its homeward course by way of the New River Valley, not pleasantly impressed with the country examined.

The result of this exploration did little to bring this region into public favor. The course traversed passed principally through a broken country, forbidding in every practical view, and exacting a prodigious expenditure of resolution and endurance to accomplish the journey. Such an experience was not calculated to give rise to a report that would excite public interest sufficient to lead any to brave the privations and dangers of the wilderness, and more than a decade passed before another attempt was made to penetrate the obscurity of this western country.

If the tour of Gist, which has been noted elsewhere, be excepted, no further visits to Kentucky were probably made by the whites until the expedition in 1761, recorded by Judge Haywood, in his "History of Tennessee." In this year a party of nineteen men from the northern part of Virginia, and the adjacent portions of Pennsylvania, set out for the southwest on a hunting excursion. Establishing a station on a branch of Powell's River, in Lee County, Va., the company remained in this vicinity hunting for eighteen months. Subsequently they passed through Cumberland Gap into the country beyond, but no record of their exploration has been preserved. It is to this party that Judge Haywood assigns the distinction of being the nomenclators of this region, though probably this claim should properly be restricted to the name of Clinch River and sundry "ridges" named for members of the company. In 1763, the same persons, save two or three who remained at home, again visited Powell Valley, crossed the mountains at Cumberland Gap, and spent the hunting season on Cumberland River. In the following year they carried their hunting operations to the vicinity of the present site of Crab Orchard, Ky., where they found such profitable sport as induced them to repeat their visit in several successive years.

In 1765, occured the conference at German Flats; and the following year, stimulated by the rumor that Sir William Johnson had purchased the lands west of the Alleghanies,

*Judge Haywood, in his history of Tennessee, credits the origin of these names to a party of hunters, who followed in 1761; the text follows the authority of Marshall and Butler.

lying between the Ohio and the Tennessee, for the king, a party of four whites, accompanied by a young mulatto slave and led by James Smith—variously titled as colonel or captain—set out from North Carolina to examine the new purchase. Passing through Cumberland Gap they first explored the country south of the Kentucky line as far as the present site of Nashville; thence following the course of the Cumberland River, they explored the country adjacent to the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers to the Ohio. Here the company divided—Smith determining to return home, while his companions proposed to extend their tour to the Illinois country. On separating, Smith sent his horse with his companions, "as it was difficult to take a horse through the mountain," and they, providing him with a generous supply of ammunition, left him to pursue his homeward journey on foot, accompanied by the slave boy whom his owner had loaned for the purpose.

Smith has left a record of this adventure, in which he relates its various incidents with laborious minuteness. He regained his native State after an absence of eleven months, in a most destitute condition; "my clothes," he writes, "were almost worn out, and the boy had nothing on him that ever was spun. He had buckskin leggins, moccasins, and breech-clout, a bear skin, dressed with the hair on, which he belted about him, and a raccoon-skin cap. I had not traveled far after I came in before I was strictly examined by the inhabitants. I told them the truth, and where I came from, etc.; but my story appeared so strange to them that they did not believe me. They said that they had never heard of any one coming through the mountains from the mouth of the Tennessee, and if any one would undertake such a journey, surely no one would lend him his slave. They said that they thought all I had told them were lies, and on suspicion they took me into custody, and set a guard over me."*

In 1767, a party from South Carolina—Isaac Lindsey and four others—explored the valley of the Cumberland, following its course nearly to the site of Nashville, where they met James Harrod and Michael Stoner (men prominent in the early history of Kentucky), on a hunting expedition from Illinois, having made their way thither from Fort Pitt down the Ohio.

A more important arrival in Kentucky, the same year, was that of the ubiquitious Indian trader in the person of John Finley, who came hither with several companions for the double purpose of hunting and trading with such wandering bands as he might meet. Finley came from the settlements on the Yadkin, and made his way across the Holston and Clinch to the head-waters of the Cumberland; thence following the warrior's path, "leading from the Cumberland ford along the broken country lying on the eastern branch of the Kentucky River, and so across the Licking to the mouth of the Scioto," he reached the Red River, an affluent of the Kentucky, in Montgomery County. Here he met a band of roving Indians with whom he traded; but, save that he was subsequently the pilot of Boone, nothing more is known of this first pioneer of Kentucky. "Were it permitted to indulge the imagination in drawing a portrait for this man," remarks the historian, Marshall, "strength of body and vigor of intellect, the necessary basis of bold conceptions and successful enterprise, would form the prominent features of its foreground. But to the historian destitute of facts, silence supersedes commentary."

Notwithstanding the extended explorations and visits noted, "the great body of the people in the colony knew nothing about the real situation of the country now called Kentucky. And they heard it spoken of as though its existence were doubtful, or as a tale told in romance to amuse the fancy, rather than to inform the judgment, or stimulate the mind to enterprise." (Marshall.) But while the net result of these explorations had done so little to increase popular information, they had not been lost upon the leading minds in the colonies, and the project of forming an independent colony south of the Ohio, long urged as a defense against the encroachments of the French, and since

*Drake's Captivities; 1839.

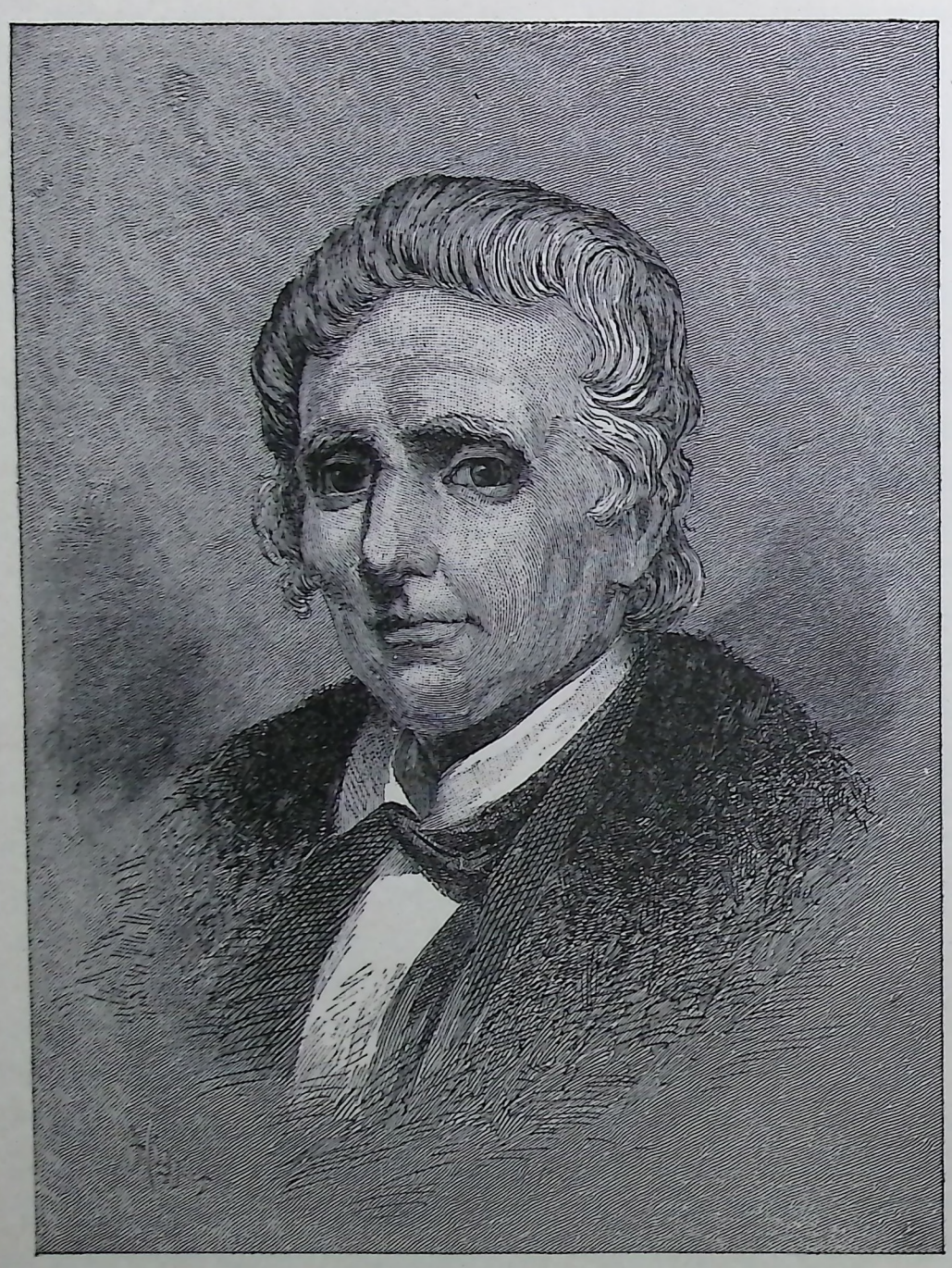
the war supported by cupidity and ambition, seemed now likely to succeed.

The history of the original colonies had not passed unnoted, and the various companies formed about this time undoubtedly originated in an ambition to repeat the early experience of the London Company, Lord Baltimore and others, under more favorable circumstances. Nor was this ambition confined to the existing corporations; certain of the royal officials, apparently moved by personal considerations, were not less interested in this movement, though less open in their efforts, and among these, circumstances have pointed to Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia and Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the Northern District, as most prominent. With the latter this inland colony was a dearly cherished object, and to his ambition may be assigned the responsibility for much of the bloodshed which characterized the early settlement of Kentucky. How early he conceived such a design is uncertain, but as early as 1766 he secured the endorsement of Gov. Franklin, of New Jersey—son of Benjamin Franklin—for his scheme. The plan contemplated was the purchase of the desired territory from the Iroquois, for which a grant was then to be procured from the king, and a colony, of which Johnson was to be governor, planted thereon. Through Gov. Franklin the project was brought to the favorable attention of his father, then colonial agent at the court, and through Johnson to the notice of the ministry. Nothing could have been more ill-advised at this time, as the Indians were already in a vacillating temper, prepared to attack the border at the first fresh grievance.

The attitude of the savages hastened matters somewhat out of the proposed order; the treaty of Fort Stanwix followed, and in fixing upon the boundary line, Sir William was influenced more by the necessities of his project than by the equities of the case. "Had it stopped at the mouth of the Kanawha, the Indian frontier would have been marked all the way from northern New York to Florida. But instead of following his instructions, Sir William Johnson, assuming groundlessly a right of the Six Nations to the largest part of Kentucky, continued the line down the Ohio to the Tennessee River, which was thus constituted the boundary of Virginia." (Bancroft.) "The fact that such a country was ceded voluntarily, not after a war, not by hard persuasion, but at once and willingly,"* affords striking evidence that the cession was previously arranged for by Johnson in view of another contingency, and that the Iroquois were alone consulted and won by such blandishments as the experienced Indian agent knew well how to employ. However, the territory was thus secured; but the royal government gravely suspected the wisdom of adding to the number of the colonies, the growing insubordination of which was already giving it no little cause for uneasiness, and there were enough prior demands for grants before the cabinet to delay any examination of this new one, until the opening difficulties of the revolutionary rupture forced every other consideration out of mind, and rendered all such planning vain. But the wind had been sown in Johnson's unauthorized action, and the frontiersmen of Kentucky were to reap the whirlwind.

In the meantime, while royal officials schemed, and the royal ministry wearily sifted the numerous and conflicting propositions to colonize this newly purchased region, silent forces were preparing to solve the question of its settlement without the sanction of charter or the tinsel of government. The return of Finley to the North Carolina settlements was fraught with the most important influences for good or ill to the new country he left behind him, and it is difficult to conjecture when its settlement would have been effected had not this visit happily ended in enlisting the interest of the hardy settlers on the Yadkin. The story of his adventures and the tidings of the land fell with various effects upon his different auditors; curiosity struggled with doubt and a prudent regard for the difficulties of the enterprise, and for two years none appeared disposed to undertake the arduous journey. In the meanwhile, the description of Kentucky, with its

*"Annals of the West," by J. H. Perkins, 1846.



DANIEL BOONE.

noble stretch of untouched forest, its beautiful rivers swarming with their finny tribes, its picturesque landscapes, its fertile valleys, and more than all the exhaustless throng of "beasts of every American kind" came to the appreciative notice of Daniel Boone, a resident of one of the valleys of South Yadkin.

But little is known of the previous history of this remarkable man. He was now about thirty-eight years of age; "his manners were simple and unobtrusive—exempt from the rudeness characteristic of the backwoodsman. In his person there was nothing remarkably striking. He was five feet, ten inches in height, and of robust and powerful proportions. His countenance was mild and contemplative, indicating a frame of mind altogether different from the restlessness and activity that distinguished him."*

Possessed of an inordinate passion for hunting and adventure, the story of this distant country acted on him like carnage upon the charger, that "smelleth the battle afar off;" and on Finley's proposing to revisit it, he promptly determined to accompany him.

Accordingly, on the 1st of May, 1769, a party consisting of Boone, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Mooney and William Cook, under the guidance of Finley, set out from the "peaceful settlements" on the Yadkin for Kentucky. The season proved exceedingly wet, a circumstance that caused the travelers extreme discomfort, and added to the tedious character of the laborious journey. Their route lay across the broad Appalachian Range, which defines the tributary valley of the Atlantic on the west, across the valleys of the Holston, Clinch and Powell Rivers to the head-waters of the Cumberland, and thence toward the north by the warrior's path. On the 7th of June they reached the Red River, where Finley had met the natives in his former visit, and here, at the end of a fatiguing journey of thirty-eight days, pursued through a perfect wilderness—"a land of precipices, of rugged hill-sides, of deep, narrow valleys, of tangled wood and impenetrable thickets"—they ceased their march and prepared a permanent camp to shelter them from the storms.

Hunting and the examination of the country next occupied their time, which was thus passed, without recorded incident, until the latter part of December. In making this visit Finley doubtless intended to renew his trading relations with the savages, and the others joined him for the sport and profit of hunting. None were yet adepts in Indian warfare, and it is certain that they had no reason to expect hostilities. The natives had treated Finley with kindness on the occasion of his first visit; the present company had made their entrance to this region and their more than six months' stay, without thought of disguise or concealment, unmolested; and whatever danger was to be apprehended from the discontent of the Indians previous to the Fort Stanwix treaty, that compact, they were certainly authorized to suppose, had removed all such fear. Whether any of the party had any conference with the Indians or early knowledge of their presence is unknown, but it is manifestly improbable that six hunters could unreservedly ply their vocation for so long a period in the favorite Indian hunting-ground of the continent, and escape the lynx-eyed observation of the savages. This the event proved; but how long the party had been a subject of surveillance, or what the cause of the attack to be recorded was, can only be conjectured.

The author of "Annals of the West" suggests the probable explanation: "the Indians were always extremely jealous of any white man that showed the faintest intention of residence on or near their hunting-grounds; if, therefore, the observation of several months satisfied them that the new-comers meant to lay equal claims with themselves to the game of their choicest forests, instead of being mere transient traders, we need not be surprised that they seized the first opportunity of making any of them prisoners." Whatever the reason, on the 22d of December, as Boone and Stewart were returning from a hunting expedition near the Kentucky River, they were seized by a party of In-

*Gov. James T. Morehead's address, 1840. See Appendix A, Note 2.

dians, who had concealed themselves in a cane-break.

In this emergency the captives displayed the ready tact that seems instinctive in the frontiersman. The savages offered them no violence, and affecting to accept the situation as final, they soon had the satisfaction of observing that they had disarmed the watchfulness of their captors. Encamping by a fire one night, at the end of a week's captivity, Boone discovered that the Indians had all fallen asleep, and carefully arousing his companion they made their escape unobserved. Repairing at once to their camp on Red River, they found it deserted and dismantled, their companions having returned to the settlements in alarm. But Boone and Stewart were not so easily disheartened; changing their camp, it is said, to a cave, now in Mercer County, they determined to brave the increased dangers and continue their hunting. A few days later they were unexpectedly joined by Squire Boone, a younger brother of Daniel, who, with a single companion, had followed the same route from Carolina, and fortunately chanced upon the site of their camp. But this auspicious reinforcement was closely followed by disaster; a little later, in another excursion, the elder Boone and Stewart were again attacked by Indians, the latter being shot and scalped. This occurrence so alarmed the companion of Squire Boone that he started forthwith and alone for the Carolina settlements.

The two brothers were now alone in a wilderness where danger lurked in every shadow. Surrounded by a vigilant and savage foe, of whose prowess they had had fresh and terrible evidence, separated by hundreds of miles of difficult travel from the nearest settlement, they found themselves destitute of every resource but their rifles and woodcraft. Undaunted by the terrors of the situation, these men determined to stay, but soon the small supply of ammunition warned them that the country must be abandoned or measures taken to increase the supply. The first alternative was not to be seriously thought of, and it was decided that the younger brother should return to the settlement and bring back the necessary supplies, while Daniel remained and extended his explorations.

To be thus absolutely alone in such a wilderness, might well shake the resolution of the stoutest heart, and Boone records that the departure of his brother left him for a time dejected and lonesome, but the situation afforded him too many distractions for this state of mind long to continue. He soon regained his usual buoyant confidence and roved far and near, hunting without concern and with great success. During the interval of his brother's absence, Boone seems to have abandoned his former camp, and to have rested no two successive nights in the same locality. Wandering wherever his fancy led him he explored the whole central portion of the territory which now forms the State of Kentucky, reaching the hills which overlook the "beautiful river" Ohio. His experience in Kentucky appears to have been his first intimate relation with hostile Indians, but, "uniting in an eminent degree the qualities of shrewdness, caution and courage, with great muscular strength," he succeeded in escaping the vigilance of his savage foes, though he must have been in constant proximity with one or another of the numerous Indian parties that frequented this region. That he should have been preserved untouched for three months, beset by such dangers, is little short of a miraculous interposition of Providence, and goes far to confirm the old pioneer's belief in his divine appointment "as an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness."

It is pointed out by the author of "Annals of the West," however, that "the woods of Kentucky were at that period filled with a species of nettle, of such a character that being once bent down it did not recover itself, but remained prostrate, thus retaining the impression of a foot, almost like snow; even a turkey might be tracked in it with perfect ease. This weed Boone would carefully avoid, but the natives, numerous and fearless, would commonly pay no regard to it, so that the white hunter was sure to have palpable signs of the presence of his enemies, and the direction they had taken." But to avail

himself of such an advantage required a consummate woodcraft, which was the outgrowth of natural gifts, rather than instruction, and one is at a loss whether most to admire the courage and capacity of Boone amid the perils of the wilderness, or that of his brother in his scarcely less hazardous exploit of obtaining supplies.

But the time approached when the return of Squire Boone was to be expected; he had been gone since the 1st of May, and as July came on, Daniel directed his way toward the old rendezvous, where he was joined on the 27th of the same month by his brother, who brought horses and a full line of necessary articles. The brothers thenceforward remained together, hunting and exploring without remarkable incident until the following March (1771), when they returned to the settlements on the Yadkin, the elder with the intention of removing his family to the country, with the natural attractions of which he had become enamored.

It was September, 1773, before the completion of his arrangements permitted him to set out, but on the 25th of this month "he and his household left his Eastern home forever," and, accompanied by five other families, took the route to Kentucky. On reaching Powell Valley the party was happily reinforced by forty well-armed men who were seeking the same destination. Pressing forward without anticipation of trouble they had just reached the threshold of the State when they were surprised by a sudden attack on their rear by the savages. The whites soon recovered from their surprise, and responded with a spirited resistance, quickly beating off the enemy, but not without the loss of six men killed and wounded, the eldest son of Boone being numbered with the dead. This ominous introduction to the "dark and bloody ground" checked the buoyant spirits of the company; the women, not yet inured to the bloody scenes of border warfare, were panic-stricken; and the men, seriously impressed with the unexpected strength and determination of the Indian opposition, did not feel prepared to face such perils with their families. It was without much dissent, therefore, that the party retraced its steps, the emigrants taking up their residence in the valley of the Clinch, where they remained until 1775, separated from their future home by a double mountain range.

But the Boones were not alone in their knowledge of and desire to enjoy this region. As early as June, 1769,* a party of hunters, variously estimated from twenty to forty in number, and organized in Rockbridge County and New River Valley, Va., and Holston Valley, in North Carolina, set out by way of Powell Valley and Cumberland Gap, for the hunting grounds along the line of the Cumberland River. The company was thoroughly equipped for a long stay, each man taking, besides "rifles, traps, dogs, blankets," etc., one or more horses. Reaching the meadows near the site of Monticello, Wayne County, they made a camp and depot in which to store the peltry and game. From this point they ranged "to the west and southwest through a country covered with high grass," until the following summer, when the sport was abandoned. Here the company divided; ten of the hunters, constructing means of conveying their booty and themselves by water, went down the Cumberland and Mississippi Rivers to the French fort at Natchez, and thence home; the remaining members of the party returned by the outward route.

In the preceding fall (1769) several hunters, under the lead of Col. James Knox, separated from the main party, then hunting on the Laurel River, and following up the course of one of its western branches, Skegg's Creek, the little party met a band of Cherokees, under the lead of a chief known as "Captain Dick." A mutual recognition followed between some of the hunters and the chief, and the latter, learning the whites were in search of meat, directed them to follow the direction of the creek across the dividing ridge, when "they could come on his river, where they would find meat plenty; to kill and go home." It is not recorded whether they obeyed the latter part of the chief's in-

*Marshall and Butler say 1770; Haywood and Collins, 1769.
†Hence, since called Dick's River.

junction; it is probable that they did not, and that in 1771 they were joined by some of the earlier party and a few recruits, raising the number to a total of twenty-two persons. The hunting in this season (1771) was excellent, and, extending their excursions to the barrens of Green River, they found themselves embarrassed by their success. Securing more skins than they could carry away, they constructed a "skin house" on Caney Creek, in Green County, where they stored their surplus booty. The Indians subsequently capturing two of the party, the remaining members temporarily abandoned the locality; on their return after a two months' absence, they found their dogs, which had "stayed by the stuff," gone wild, and their depot despoiled, a loss that one of the party expressed in a laconic inscription on a tree near by, "2,300 deer skins lost; ruination, by God." A station, subsequently made by this party on a creek, which takes its name from the occurrence (Station-Camp Creek), was also rifled by a band of Cherokees, the hunters losing all their pots and kettles, surplus clothing, and 500 deer skins.

At length the thought of returning began to suggest itself. The Indians were becoming serious obstacles in the way of securing the results of their hunting, and some of the party had been absent from home for upward of three years. Accordingly, late in 1772, they set their faces toward the settlements, where they arrived in safety, to the joy of their families who were prepared to give them up as lost, and where the story of their adventure gained for them the *sobriquet* of "The Long Hunters," and gave the new land a more widespread celebrity than it had hitherto enjoyed.

Another force now added its powerful influence to develop the "distant land beyond the mountains." The purchase of 1768, followed by that of 1770, had prepared the way for the sale of lands, and notwithstanding the inhibitory proclamation of 1763 had not been revoked, the keenest activity in land speculation ensued, surveyors pushing their lines to the mouth of the Kanawha as early as 1770.* The soldiers of Virginia in the French war, to whom a land bounty had been promised by Gov. Dunmore, and whose title had been recognized by the crown and land companies, were also clamorous for the satisfaction of their claims. It was provided that the bounty lands should be located on the waters of the Ohio, and in 1772 the settlements having reached the New River Valley, considerable surveys of these lands were made on this affluent of the Ohio. But the fame of Kentucky becoming rapidly noised abroad and the selection of bounty lands being confided to the beneficiaries, the demand for locations in Kentucky became general.

In 1773, therefore, a number of surveyors were appointed to make selections in Kentucky for such claimants. Of these appointees, Thomas Bullitt, whose gallantry saved the remnant of Maj. Grant's troops from that officer's unauthorized and disastrous attack on Fort Du Quesne in 1758, was the more prominent. Accompanied by James Harrod and others,† he set out from Fort Pitt for the falls of the Ohio. On reaching the mouth of the Kanawha, he was joined by the McAfee company intent upon a similar mission for themselves. The McAfees had left Sinking Creek, in Botetourt County, on May 10, and striking across the country had reached the Kanawha about four miles above the mouth of Elk River. Here they had sent their horses back, and constructing two canoes had descended the river, by previous arrangement meeting Hancock Taylor, a surveyor, and his company, on their way down. Reaching the Ohio, they met Bullitt's party, and the three parties thus united elected Bullitt captain.

Deeming it prudent, in consideration of the

*The first authorized survey made in Kentucky is placed at a somewhat earlier date than the above would indicate. Collins (Vol. II, p. 460) speaking of "one of the oldest patents probably now in Kentucky," says: "It was issued by the crown of Great Britain in 1772, to John Fry, for 2,084 acres of land, embracing the town of Louisa in Lawrence County. Nearly one-third of the land lies on the Virginia side of Big Sandy River. The survey upon which the patent issued was made by Gen. Washington between 1767 and 1770, inclusive, and upon the beginning corner he cut the initials of his name. Another survey was made by him for John Fry, on Little Sandy River, eleven miles from its mouth, and in the present county of Greenup." The fact that none of his papers so far as published mention these surveys, has given rise to a doubt whether Washington did the work in person.

† Appendix A, Note 3.

hostility manifested by the Indians, to negotiate with the most troublesome of the Ohio tribes, Bullitt left the company here and set out alone to visit the Shawanese town of "Old Chillicothe." He reached his destination undiscovered by the Indians, whose first intimation of his presence was the sight of his white flag waving in token of peace. They were at once eager to learn the cause of his presence; was he from the Long Knife?* and if on a peaceful errand, why had he not sent a runner? Bullitt, undaunted by the situation, replied that he had no bad news, that he was from the Long Knife, that he had no one swifter than himself, and being in haste could not wait the return of a runner. "Would you" said he, "if you were very hungry and had killed a deer, send your squaw to town to tell the news and wait her return before you ate?" Such adroitness soon put the savages in good humor, and with the deliberate custom of the Indians, deferred further conference until the following day. The surveyor then told the Shawanese that he wished to settle on the other side of the Ohio; made the strongest assurances of friendship on the part of the whites, and acknowledged that neither they nor the Delawares got "any of the money or blankets given for the land which I and my people are going to settle. But it is agreed by the great men, who own the land, that they will make a present to both the Delawares and Shawanese the next year, and the year following, that shall be as good." A delay of another day was made before they would reply, when they made answer to the effect that "he seemed kind and friendly, and that it pleased them well;" that as to "settling the country on the other side of the Ohio with your people, we are particularly pleased that they are not to disturb us in our hunting. For we must hunt to kill meat for our women and children and to get something to buy our powder and lead with, and to get us blankets and clothing."

Parting thus, Bullitt rejoined his companions, who had in the meantime reached the mouth of Limestone Creek, where Maysville now stands. Putting out from here in one boat and four canoes, the company proceeded to the mouth of the Kentucky River, where the McAfee party turned aside to ascend this stream: the rest went forward to the falls, where they arrived on the 8th of July. On their way down the river the united party stopped occasionally and made surveys here and there; several small plats were made in Lewis County, and on July 5, "a tract of very good land on Big-Bone Creek"* was marked out. Arriving at their destination and pitching camp above the old mouth of Beargrass Creek, the party under Bullitt began their appointed work and continued for about six weeks exploring and surveying lands in what is now Jefferson and Bullitt Counties. In August, Bullitt made the first plat of Louisville,† probably on lands surveyed for John Connolly, but no record was made of this allotment, and it was subsequently supplanted by legislative action.

On parting from Bullitt, the McAfee company ascended the Kentucky River as far as Drennon's Creek; here they found one of their party—his name is perpetuated in that of the creek—who, crossing the country from Bone Lick, had preceded them one day. At this point the party abandoned their canoes, and following a buffalo trail along the west bank to a point opposite the site of Leestown, they forded the river and on the 16th of July made their first survey in the bottom-lands where Frankfort has since been built. "They then went up the ridge along the present Lexington Road, until 10 or 11 o'clock of the 17th, when they again crossed the Kentucky River seven miles above Frankfort, passed a little east of the present Lawrenceburg, and camped near the remarkable spring which is situated under a rock, on the road between Frankfort and Harrodsburg—then called the Cave spring, and now known as Lillard's. After surveying some land, the party hunted westwardly, until they discovered Salt River, but which they called Crooked Creek; they then went down this

*Appendix A, Note 4.

*Appendix A, Note 5.

†Ibid; Note 6.

creek to the mouth of Hammond's Creek, surveying from this point to the mouth of the branch, on which Harrodsburg now stands." (Butler.)

This party now broke up, Taylor and his two assistants going to the falls to join Bullitt, and the McAfees proceeding across the country for their homes. They started on the 31st of July; rains were frequent and game unusually scarce; and reaching the broken country at the forks of the Kentucky about the 5th of August, they found their stock of provisions exhausted, and not a living animal in sight save themselves. Bruised by the stony paths, torn by the briers and underbrush that thickly beset their way, and famished for the want of water which could nowhere be found, they pushed on until the 12th, when, as some of them laid themselves down to die, a more resolute member of the party fortunately succeeded in killing an elk. This timely supply of food, happily supplemented by the discovery of water, revived their drooping spirits, and the party, once more refreshed, pushed on until they reached the warrior's path, and following this regained their home by way of Powell Valley. Taylor reached Bullitt about the 3d of August, and soon after, James Douglas, deputy surveyor for Fincastle County, joined them from Virginia.

There were several surveying parties in the northeastern part of Kentucky this year. Of these, a party of ten under Capt. John Hedges, with Capt. Thomas Young and Lawrence Darnall as chain-carriers, was earliest. They came from Virginia by way of Fort Pitt and the Ohio River, landing on the site of Maysville; they gave the name of Limestone to the stream which empties into the Ohio at this point, and linked the name of Darnall with the first large creek below, calling it Lawrence. This party made several surveys in what is now Bracken County; built an improver's cabin and cleared a small piece of land on the Ohio River, about five miles below Augusta. Gen. William Thompson, of Pennsylvania, at the head of another party, landed at the mouth of Cabin Creek in July, and made extensive surveys on Licking River and its tributaries, remaining as late as the 20th of November.

The year 1773 was further signalized by the advent of Simon Kenton in Kentucky. He was a native of Fauquier County, Va.; born April 3, 1755, of mixed Irish and Scotch parentage. He grew to the age of sixteen entirely without the education of books or teachers, living a careless, uneventful life until an unfortunate love affair turned him into the wilderness, a heart-broken outlaw. He loved a maiden who did not reciprocate his passion, but bestowed her affection upon his friend and companion. Attending their wedding uninvited, in his utter despair and recklessness, Kenton thrust himself between the happy pair whom he found sitting together, whereupon their friends set upon him and gave him a good drubbing. Soon after, meeting his successful rival alone in a retired spot, he attacked him and was so far carried away in his rage as to beat him unmercifully. Kenton was finally brought to his senses by observing the apparent fatal result of his attack, and leaving his antagonist for dead, he fled beyond the frontier, his only refuge from personal and legal vengeance. Traveling by night and lying concealed by day, he reached the Cheat River settlement some time in April, 1771, and assumed the name of Simon Butler. Remaining here long enough to earn a good rifle by his labor, he joined a party destined for Fort Pitt. Here he was engaged to hunt for the garrison, and while thus employed formed a friendship with Simon Girty, who as a renegade subsequently ran such an infamous career.

While at Fort Pitt he also met George Yeager, who, when a boy and prisoner among the Indians, had visited Kentucky. Kenton's enthusiasm being kindled and fed by Yeager's description of the scenery, fertility and game of this "cane-land," he determined to explore it for himself, and in the autumn, 1771, accompanied by Yeager and John Strader, he went down the Ohio, exploring the southern bank as far as the mouth of the Kentucky for cane. Disappointed in not finding this growth as described by Yeager, the party

retraced their journey to the Kanawha, where they continued their search without success. They remained in this region, however, engaging in hunting and trapping during this winter and the one following, until the spring of 1773.

Hitherto they seem to have escaped the observation of the Indians, at least of such as were inclined to hostilities, but one night in March, while sleeping in their rude camp unguarded and unsuspecting of danger, they were rudely awakened by a party of savages who had crept near enough to fire upon them with considerable accuracy. Yeager was killed, but Kenton and Strader escaped to the woods unhurt, but without clothing, save the shirts they had on. The survivors made good their escape from the Indians, but in their pitiable plight, without food or the means of procuring it, their unprotected bodies lacerated by the briers and underbrush that filled the forests, death only seemed deferred. Their camp was on one of the upper western branches of the Kanawha, and for six days they toiled on their painful journey with a scarcely defined destination, and living one can hardly conjecture how. On the last day, the two unfortunate trappers could only travel six miles, and this progress was made between the vacillations of hope and despair, the exhausted men repeatedly lying down to die. Their determined exertions, however, were happily rewarded; at the close of the sixth day they reached a hunter's camp on the Ohio, where they were considerately fed and clothed. With this party they ascended the river to the mouth of the Kanawha, where Kenton engaged with one of the settlers until he had earned enough to procure another rifle and outfit.

In the summer, he joined a party going down the Ohio in search of Bullitt's party, and on their way, some time in July, Kenton "with Michael Tyger and others" made some surveys and "tomahawk improvements" along and near the river in what are now Boyd and Greenup Counties. Not finding Bullitt, and alarmed by the attitude of the Indians, the party abandoned their canoes and under the guidance of Kenton returned to Virginia through the country. On reaching the mouth of the Big Sandy, Kenton's services as guide being no longer necessary, he decided to make this his hunting-ground for the season, and, in company with William Grills, Jacob Greathouse, Samuel Cartwright and Joseph Lock, remained here during the winter of 1773–74 trapping and hunting. In the spring, selling their peltries to a Frenchman and general Indian hostilities appearing inevitable, Kenton and his comrades returned to Fort Pitt, and eventually took part in the campaign of Lord Dunmore against the Shawanese.

In 1774, Col. William Preston, the surveyor of Fincastle County—in which was included all this new addition to Virginia—sent out three deputies, with their assistants, to continue the locating of military lands. Col. John Floyd was the first to arrive in the field, and on May 2, made his first survey in what is now Lewis County, opposite the mouth of the Scioto, for Patrick Henry—200 acres, binding one and one-eighth miles on the Ohio. On the same day he made another survey four miles below the first, and continued until July, so far as ascertained,* as follows: May 7, in Mason County, below where Dover now is; May 11, in Kenton County, about nine miles below Covington; May 12, in Boone County, including Big Bone Lick and vicinity; May 16, in Carroll County, three miles above the mouth of the Kentucky River; May 24, in Trimble County, about eleven miles below the mouth of the Kentucky; May 27, in Jefferson County, nineteen miles above the falls of the Ohio; June 2, in same county, five miles below the falls; June 6, in same county, at the mouth of Beargrass Creek; and going thence to the Elkhorn River, he made surveys in the counties of Scott, Fayette and Woodford.

Floyd's colleagues, James Douglass and Hancock Taylor, were not much later in reaching Kentucky. Douglass probably began his work on the waters of the Licking; on June 14, he is recorded as making a survey of 1,000 acres for James McDowell on a "south fork of Licking Creek," probably in

*See Collins, Vol. II, p. 238.

Montgomery County; subsequently he proceeded westward to what is now Jessamine County, where he executed numerous surveys on Jessamine and Hickman Creeks; and then turning northward met Taylor on the head waters of the south fork of Elkhorn, where the latter had made extensive surveys. Obtaining notes of the distances and courses he had run, Douglass surveyed here 3,000 acres for Edward Ward; a similar tract, July 8, "for Henry Collins, Esq., as a lieutenant in his majesty's navy in the late war;" and, July 11, 2,000 acres for Alexander McKee. Following the course of this stream into Scott County, he located several thousand acres in the vicinity of where Floyd was operating.

Taylor seems to have wandered over less country than his colleagues; he began his surveys, probably, in Fayette County, where he located thousands of acres and remained until July. He then proceeded to the lower part of the Kentucky River, to survey a tract of land for Col. William Christian not far from the mouth of the river, and while thus employed was attacked and seriously wounded by the Indians. Two of his assistants attempted to extract the bullet with a pen-knife, but were unsuccessful; the wound proved fatal on the way to the settlement, and Taylor was buried in Madison County on a fork of Silver Creek, which bears his name.

In the meantime, a notable event was occurring near the vicinity of these surveys. In May, James Harrod, who had been in one of the surveying parties of the preceding year, led a company of thirty-one* men into what is now Mercer County, and laid the foundation of the first settlement and village in Kentucky. The party came from the Monongahela Valley, by way of the Ohio, to the mouth of the Kentucky, and ascended the stream "to the mouth of a creek called (from that fact) Landing Run (now Oregon), in the lower end of the present county of Mercer, and east of the village of Salvisa; thence across the Salt River, and up to Fountain Blue, and to the place where Harrodsburg now stands. In two or three weeks this was followed by Isaac Hite's company of adventurers of eleven men. Capt. Harrod and his company encamped at the Big Spring, on the east of the place where it was agreed to lay off a town. Thence the men scattered in small companies to select locations, improve lands and build cabins, which they divided among themselves by lot—and as 'the lottery cabins' they were known as long as they lasted. John Crow's lottery cabin was near the town spring of Danville. James Brown's, on Clark's Run three-fourths of a mile southeast of said spring, and James Blair's, a mile and a quarter southwest; William Field's a mile and a third west of Danville; John Crawford's, four miles south of Danville; and James Wiley's, three miles east of Harrodsburg. There is good reason to believe that cabins were not built for all of the company, and therefore those built were apportioned by lot. The men of Hite's company 'improved,' but generally without building cabins. James Harrod found what he called the Boiling Spring, which subsequently became the site of 'Boiling Spring settlement,' six miles south of Harrodstown; here he cut down brush and made his improvement." (Collins.)

On the 16th of June, the company united to lay off a town, in which was assigned to each man a half-acre lot, and a ten-acre outlot. While this work was in progress, Boone having been sent to Kentucky on a special mission, reached this place and assisted in laying out the lots, one of which was assigned him. This lot adjoined one laid off for one Hinton, upon which a double loghouse was built, which was known indiscriminately so long as it existed as Boone's or Hinton's cabin. Several other cabins were built here, which afforded quarters for the party until July 10th, when a band of Indians attacked five of the settlers, who were attending a piece of corn, planted about three miles from Harrodsburg. One of the number, Jared Cowan, was engaged in drying some papers in the sun, and was instantly killed. This sudden and fatal attack dis-

*Appendix A, Note 7.

persed the squad; Jacob Sandusky, with two others, supposing the main party destroyed, struck out for the Cumberland River, which they reached in safety, and thence by canoe to New Orleans. The other survivor hastened to Harrodsburg, from whence a strong party was sent out, and the murdered man's papers recovered. This confirmation of the report of general Indian hostilities, which Boone had brought, quickly determined their action; the scattered men were recalled at once, and the whole company speedily conducted by way of Cumberland Gap to Virginia.

Until the middle of 1774, the dissatisfaction of the Ohio Indians with the Fort Stanwix treaty found expression in open hostilities only within the precincts of the disputed territory. The existence of this dissatisfaction, and the reasons therefor, were well known, and as early as 1770, the fact found record in Washington's journal. In 1773, Bullitt probably expressed the calm judgment of the leading minds, when he recognized the justice of these Indian complaints, and promised that their claims should be satisfied; but it did not require a revelation to teach these untutored savages that "fine words butter no parsnips." The blankets and presents were not forthcoming, but it did not escape their attention, meanwhile, that thousands of deer and buffalo were falling a prey to the white hunter's rifle, and that over thousands of the choicest acres in their hunting-grounds could be seen the surveyor's fatal trail. Accordingly, irresponsible bands of the Ohio tribes gave deadly expression to the general feeling, and there were few who ventured into this forbidden ground but experienced the weight of Indian resentment. This feeling was undoubtedly encouraged by the French traders, who were still welcome among the natives, and who had not yet recovered from the smart occasioned by the discomfiture of their nation; for some little time longer, however, a prudent regard for the power of the English delayed a general war, but with the opening of the year 1774 events occurred which precipitated the Shawanese, "the very head and front of the offending," into open war.

The earlier settlements west of the Alleghanies were planted along the Cheat River in 1754, and along the Monongahela two years later. Here their extension was checked for a time by the hostile activity of the Indians, but directly this was ended the progress of the settlements led toward the Ohio. The Zanes settled on the site of Wheeling, in 1770, considerably in advance of others, but in 1772 settlements began to be marked in the country between the Monongahela and the Laurel Ridge, and in the succeeding year the main line had reached the Ohio. The rallying point for all this region was at Fort Pitt, at the forks of the Ohio, where a vigorous settlement had sprung up under the name of Pittsburgh.

During the French war there was considerable doubt as to the jurisdiction within which the forks of the Ohio came, neither Pennsylvania or Virginia caring to incur the responsibility and expense of defending it against the French. Circumstances, however, devolved the task principally upon Virginia, though both provinces contributed to its final capture and defense. When the geography of this country became better known, it was found that Pennsylvania had profited most by the exertions of their joint efforts—a result by no means pleasing to the Virginians. As early as 1763, therefore, a growing feeling existed in Virginia that the possession of this point rightfully belonged to that province, and in the course of the succeeding ten years, this feeling matured into a demand.

Accordingly, early in 1774, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, sent his nephew, Dr. John Connolly, to Pittsburgh to assert the claims of the province. Connolly's first act, under this authority, was to issue a proclamation to the settlers in this region to assemble on the 25th of January, to be enrolled and mustered as Virginia militia. The proprietors of Pennsylvania were represented in the West by Arthur St. Clair, and he promptly caused the Virginian representative to be arrested before the date of the meeting. Notwithstanding this marked challenge of Virginia's authority, the people assembled according to the call, only to be peaceably dis-

persed by the dominant authority. Soon after this, upon his own authority and the promise of Connolly to return to his bond, the sheriff released his prisoner, who straightway collected a band of followers, and in March returned to Pittsburgh to reassert the claim of Virginia. Too strong to be rearrested, the usurper repaired the fort which had been dismantled, named it Fort Dunmore, and garrisoned it, remaining for the time master of the situation.

His proceedings thus far had been carried forward upon the sanction of the governor, but it became a serious question with Connolly whether the assembly would grant the means of paying the large expense involved, and it is gravely charged that he sought secretly to provoke a rupture with the Indians to give the color of necessity to his profuse expenditure. However this may be, in the latter part of April, Connolly dispatched a letter to the settlers along the Ohio warning them that the Shawanese were not to be trusted, and that the whites should be prepared to revenge any outrages perpetrated by the savages.

On June 17, 1798, Gen. Clark wrote a letter to the Louisville *Literary News Letter*, discussing the responsibility for what followed the events mentioned above, and from it is taken the following account of the situation: "This country* was explored in 1773. A resolution was formed to make a settlement the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kanawha appointed as the place of general rendezvous, in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming, which deterred many. About eighty or ninety men arrived at the appointed rendezvous, where we lay some days.

"A small party of hunters, that lay about ten miles below, were fired upon by the Indians, whom the hunters beat back, and returned to camp. This and many other circumstances led us to believe that the Indians were determined on war. The whole party was enrolled and determined to execute their project for forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of. An Indian town called the Horsehead Bottom, on the Scioto and near its mouth, lay nearly in our way. The determination was to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command? was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare, and they were such that we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation; and that he had concluded to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed there his people. We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed; and it was unanimously agreed to send for him to command the party. Messengers were dispatched and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution from some of his hunters, that had fallen in with ours, and had set out to come to us.

"We now thought our army, as we called it, complete, and the destruction of the Indians sure. A council was called, and to our astonishment our intended commander-in-chief was the person that dissuaded us from the enterprise. He said that appearances were very suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war; that if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of our success; but a war would, at any rate, be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly; but if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people, and share our fortunes.

"He was then asked what he would advise. His answer was, that we should return to Wheeling, as a convenient port, to hear what was going forward. That a few weeks would determine. As it was early in the spring, if we found the Indians were not disposed for war, we should have full time to return and make our establishment in Kentucky. This was adopted, and two hours later the whole were under way. As we ascended the river we met Kill-buck, an Indian

*Kentucky.

chief, with a small party. We had a long conference with him but received little satisfaction as to the disposition of the Indians. * * * * * On our arrival at Wheeling (the country being pretty well settled thereabouts), the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed. They flocked to our camp from every direction; and all that we could say could not keep them from under our wings. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts, until further information, if they would return to their plantations; but nothing would prevail. By this time we had got to be a formidable party. All the hunters, men without families, etc., in that quarter, had joined our party.

"Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburgh. The whole of that country at that time being under the jurisdiction of Virginia, Dr. Connolly had been appointed by Dunmore captain-commandant of the district, which was called Waugusta.* He, learning of us, sent a message addressed to the party, letting us know that a war was to be apprehended, and requesting that we should keep our position for a few days, as messages had been sent to the Indians, and a few days would determine the doubt. The answer he got was that he had no inclination to quit our quarters for some time; that during our stay we should be careful that the enemy did not harass the neighborhood that we lay in. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh, he sent a second express, addressed to Capt. Cresap, as the most influential man amongst us, informing him that the messengers had returned from the Indians; that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party to get them to cover the country by scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. The reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post† was planted, a council was called, and the letter read by Cresap, all the Indian traders being summoned on so important an occasion. Action was had, and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into camp.*

"The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river, keeping the advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased fifteen miles down the river, and driven ashore.† A battle ensued; a few were wounded on both sides; one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted to march the next day and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio, about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles, and then halted to take some refreshment. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions, as they were hunting, and their party was composed of men, women and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew, as I myself and others present had been in their camp about four weeks past, on our descending the river from Pittsburgh. In short, every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped, and took the road to Redstone."‡

Connolly's ill-advised letter was destined to bear still further bitter fruit. The settlers everywhere in this region seemed to have been put on the alert by this warning, and with a "zeal not according to knowledge," were betrayed into acts which warranted the bloodiest reprisal. Two days later than the events narrated by Gen. Clark, a company of thirty-two men under the command of Daniel Greathouse, hastily assuming that the action of Cresap would inevitably precipitate a war,

*West Augusta, *i.e.*, western part of Augusta County.
†Fort Henry.

*The Indians, whose murder is thus noted, proved to be friendly natives in the employ of a Pittsburgh trader, and sent on a special mission. Notwithstanding the favorable character Clark assigns to Cresap, the great mass of evidence shows him to have been an "Indian hater," and the special evidence relating to this murder, makes it clear that he attacked the unsuspecting Indians against the earnest protest of the Zanes, who clearly showed him that his premeditated attack was unjustifiable, and ominous of wide-spread evils.

†At Captina Creek.

‡Brownsville, Penn. Clark was the apologist of Connolly and Cresap; the latter was, through a natural misapprehension, charged with the additional dastardly murder at Yellow Creek, but fortunately his reputation is saved this additional reproach by abundant sworn testimony.

proceeded up the Ohio to a point forty miles above Wheeling. The avowed object of this movement was the protection of a family (Baker's) whose cabin stood opposite the mouth of Big Yellow Creek, where Logan's hunting party was then encamped.

Arriving at their destination, "the party was concealed in ambuscade, while their commander went over the river, under the mask of friendship, to the Indian camp, to ascertain their number; while there an Indian woman advised him to return home speedily, saying that the Indians were drinking and angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, and might do him some mischief. On his return to his party, he reported that the Indians were too strong for an open attack. He returned to Baker's and requested him to give any Indians who might come over, in the course of the day, as much rum as they might call for, and get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. The plan succeeded. Several Indian men, with two women, came over the river to Baker's, who had previously been in the habit of selling rum to Indians. The men drank freely and became intoxicated. In this State they were all killed by Greathouse and a few of his party, for it is but justice to state, that not more than five or six of the whole number had any participation in the slaughter at the house. The rest protested against it, as an atrocious murder. From their numbers being by far the majority, they might have prevented the deed; but alas! they did not. A little Indian girl alone was saved from the slaughter, by the humanity of some one of the party, whose name is not now known.

"The Indians in the camp, hearing the firing at the house, sent a canoe with two men in it to enquire what had happened. These two Indians were both shot down as soon as they landed on the beach. A second and larger canoe was then manned by a number of Indians in arms; but, in attempting to reach the shore some distance below the house, were received by a well-directed fire from the party, which killed the greater number of them, and compelled the survivors to return. A great number of shots were exchanged across the river, but without damage to the white party, not one of whom was even wounded. The Indian men who were murdered were all scalped. The woman who gave the friendly advice to the commander of the party, when in the Indian camp, was amongst the slain at Baker's house."*

Comment upon these atrocious crimes is unnecessary; and they have been thus specifically pointed out because the massacres at Captina and Yellow Creeks were the undoubted cause of the outbreak which ensued. None on the frontier doubted that war would follow. The settlers were hastily notified and gathered at places best suited for defense, and an express was sent to Williamsburg with tidings of affairs on the border. Lord Dunmore quickly took measures to meet the emergency; the organization of an armed force to rendezvous at Wheeling was expeditiously undertaken, and Boone was summoned from his retirement to proceed to Kentucky and warn the several surveying parties engaged there. In company with Michael Stoner he set out in June, and it was on this trip that he visited Harrodsburg and assisted in laying out the lots. He found the surveyors already alarmed, and conducted them in with complete success and safety, making the tour of 800 miles in sixty-eight days.

The Indians, however, had not generally determined upon war. The friends of the murdered savages took vengeance on the whites within their reach, and several traders were sacrificed to their fury in a terrible manner, but the tribes were still reluctant to take up the bloody gauntlet thrown down by the whites. In this unsettled state of affairs the force rendezvoused at Wheeling, determined to march against the Indian town, Wappatomica, on the Muskingum. The Indians frustrated their attempt to surprise this invading army, sued for peace, and gave five of their chiefs as hostages. Two of these were subsequently released to collect the head tribesmen to ratify a peace, but the

*Notes on early settlement of western Virginia. Rev. Joseph Doddridge 1824.

whites, after waiting until it seemed evident that the only object of the savages was to gain time for organization, laid waste the town and crops, and retired with their prisoners. The Delawares, still anxious for peace, and the Shawanese, influenced by their sagacious leader, Cornstalk, went so far in their efforts to avert the threatened conflict as to secure some wandering traders from the wrath of the Mingoes whose friends had been murdered. And Logan, who had taken ready vengeance upon the scattered settlers, while the rest of his race hesitated, now that he had secured a scalp for each of his thirteen relatives murdered, expressed himself satisfied, and ready to treat with the Long Knives. But Connolly, who had been the prime instrument in embroiling the races, was possessed of a spirit scarcely less than fiendish, and seemed determined that war should follow. He accordingly attempted to seize the Shawanese whose errand of friendship had brought them within his reach, and when foiled in this attempt, sent his base emissaries to waylay them.

Under such circumstances it would have scarcely been in accord with civilized human nature, and certainly not with Indian nature, if no border attacks had succeeded; and so from June to September the frontier was harried by numerous independent incursions, which were especially directed against the Virginians. These devastations called out the renewed efforts of Gov. Dunmore, and a large force was raised, consisting of two wings, one under Dunmore from the northern and eastern counties of Virginia, and the other from the southern and western counties under Gen. Lewis. These were to unite at Point Pleasant, and together proceed to the Indian country in Ohio. Lewis reached the appointed place on the 6th of October, and while waiting for the other wing was attacked by about an equal number of Indian warriors, drawn from the Shawanese, Delaware, Mingo, Wyandotte and Cayuga tribes. The battle began about sunrise on the 10th, and continued until near sunset with unabated fury and determination.

The savages were under the leadership of the famous Cornstalk, who inclosed the troops in the angle formed by the Kanawha and the Ohio, resolved to annihilate them if fortune favored his efforts. "Never," says Withers, "did men exhibit more conclusive evidence of bravery in making a charge, and fortitude in withstanding an onset, than did these undisciplined soldiers of the forest in the field at Point Pleasant." The Virginians were not less valiant; here Greek met Greek, but the "anointed children of education were too powerful for the tribes of the ignorant." Taking advantage of the sheltering banks of Crooked Creek, which flows in a course parallel with the Ohio into the Kanawha, a detachment of the troops gained the rear of the savages, who disconcerted by this unexpected attack gave way and retreated to their homes. The whites remained victors, but at a fearful cost. About one-fifth* of their number lay dead or bleeding upon the ground, among whom were ten of the leading officers.

As early as practical the command proceeded across the Ohio to secure the fruit of this hard-won victory, but before much progress had been made, a message from Dunmore brought the intelligence that the governor had proceeded direct from Pittsburgh, that he was then engaged in negotiating a treaty, and that the advancing troops were ordered to return to Point Pleasant. Gen. Lewis, entertaining grave suspicions of Dunmore's fidelity, declined to obey the orders thus received, and only stayed his march when ordered by the governor in person, in presence of an Indian town. The treaty agreed upon by Lord Dunmore has never been published, and it rests only upon that officer's word that the Shawanese agreed to forego their hunting in Kentucky; it is certain that the treaty effected no lasting settlement of the vexed question of the time, aud gave assurance to existing suspicions that that officer desired to placate the savages in the interests of the part that the British were to play in the conflict which he dimly saw impending.

"The Dunmore war," though conducted outside of Kentucky limits, was none the less a marked event in its history, and was ear-

* Seventy-five killed and 140 wounded.

nestly engaged in by most of those who have been noted as its earlier pioneers. Harrod, with thirty of his company, served under Gen. Lewis; Kenton acted as spy in both wings of the army; and Boone, after his return from the mission to Kentucky, commanded three frontier posts under appointment from the governor.

The retreat of the explorers and surveyors from Kentucky, in 1774, and the warlike activities which followed, served to spread the report of the new country's attractions in ever widening circles, and at the close of the brief struggle, public attention immediately reverted with increased interest to the disputed territory. The succeeding year, therefore, witnessed not only the return of former explorers to their improvements, but also the advent of many new adventurers.

Of the previous year's explorers, Kenton was probably the first to return. Discharged from the army in the fall, he repaired with a single comrade, Thomas Williams, to his old hunting-ground on the Big Sandy; here they spent the winter, and in the spring, having disposed of their peltries, Kenton led the way in quest of the "cane-land" which had been the object of his former fruitless search. They accordingly set out down the river, but night overtaking them they were obliged to put in to the shore. They landed at the mouth of Cabin Creek, about six miles above Maysville, and next morning, while hunting some miles back in the country, Kenton discovered the object of his persistent pursuit. From a little eminence his gaze took in a wide stretch of country, containing a large cane-brake and presenting a landscape that enraptured the young hunter. Rejoining his companion, he related the glad tidings, and, sinking their canoe, the two started inland on a tour of discovery.

In the month of May, 1775, within a mile of the present town of Washington, in Mason County, having built their camp and finished a small clearing, they planted about an acre of land with the remains of the corn bought for food. The spot chosen by them for their agricultural attempt, was one of the most beautiful and fertile in the State of Kentucky. Here, in due season, they ate the first roasting ears that ever grew, by the care of a white man, on the north side of the Kentucky River. Before this they had discovered the upper and lower Blue Lick and the immense herds of buffalo, elk, etc., that frequented these places, covering the hills and valleys of the Licking. The land was a hunter's paradise, and our adventurers were completely happy in their new, undisputed home. They soon had cause, however, to apprehend that others would contend with them for the mastership of the soil.

Happening one day at the lower Blue Lick, they discovered two white men. Approaching them with due caution, they found them friendly, and learned that they had wandered without guns or food far into the country, their canoe having upset in a squall on the Ohio. Fitzpatrick and Hendricks (so these strangers were named) were invited by Kenton to join his station near Washington. Hendricks acceded to the proposal, but Fitzpatrick insisted on returning to Virginia. Accordingly, Kenton and Williams (having left Hendricks at the Lick) accompanied Fitzpatrick to the Ohio, gave him a gun and took leave of him on the other side from where Maysville now stands. Returning quickly as possible, they were surprised and not a little alarmed to find the camp where they had left Hendricks abandoned and in disorder. Looking around they observed a smoke in a low ravine, and at once comprehended the whole affair. They were satisfied that a party of Indians had captured their friend, and they at once fled to the woods.

Next morning, cautiously approaching the still smoking fire, they discovered that the savages had departed, and with feelings that may be easily imagined, they found what they did not doubt were the skull and bones of the unfortunate Hendricks. He had been burned to death while they were so cowardly flying. Filled with shame and remorse that they had so basely abandoned him to his fate without an effort to rescue him, they went back to their camp near Washington. They had the good fortune themselves to escape the notice of the Indians who prowled through the country. In the fall Kenton, leaving Williams at the camp, took a ramble through his rich domain. Everywhere he saw abundance of game, and the richest and most beautiful land. At the lower Blue Lick he met with Michael Stoner, who had come to Kentucky with Boone the year before. He now learned that himself and Williams were not the only whites inhabiting the cane-land. Taking Stoner to his camp and gathering up his property, he and Williams accompanied him to the settlements already formed in the interior. Kenton passed the winter of 1775-76 at Hinkson's Station, in the present county of Bourborn, about forty miles from his corn patch.*

There was less activity in the location and survey of military lands in this year, but Floyd and Douglass were both early in returning to Kentucky. The latter came back

*Sketch of Simon Kenton, in Collins, Vol. II, p. 442.

to the scene of his former labors, with a "party of about ten or twelve," and spent the summer in this work. Under date of July 12, 1775, Henderson writes from Boonesboro, to his colleagues in the Transylvania Colony scheme, that this party, "employed in searching through that country, and laying off officers' lands, have been for more than three weeks within ten miles of us, and will be for several weeks longer, ranging up and down the country."

Floyd came to Kentucky in April, with thirty-one men from Virginia, and pitched his camp on Dick's River, engaging in surveying, during most of the year, all through central Kentucky. In May, he visited Boonesboro on behalf of his company to learn on what terms they might settle colonial lands; upon which Henderson remarks in his journal: "Was much at a loss on account of this gentleman's arrival and message, as he was surveyor of Fincastle County under Col. Preston." Later in the month, Floyd was a delegate to the Boonesboro Legislature from St. Asaph, and subsequently so far identified himself with the colonial enterprises as to become Henderson's principal surveyor.

In this year, Benjamin Ashley also made some surveys in Nicholas County for the Ohio Company—a part its first 200,000 acres; and in May, ten young men came from Virginia to what is Mason County, who, after exploring, surveyed upward of 20,000 acres. They also made improvements for each one, but their visit is chiefly remarkable for a bout of fisticuffs in which two of them engaged with such bitterness as for some time to give the name of "Battle Creek" to a stream now known as Well's Creek.

There was in this year, however, a marked activity among settlers, new explorers vying with older ones in their preparations to reach Kentucky early in the spring. March or April was as soon as it was practicable for the members of the older settlements to reach this destination, but in May, 1775, a close estimate places the number of prospective citizens then in Kentucky at 300, who already had 230 acres under cultivation.

Save Kenton, the McAfees were probably the first settlers to reach Kentucky in the spring, preceding Harrod by four, and Boone by twenty days. The Indian hostilities, which followed their return to Virginia in the previous year, prevented them from carrying out their intention of returning to make a settlement that year, but early in the succeeding spring they were once more in the cane-brake. They reached their claim on Salt River on March 11th, cleared two acres of ground, planted peach stones and apple seeds for an orchard, and in April started back to Virginia, leaving two of their number with Harrod to protect their improvement from the intrusion of other settlers. On their homeward journey they met Henderson and his company, when, persuaded by the leader of the party contrary to the advice of their elder brother James, Robert, Samuel and William McAfee turned back and united their fortunes with the colony. The family party accordingly divided, the three brothers returning to Boonesboro, where they entered land with Henderson, and put it in cultivation. That fall, when the colonial scheme proved abortive, the family party was reunited, and under the protection of the newly erected Harrod Station, cleared and cultivated some fifteen acres near the mouth of Armstrong Branch, in Mercer County.

On March 15th, James Harrod returned to the village which had been laid out on Salt Creek under his auspices in the previous year, and which was now called Harrodstown. He brought with him about fifty men, most of them young and without families, whom he had enlisted in the enterprise in the Monongahela Valley. The company at once occupied the cabins previously erected, and set about "improving" various sites for future settlements, sixteen fields of corn being planted in the neighborhood. In April, however, the alarm created by the Indian depredations in the preceding month robbed this settlement of more than half of its numbers, who set off for the protection of the older settlements. Harrod remained and pushed his improvements at Boiling

Spring, while a sufficient number remained in the village to give it a busy air; in fact it was never subsequently entirely deserted, and in September gained an accession of several families to its population. In the succeeding winter a fort was begun here, though not completed until the next year, and was one of the noted outposts during the unsettled period, from the beginning of the Revolutionary war to the general pacification at Greenville.

The next and by far the most important accession to the frontier forces, in this year, was Boone and his company. The close of the "Dunmore war" had no sooner placed him at his own disposal, than he was solicited to lend his experience and efforts in behalf of an enterprise which sought to plant a colony in Kentucky. Little is known of the early growth of this project, but Richard Henderson seems to have been the leading spirit. He was a man of marked ability, and had occupied the position of associate supreme judge of North Carolina. Led by ambition and a spirit of speculation to emulate the early colonial enterprises, he privately sought the Cherokees under the pretense of viewing some back lands, and having ascertained their readiness to negotiate for the sale of a large portion of Kentucky, returned to his home to organize a company to effect the purchase.*

Accordingly, Thomas Hart, Nathaniel Hart, David Hart, John Luttrell, William Johnston and James Hogg, of Orange County, and John Williams, Leonard Hendly Bullock and Judge Richard Henderson, of Granville County, N. C., associated themselves for that purpose, and in a conference on the Watauga branch of the Holston River, between certain of the newly formed company, assisted by Boone, and the principal chiefs of the Cherokees, the natives, on March 17, 1775, sold to the company the fairest portion of Kentucky, as well as a large tract in North Carolina, for £10,000 sterling.

The boundaries of the tract in Kentucky were as follows: "Beginning on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoee, or what, by the English, is called Louisa River; from thence running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a southeast course to the top of the ridge of Powell's Mountain; thence westwardly, along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a northwest course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland River; thence down the said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio River, and up the said river as it meanders to the beginning."

Boone had been engaged to cut a road to the territory thus purchased, and prepare for the colony to be transferred thither; and before the consummation of the treaty, which was delayed by tedious Indian ceremonials for twenty days, he was on his way marking the route which has since been known as Boone's Trace. Boone had a party of twenty-one men, which included Squire Boone, Richard Callaway, John Kennedy, and others, and at Long Island, in the Holston, he was joined by Capt. Twetty with seven men. They began at this point to mark the trace, blazing their way with hatchets until they reached Rockcastle River. Thence their course lay for twenty miles through a country covered with dead brush; the next thirty miles lay "through thick cane and reed; and as the the cane ceased, they began to discover the pleasing and rapturous appearance of the plains of Kentucky. A new sky and strange earth seemed to be presented to their view; so rich a soil they had never seen before—covered with a clover in full bloom; the woods abounding with wild game—turkeys so numerous that it might be said they appeared but one flock, universally scattered in the woods. It appeared that nature, in the profusion of her bounty, had spread a feast for all that lived, both for the animal and rational world."*

This bold approach to the favorite hunting grounds of the savages was not to be made with impunity. No evidence of the presence of Indians had been observed, how-

* Gov. Morehead is authority for the assertion that Col. Nathaniel Hart took these preliminary steps.

* Narrative of Hon. Felix Walker in Collins, Vol. II, p. 497.

ever, during their progress; the company had reached a point in Madison County within fifteen miles of the Kentucky River, and they went into camp on March 24th, therefore, without any of those precautions which would otherwise have been considered necessary. The pioneers had not been unobserved, as they thought; about daybreak the next morning the sleeping whites were aroused by a sudden volley of rifles, but fortunately the attacking band of savages was too weak to follow up the advantage afforded by the surprise, and retreated. This assault, brief as it was, entailed serious consequences upon the pioneers. Capt. Twetty received wounds in both knees, from which he died three days later; his black servant was killed outright, and Felix Walker was dangerously wounded. Some of the party refusing to brave further danger in advancing, followed the newly made trace homeward, while the rest of the company, erecting a slight fort* on a little eminence, about 100 yards from the road, remained here until April 1st. In the meantime the same Indians discovered a party of six whites encamped near the Kentucky River, and only a few miles from Boone's company, though unknown to them. These the savages attacked, killing and scalping two of their number; the rest escaped, a son of Samuel Tate being discovered by some of Boone's hunters. Having buried Twetty's remains in the fort, and leaving a small party with Walker, who was too seriously wounded to be moved at once, the main party proceeded to the mouth of Otter Creek, where Boone had sent a messenger to invite the members of the lower settlements to meet him. Arriving at their destination, selection was made of "a plain on the south side, wherein was a lick with two sulphur springs strongly impregnated," and here the company built a couple of cabins, "having some of the advantages of a stockade fort," which was subsequently named Fort Boone.

Before leaving "Little Fort," Boone had dispatched a letter to Col. Henderson, informing him of their progress and experience, and added: "My advice to you, sir, is to come or send as soon as possible. Your company is desired greatly, for the people are very uneasy, but are willing to stay and venture their lives with you, and now is the time to frustrate the intentions of the Indians, and keep the country, whilst we are in it. If we give way to them now, it will ever be the case." This letter found Henderson already on the road for Louisa, as the Kentucky River and Valley were sometimes called. He had taken prompt and practical measures to plant the proposed colony, the details of which will appear in the following extract taken from his "Journal of an Expedition to Cantuckey in 1775."

Monday, March 20th,—Having finished my treaty with the Indians at Watauga, set out for Louisa. *Thursday, 30th,*—Arrived at Capt. Martin's in Powell Valley. *Friday, 31st,*—Employed in making a house to secure our wagons, as we could not possibly clear the way any farther.

Saturday, April 1st,—Employed in making ready for packing [*i. e.*, loading horses with the baggage]. *Sunday, 2d,*—Mr. Hart came up [this was Capt. Nathaniel Hart, one of the proprietors of Transylvania, who had made the treaty at Watauga. In 1779, he brought his family to Boonesborough. In August, 1782, while carelessly riding out in the vicinity of the fort, he was killed and scalped by a small party of Indians]. *Wednesday, April 5th,*—Started with our pack horses. *Friday, 7th,*—About break of day, it began to snow. About 11 o'clock received a letter from Mr. John Luttrell's camp, that there were five persons killed by the Indians on the road to Cantuckey. Same day received a letter from Daniel Boone, that his company was fired upon by Indians, who killed two of his men, though he kept the ground and saved the baggage, etc. *Saturday, 8th,*—Started about 10 o'clock, crossed Cumberland Gap. About four miles from it, met about forty persons returning from the Cantuckey on account of the late murders by the Indians. Could prevail on only one to return. Several Virginians who were with us turned back from here. *Monday, 10th,*—Dispatched Capt. William Cocke to the Cantuckey, to inform Capt. Boone that we were on the road. *Sunday, 16th,*—About 12 o'clock, met James McAfee with eighteen other persons returning from Cantuckey. *Thursday, April 20th, 1775,*—Arrived at Fort Boone, on the mouth of Otter Creek, Cantuckey River, where we were saluted by a running fire of about twenty-five guns, all that were at the fort. The men appeared in high spirits and much rejoiced at our arrival. *Friday, April 21st,*—On viewing the fort, finding

*This structure, formed of logs six or seven feet high, and probably not roofed, was known in the early annals of Kentucky as Little or Twetty's Fort, and was the first ever constructed in the State.

the plan not sufficient to admit of buildings for the reception of our company, and a scarcity of ground suitable for clearing at that advanced season, was at a loss to proceed. Capt. Boone's company having laid out most of the adjacent good land into lots of two acres each, and taking as it fell to each individual by lot, was in actual possession and occupying them. After some perplexity, resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick, near the river bank, which would place us at the distance of 300 yards from the other fort—the only place where we could be of any service to Capt. Boone's men, or *vice versa*. *Saturday, 22d,*—Finished running off all the lots we could conveniently get, fifty-four in number. Gave notice of our intention of having them drawn for in the evening, but Mr. Robert McAfee, his brother Samuel, and some more, were not well satisfied whether they would draw or not. They wanted to go down the River Cantuckey, about fifty miles, near Capt. Harrod's settlement, where they had begun improvements and left them on the late alarm. I informed them myself, in the hearing of all attending, that such settlements should not entitle them to land from us. They appearing much concerned, and at a loss what to do, the lottery was put off till next morning, at sunrise, thereby giving them time to come to a resolution. *Sunday, April 23d,* 1775,—Drew lots and spent the day without public worship. The interval was employed in building a magazine, sowing seeds, etc.

Sunday, May 7th,—Went into the woods after a stray horse, stayed all night, and on our return found Capt. Harrod and Col. Thomas Slaughter, from Harrodstown, on Dick's River. It is in fact on the head of Salt River and not on Dick's River. Col. Slaughter and Capt. Harrod seemed very jocose and in great good humor. *Monday, May 8th,*—Was very much embarrassed by a dispute between the above. * * * After much dispute about the respective claims of Slaughter and Harrod, for land to be apportioned to their respective companies, in order to divert the debate on this irritating subject, a plan of government by popular representation was proposed. The reception this plan met with from these gentlemen, as well as Capt. John Floyd, a leading man on Dick's River, gave us great pleasure, and therefore we immediately set out about the business. Appointed Tuesday, May 23d inst., at Boonesborough, for the meeting of delegates, and accordingly made out writings for the different towns to sign. For want of a little obligatory law, or some restraining authority, our game—nay, as soon as we got here, if not before—was driven off very much. As short a distance, as good hunters thought, was fifteen or twenty miles; nay, sometimes they were obliged to go thirty miles; though by chance, once or twice a week, buffalo were killed within five or six miles of the camp. The wanton destruction of game gives great uneasiness. *Saturday, May 13th,*—No scouring of floors, sweeping of yards, or scalding bedsteads here. About fifty yards from the river, behind my camp, and a fine spring a little to the west, stands one of the finest elms that perhaps nature has ever produced. The tree is produced on a beautiful plain, surrounded by a turf of fine white clover, forming a green to the very stock. The trunk is about four feet through to the first branches, which are about nine feet from the ground. From thence it regularly extends its large branches on every side, at such equal distances as to form the most beautiful tree the imagination can suggest. The diameter of the branches from the extreme end is 100 feet, and every fair day it describes a semicircle on the heavenly green around it of upward of 400 feet in circuit. At any time between the hours of ten and two 100 persons may commodiously seat themselves under the branches. This divine tree, or rather one of the many proofs of the existence from all eternity of its divine author, is to be our church, council-chamber, etc. Having many things on our hands, we have not had time to erect a pulpit, seats, etc., but hope by Sunday seven-night to perform divine service in a public manner, and that to a set of scoundrels, who scarcely believe in God or fear a devil, if we may judge from most of their looks, words or actions. *Tuesday, May 23d,* 1775,—Delegates met from every town, pleased with their stations, and in great good humor. *Wednesday, May 24th,*—Convention met (under divine elm) for the colony of Transylvania; sent a message acquainting me that they had chosen Col. Thomas Slaughter as chairman, and Matthew Jouett, clerk, of which I approved, and went and opened business by a short speech, etc. *Thursday, May 25th,*—Three of the members waited on the proprietors with a very sensible address, which they asked leave to read; read it, and delivered an answer in return. Business went on. This day four bills were fabricated: (1) for establishing tribunals of justice and for recovery of debts; (2) for establishing a militia; (3) for preventing the destruction of game, etc.; (4) a law concerning fees. The delegates are very good men, and much disposed to serve their country. *Saturday, May 27th,*—Finished the convention in good order; everybody pleased. *Sunday, May 28th,*—Divine service, for the first time in Kentucky, was performed by Rev. John Lythe, of the Church of England. Most of the delegates returned home.

Monday, June 5th,—Made out commissions for Harrodsburg, Boiling Springs settlement, and St. Asaph's, both military and civil. *Friday, June 16th,* — Continued eating meat without bread. *Sunday, June 18th,*—Michael Stoner, our hunter, not returned; was expected yesterday; no meat.

Wednesday, July 12,—Horses being almost worn out, went up the river (Kentucky) in a canoe to get meat, if possible. Our salt quite out, except about a quart which I brought from Harrodsburg. Times a little melancholy, provisions very scarce; no salt to enable us to save meat at any distance from us. No accounts or arrivals from within; weather very dry; the spring being scarce, water was rarely to be

gotten. We were not able to raise above fourteen or fifteen fighting men at one time, unless they were all summoned, which could not easily be done without long notice, they being much dispersed hunting,* etc.

In the meanwhile the cane-brakes, elsewhere in Kentucky, were rife with the busy activity of settlers. Benjamin Logan had heard of the rich lands to be secured in Kentucky, and starting out from his farm on the Holston, unaccompanied, save by three of his bondsmen, he made his way as far as the Powell Valley, intent upon exploring the newly opened country for himself. Here he fell in with Henderson's company, with which he proceeded to his destination. In journeying thither, he learned of Henderson's plans, which ill suited his independent spirit, and gaining the interior, he parted company with his fellow-travelers, and struck out for himself. He selected a site about a mile west of the present town of Stanford, in Lincoln County, and there, with one Michael Galaspy, raised a crop of corn and built a small defensive cluster of cabins. He did not remain long alone; his many excellent qualities of head and heart attracted others, and the settlement thus formed single-handed was of such importance, in May, as to be represented in the colonial assembly on an equal footing with the more pretentious one at Harrodstown.

At the same time, some seventy-five miles northeast of Logan, the Hinkston company of fifteen explorers were making improvements on the Licking. Coming down the Ohio in March and April, they ascended the Licking to the mouth of Willow Creek, four miles above Falmouth, and landed; here they remained two nights and a day on account of high water and continued rains, and then proceeded to a spot near the lower Blue Lick. At this place they fell in with the Miller company of fourteen persons, which had followed the same course, but had passed them unobserved in the journey. Each party sent explorers to spy out the land, who brought in their reports to the united company. The two parties traveled together until the buffalo trace leading toward the site of Lexington was reached, when they separated. Hinkston and his company took this trace to the region lying between Cynthiana and Paris, where they made several small clearings and built a cabin for each member of the company. From members of this company, Hinkston and Townsend's Creeks, and Cooper's Run take their names, and on the last two, corn was raised in this year. The Miller party encamped on a creek bearing the same name, and selected sites for improvement for each one of the company, one of the members planting a patch of potatoes. In June, however, the whole company returned home.

Contemporaneous with these were the parties of McConnell and Lindsay, which arrived on the Elkhorn from the Monongahela Valley in April. The first named party, under the lead of William McConnell, who had been in Kentucky the year before, remained here until June, making various "improvements" in what is now Fayette County. Some of these persons returned by water, the others going by land to the mouth of Lawrence Creek on the Ohio, six miles below Maysville, where the company was reunited. Reaching their destination before the arrival of the canoes, the land party busied themselves in making "improvements" and building cabins on that stream. In the succeeding November, John McClellan, with his family and six young men, returned, bringing their movable goods in canoes and driving their stock, nine horses and fourteen head cattle, overland. The site of Leestown was the appointed place of rendezvous, where the land party arrived first; on the arrival of the canoes, the party proceeded to the Royal Spring, where Georgetown has since been founded, and erected a cabin, where the company resided until April of the next year. This done, the young men went within two miles of the site of Lexington, and built a cabin.

"In April, 1775, Joseph Lindsay, William Lindsay, Patrick Jordan, Garrett Jordan, John Vance and others, met at Drennon's Lick and came up together to Elkhorn,

*These extracts have been taken from the portion quoted by Mr. Collins in his excellent sketches. Reference is made to another "stitched book," bnt this, that indefatigable compiler, after a long and pain-staking search, was unable to find.

where John Lee and Hugh Shannon joined them, thence up Elkhorn to the forks; from the forks to the place now called Georgetown, and thence to, or near, the place where Lexington now stands—their business, to explore the country and make improvements. The morning after they encamped here, the company remained in camp on account of the rainy weather. Patrick Jordan went alone down the fork on which they were encamped, and discovered a large spring of water on the north side of and a short distance from the fork. When he returned to camp and told of the spring, Joseph Lindsay, the only one of the company who had not made choice of an improvement said he would have it, and promptly offered Jordan two guineas to go with him and show it. They went together, taking axes, and made an 'improvement,' cut poles and built a cabin, three or four logs high and about ten feet square, girdled some trees, and made a brush heap or two, and cut the initials J. L. on a tree at the head of the spring. After that, several of the company went over to Harrodsburg, and the others down to the forks of the Elkhorn after their provisions, working tools, etc., which had been left there with the canoes. In a few days, the brothers Jordan returned with Joseph Lindsay to his spring, assisted him to plant between a quarter and a half acre of land in corn, and then left him, Lindsay declaring he meant to live there. In September, 1775, Patrick Jordan went by and found Lindsay living there, in a camp he had built; besides the plow-irons, wedges, hoes, axes, etc., which he had gotten from Elkhorn, Lindsay had roasting ears of corn and snap beans, the first Jordan had seen in the country. In July, 1776, he called there again, and saw two acres of corn, and some fruit trees growing, and about a quarter of an acre of land inclosed with a fence. Lindsay was not there; 'it was growing troublesome times on account of the Indians, the people were scary, and had generally left their improvements and gone into the stations for security.' Lindsay had gone ty Harrodsburg." (Collins.)

In his historical address, Governor Morehead states that "in the year 1775, intelligence was received by a party of hunters, while accidentally encamped on one of the branches of the Elkhorn, that the first battle of the Revolution had been fought in the vicinity of Boston, between the British and provincial forces; and in commemoration of the event they called the spot of their encampment Lexington." There are some considerations which lead one to believe this suggestion as to the origin of the town's name a romance, but the evidences are strongly in favor of its probability; and it appears quite as evident that one of these parties—McConnell's or Lindsay's—was its author, though the town was not founded until four years later.

Such were the notable explorations made and settlements effected prior to 1776; others of a less important character, and many, of which there is no record, contributed to the pioneer activities of this period, but of all the eager throng that hastened to pre-empt the choicest glades and meadows in this fertile land, few cared to brave the dangers of the "dark and bloody ground" in their defense. On June 12, when, as his journal informs us, the supplies were nearly exhausted, Henderson writes from Boonesborough, as the settlement was called, to his colleagues:

* * * No doubt but you have felt great anxiety since the receipt of my letter from Powell's Valley.* At that time things wore a gloomy aspect; indeed it was a serious matter, and became a little more so, after the date of the letter than before. That afternoon I wrote the letter in Powell's Valley, in our march this way we met about forty people returning, and in about four days the number was little short of a hundred. Arguments and persuasions were needless; they seemed resolved on returning, and traveled with a precipitation that truly bespoke their fears. Eight or ten were all that we could prevail on to proceed with us, or follow after; and thus, what we before had, counting every boy and lad, amounted to about forty, with which number we pursued our journey with the utmost diligence, for my own part, never under more real anxiety. * * * Every group of travelers we saw, or strange bells which were heard in front, was a fresh alarm; afraid to look or inquire, lest Capt. Boone or his companions were amongst them, or some disastrous account of their defeat. The slow progress we made with our packs, made it absolutely necessary for some person to go and give assurance of our coming, especially as they had no certainty of our

* April 8. See Journal, *ante*.

being on the road at all; or had even heard whether the Indians had sold to us or not. It was owing to Boone's confidence in us, and the people's in him, that a stand was ever atttempted in order to wait for our coming. * * * * * * *

The general panic that had siezed the men we were continually meeting, was contagious; it ran like wild-fire; and, nothwithstanding every effort against its progress, it was presently discovered in our own camp; some hesitated and stole back, privately; others saw the necessity of returning to convince their friends that they were still alive, in too strong a light to be resisted; whilst many, in truth, who have nothing to thank but the fear of shame, for the credit of intrepidity, came on, though their hearts for some hours made part of the deserting company. In this situation of affairs, some few, of genuine courage and undaunted resolution, served to inspire the rest; by help of whose example, assisted by a little pride and some ostentation, we made a shift to march on with the appearance of gallantry, and, cavalier-like, treated every insinuation of danger with the utmost contempt. It soon became habitual; and those who started in the morning with pale faces and apparent trepidation, could lie down and sleep at night in great quiet, not even possessed of fear enough to get the better of indolence. * * * To give you a small specimen of the disposition of the people it may be sufficient to assure you that when we arrived at this place, we found Capt. Boone's men as inattentive on the score of fear (to all appearances), as if they had been in Hillsborough. A small fort, which only wanted two or three days' work to make it tolerably safe, was totally neglected on Mr. Cocke's arrival;* and unto this day remains unfinished, nothwithstanding the repeated applications of Capt. Boone, and every representation of danger from ourselves. * * * Our plantations extend nearly two miles in length, on the river, and up the creek. Here people work in their different lots; some without their guns, and others without care or caution. It is in vain for us to say anything more about the matter; it cannot be done by words. * * * Our company has dwindled from about eighty in number to about fifty odd, and I believe in a few days will be considerably less. Among these I have not heard one person dissatisfied with the country or terms; but go, as they say, merely because their business will not admit of longer delay. The fact is that many of them are single, worthless fellows, and want to get on the other side of the mountains, for the sake of saying they have been out and returned safe, together with the probability of getting a mouthful of bread in exchange for their news. * * * We are seated at the mouth of Otter Creek, on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the west, about fifty miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles one of the other. There were, some time ago, about 100 at the two places; though now, perhaps not more than sixty or seventy, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, and some returned, by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. * * * Col. Harrod, who governs the first two mentioned settlements (and is a very good man for the purpose), Col. Floyd (the surveyor) and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate with the utmost dispatch every piece of intelligence respecting danger or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of Indians, both the other parties are instantly to march and relieve the distressed if possible. * * * * * * * *

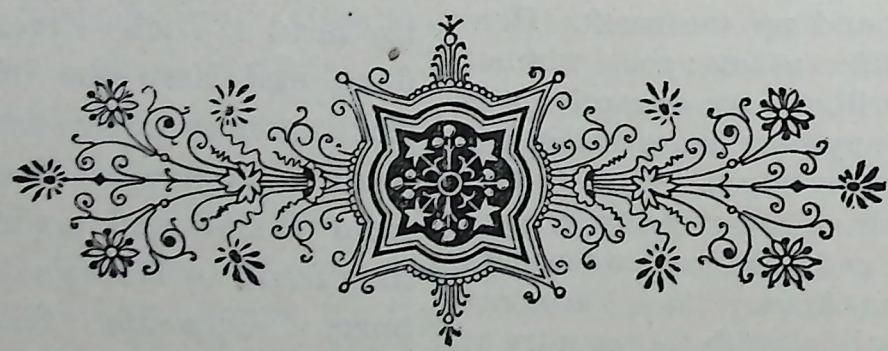
* See journal entry, Monday, April 10. The messenger dispatched.

The plea of going back to the older settlements for their families was in most cases without foundation in fact. None returned; and prior to September there were no white women in Kentucky. Some time before this date, Boone had returned to the Holston River settlements to bring on his family; he found the families which had made the unsuccessful attempt to reach this region, in 1773, ready to try again, and accordingly, having secured a number of recruits for the frontier post, he set out with them and his family in the latter part of the summer. On reaching Powell Valley, he was joined by Hugh McGary, Richard Hogan and Thomas Denton, with their families, who had been waiting three months for his return. United, the company mustered "twenty-seven guns," which, with their stock and luggage, made a somewhat imposing cavalcade. They reached the head of Dick's River without special incident, and here the other families, having some months before sent Jacob Harman forward to prepare for their coming, separated from Boone, and made their way, as best they could by Boone's directions, to Harrodsburg. Opposite Gilbert's Creek these families, becoming bewildered, left their stock with the young men of the party, James Ray, John Denton and John Hays, and went forward unencumbered to seek their destination. McGary succeeded in reaching the village by a happy accident, and sent back a guide to bring the rest of the company, where they arrived on September 8. The boys on being left behind were promised relief in three days, but these days were extended to weeks before they were found

and conducted in. Boone, with his family and twenty-one men, proceeded to Boonesborough, where they arrived on September 8, also, Mrs. Boone and her daughter, being "the first white women who ever stood upon the banks of the Kentucky River." Thus in the latter part of the year 1775, the domestic circle was completed for the first time in the State, at Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and on the site of Georgetown.*

Another arrival, which proved of the first importance in the early history of Kentucky, was that of George Rogers Clark. The company formed in 1774, to plant a settlement in the new country, of which Clark was a member, seems to have been permanently diverted from its purpose by the events which culminated in the war against the Ohio Indians, and Clark, not to be prevented from at least visiting this country, came alone in the spring of this year, finding his way to Harrodsburg. His presence became known throughout the frontier; he had served in the late war as captain, and in recognition of his military ability he was placed in command of the irregular forces of the settlements, though probably not commissioned. Fortunately circumstances gave him no opportunity to display the high qualities of military leadership which he possessed, and which the future was to amply develop. After the hostilities of the spring, the Indians seemed to have abandoned the field; and the settlements, after the early part of April, rested in a general feeling of security. This, however, was only the ominous lull before the tempest.

*John McClellan and his family in November; *ante*.



CHAPTER VI.

COLONIZATION OF KENTUCKY—THE BORDER STRUGGLE.

A MOST important feature of the settlement of Kentucky, in 1775, was the planting of the Transylvania colony, the initial steps of which have been noted in the preceding chapter. The project certainly was without precedent, and yet novel only in its order of procedure. Hitherto such enterprises had first sought the sanction of the king in a charter, but the innovation involved in the action of Henderson and his associates was such as would not probably have aroused serious opposition at any other juncture of affairs. But at this time, the disputes of the colonies with the crown had made the royal governors particularly suspicious and watchful, and this unusual course was construed as another evidence of the people's growing disloyalty to the king. Accordingly, the treaty with the Cherokees had scarcely been consummated before the governors of Virginia and North Carolina, incited by a jealous regard for the royal prerogative and the charter limits of their respective colonies, fulminated their proclamations against the new colony, characterizing it as a design to form "an asylum for debtors and other persons of desperate circumstances."

Such factious hostility gave this enterprise a wide-spread notoriety, and raised up for it an unexpected support. The subject of planting this colony incidentally came up in the Virginia revolutionary convention, where it was vigorously defended by the champions of the people, Henry and Jefferson. Learning of this, the proprietors united in a letter of thanks to these gentlemen, in which they took occasion to say:

* * * The copartners in the purchase of lands, in Louisa, from the Indians, neither intending by their distant and hazardous enterprise to revolt from their allegiance to their sovereign, nor yet to desert the grand and common cause of their American brethren and fellow subjects in their manly and glorious struggle for the full enjoyment of the natural rights of mankind, and the inestimable liberties and privileges of our happy constitution, were anxious to know the result of the wise and mature deliberations of the convention, and particularly in the inquiries concerning the several matters which became the subject of consideration in that august assembly. It was not long before we learned the particulars from some of the members, and that the minute circumstances of our contract with the Cherokee Indians had occasionally been moved and debated. The true point of view in which you, with several other gentlemen, conceived the nature of our contract, and the eloquence and good sense with which you defended, and the liberal principles on which you supported our claims to the benefit of our engagement with the Indians, in addition to the universal applause of the whole continent for your noble and patriotick exertions, give you an especial claim to our particular acknowledgements, of which we take this earliest opportunity of begging your acceptance. * * * * * * *

Convinced that our purchase is neither against the laws of our country, nor the principles of natural justice and equity, and conscious to ourselves of the uprightness of our intentions, we totally disregard the reproaches thrown out against us by illy-informed or envious and interested persons; and now, encouraged by the approbation of the respectable Provincial Congress of Virginia, we shall hereafter pursue with eagerness what we at first adopted with caution.*

Such were the auspices under which the Transylvania colony began its career. It is not probable that the details of this colonial scheme were previously elaborated beyond such as were necessary for the purchase and occupation of the land, and Henderson's journal suggests (see entry May 8, *ante*) that the plan for a representative government originated in the unforeseen difficulties which arose after the planting of the settlement at Boonesborough. Harrodsburg, Boiling

*The entire letter may be found in the "Romance of Western History," by James Hall; 1857.

Spring and St. Asaph's had been independently established, and involved interests which, while not entirely harmonious among themselves, the proprietors could not afford to antagonize. It would be unjust to the liberal and far-sighted policy entertained by Judge Henderson, however, to describe the form of government as extorted by inexorable circumstances. His whole career shows him to have been a man of great intelligence and advanced political principles, and while the situation undoubtedly suggested the easiest way to secure general harmony, representative government was thereby placed only a little earlier in the order of colonial development as forecasted in the mind of the leading proprietor. But whatever its origin, the suggestion met with the approval of the leading men then in Kentucky, and prompt steps were taken to realize upon it at as early a date as possible.

Accordingly, on May 23, 1775, the delegates apportioned to the various settlements met at Boonesborough. The brief journal of this first legislature in Kentucky, published in full by Mr. Collins, notes the presence of Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, Samuel Henderson, William Moore, Richard Callaway, Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmon, James Douglass, James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac Hite, Azariah Davis, John Todd, Alexander Spottswood Dandridge, John Floyd and Samuel Wood as members. The session was opened, on the part of the proprietors, by Judge Henderson, who, in a dignified address, emphasized the importance of the work to be done, and pointed out the legislation necessary to protect the reputation of the colony from reproach, and to secure the welfare of the colonists. He said, in part:

> You are called and assembled at this time for a noble and honorable purpose—a purpose, however ridiculous or idle it may appear at first view to superficial minds, yet it is of the most solid consequence. * * * * * * * *
>
> You are perhaps fixing the palladium, or placing the first corner-stone of an edifice, the height and magnificence of whose superstructure is now in the womb of futurity and can only become great and glorious in proportion to the excellence of its foundation. These considerations, gentlemen, will no doubt animate and inspire you with sentiments worthy of the grandeur of the subject.
>
> Our peculiar circumstances in this remote country, surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and equally subject to one common danger, which threatens our common overthrow, must, I think, in their effect secure to us a union of interests, and consequently, that harmony in opinion so essential to the forming of good, wise and wholesome laws. If any doubt remain among you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws you now, or hereafter make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people; therefore, make it their interest by impartial and beneficial laws, and you may be sure of their inclination to see them enforced.

To this address, the spirit of which is fairly illustrated by the brief extracts quoted, the convention made a suitable reply in a single notable paragraph, of which they affirm "that we have an absolute right, as a political body, without giving umbrage to Great Britain, or any of the colonies, to frame rules for the government of our little society, cannot be doubted by any sensible, unbiased mind," etc. The first two days were occupied with the ordinary organization and the exchange of these official courtesies, but on the twenty-fifth the convention settled down to its appointed work, framed four ordinances, and on the twenty-seventh concluded its sitting. The closing entries in its journal summarizes the work of the session as follows:

> The following bills passed and signed this day by the proprietors, on behalf of themselves and partners, and the chairman of the convention, on behalf of himself and the other delegates:
>
> 1st.—An act for establishing courts of judication, and regulating the practice therein.
>
> 2d.—An act for regulating a militia.
>
> 3d.—An act for the punishment of criminals.
>
> 4th.—An act to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath breaking.
>
> 5th.—An act for writs of attachment.
>
> 6th.—An act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees.
>
> 7th.—An act to preserve the range.
>
> 8th.—An act for improving the breed of horses.
>
> 9th.—An act for preserving game.
>
> All the above mentioned acts were signed by the chairman and proprietors, except the act of ascertaining the clerks' and sheriffs' fees, which was omitted by the clerk not giving it in with the rest. Ordered, that at the next meeting of delegates, if any member be absent, and doth not attend, that the people choose one to serve in room of such ab

sent member. Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until the first Thursday in September next, then to meet at Boonesborough.

MATTHEW JOUETT, *Clerk.*

The result of the convention was generally acceptable to the settlers then on the frontier. In addition to the salutary laws ordained, a compact had been entered into by the delegates of the people and the proprietors, the provisions of which guarded every interest, and granted every privilege for which the older colonies were then contending. No sooner, therefore, was the colonial land office opened than purchasers hastened to avail themselves of the company's terms, and by the 1st of December, 1775, 560,000 acres were entered. Thus far the colonial venture seemed to be on the high road to success, but its political status was still unsettled, and to this feature of the problem the proprietors were giving earnest consideration. Silas Deane, of Connecticut, had been applied to for such suggestions in regard to internal affairs as the experience of that colony might afford, and accompanying a copy of its laws, Mr. Deane wrote to James Hogg, in November, commenting upon them and the general topic. In regard to the practice of Connecticut, he said: "They were never fond of making many laws; nor is it good policy in any State, but worst of all in a new one." In this the Transylvania convention had been singularly happy, and in most respects had anticipated the admirable suggestions of the writer.*

In pursuance of a call for a general meeting of the company, the proprietors convened at Oxford, N. C., on September 25, 1775, Henderson, Luttrell and Thomas Hart returning from Kentucky for the purpose. Nathaniel and David Hart were not present; having become disaffected toward their colleagues, they chose to remain on the frontier. At this meeting the proprietors "took into their consideration the present state of said colony," and recorded their action in a series of resolutions, the more important of which are here given in full. The first six appoint Col. John Williams resident agent for the company "until the 12th of April next;" fix his salary for this time at "£150 proclamation money of North Carolina;" provide for his success or "in case of death or removal of Mr. Williams;" for the reservation of lands known to adjoin salt springs or mineral deposits, and one-half of all mineral products in any other lands; and for the recording of deeds granted. Then follows:

Resolved, That all surveys shall be made by the four cardinal points, except where rivers or mountains so intervene as to render it too inconvenient; and that in all cases where one survey comes within the distance of eighty poles from another, their lines shall join without exception; and that every survey on navigable rivers shall extend two poles out for one pole along the river; and that each survey not on navigable rivers shall not be above one-third longer than its width.

Resolved, A present of 2,000 acres of land be made to Col. Daniel Boone, with the thanks of the proprietors for the signal service he has rendered to the company.

Resolved, That the thanks of this company be presented to Col. Richard Callaway, for his spirited and manly behaviour in behalf of said colony; and that a present of 640 acres be made to his youngest son.

Resolved, That James Hogg, Esq., be appointed delegate to represent the said colony in the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia; and that the following memorial be presented by him to that august body:

To the Honorable the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia—The memorial of Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, William Johnston, James Hogg, David Hart and Leonard Henly Bullock, proprietors of Transylvania, Sheweth,

That on the seventh day of March last, for a large and valuable consideration, your memorialists obtained from the Cherokee Indians, assembled at Watauga, a grant of a considerable territory, now called Transylvania, lying on the south side of the river Ohio.

They will not trouble the honorable Congress with a detail of the risks and dangers to which they have been exposed, arising from the nature of the enterprise itself, as well as from the wicked attempts of certain governors and their emissaries; they beg leave only to acquaint them, that through difficulties and dangers, at a great expense, and with the blood of several of their followers, they have laid the foundation of a colony, which, however mean in its origin, will, if one may guess from the present appearances, be one day considerable in America.

The memorialists having made this purchase from the aborigines and immemorial possessors, the sole and uncontested owners of the country, in fair and open treaty, and without the violation of any

*Hall quotes the letter in full; p. 373.

British or American law whatever, are determined to give it up only with their lives. And though their country be far removed from the reach of ministerial usurpation, yet they cannot look with indifference on the late arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament. If the united colonies are reduced, or will tamely submit to be slaves, Transylvania will have reason to fear.

The memorialists by no means forget their allegiance to their sovereign, whose constitutional rights and pre-eminences they will support at the risk of their lives. They flatter themselves that the addition of a new colony, in so fair and equitable a way, and without any expense to the crown, will be acceptable to his most gracious majesty, and that Transylvania will soon be worthy of his royal regard and protection.

At the same time, having their hearts warmed with the same noble spirit that animates the united colonies, and moved with indignation at the late ministerial and parliamentary usurpations, it is the earnest wish of the proprietors of Transylvania to be considered by the colonies as brethren, engaged in the same great cause of liberty and of mankind. And as by reason of several circumstances, needless to be here mentioned, it was impossible for the proprietors to call a convention of the settlers in such time as to have their concurrence laid before this congress, they here pledge themselves for them, that they will concur in the measures now adopted by the proprietors.

From the generous plan of liberty adopted by the congress and that noble love of mankind which appears in all their proceedings, the memorialists please themselves that the united colonies will take the infant colony of Transylvania into their protection; and they, in return, will do everything in their power, and give such assistance in the general cause of America as the congress shall judge to be suitable to their abilities.

Therefore, the memorialists hope and earnestly request, that Transylvania may be added to the number of the united colonies, and that James Hogg, Esq., be received as their delegate, and admitted to a seat in the honorable the Continental Congress.

By order of the proprietors,

[Signed]. RICHARD HENDERSON, *President.*

The remaining action of the proprietors was unimportant, save that in relation to the disposition of public lands, as follows:

Resolved, That from this time to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, the lands in the said colony shall be sold on the following terms: No survey of land shall contain more than six hundred and forty acres, (except in particular cases) and the purchaser shall pay for entry and warrant of survey two dollars; for surveying the same and a plot thereof, four dollars; and for the deed and plot annexed, two dollars. And also shall pay to the said proprietors, their agent, or receiver for the time being, at the time of receiving a deed, two pounds, ten shillings sterling for each hundred acres contained in such deed; also, an annual quit-rent of two shillings, like money, for every hundred acres, commencing in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty. And that any person that settles on the said lands before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, shall have the privileges, on the aforesaid conditions, of taking up for himself any quantity not above six hundred and forty acres; and for each taxable person he may take with him, and settle there, three hundred and twenty acres and no more.

Resolved, That Col. Richard Henderson survey and lay off within the said colony, in such places and in such quantities as he shall think proper, not less than two thousand acres, hereafter to be equally divided amongst the copartners, and that each copartner be permitted, by himself or his deputy, to make choice of, and survey in one or more places, any quantity of vacant land in the aforesaid colony, for his or their particular use; but not above two thousand acres, and that agreeable to the aforesaid rateable proportions, unless on the same terms, and under the same regulations and restrictions, as laid down for other purchasers.

Resolved, That not more than five thousand acres shall be sold to any one person who does not immediately settle on the said lands; and that at three pounds, ten shillings sterling per hundred, and not more than one hundred thousand acres in the whole on these terms.

The action of the proprietors thus recorded was fraught with the most serious consequences to the venture in which they were embarked; and while their decisions were in a large measure actuated by wisdom and worthy motives, the change in the terms of the sale of land proved the bar on which the commercial bark grounded and rendered its total wreck more easy. Col. Williams did not reach the frontier until the early part of December, but he at once set about carrying out the company's instructions, and on January 3, 1776, wrote his principals from Boonesborough, "some account of what I have been after since my arrival at this place." This letter is so much to the point, and presents the situation so much more clearly than any abstract could, that its essential features are here given in the language of the writer.

As the primitive intention of sending me to Transylvania was to establish a land office, appoint the necessary officers to the said office, surveyor, etc., upon the best footing in my power, and to

make sale of the lands within the said colony, upon such terms as might be most advantageous to the proprietors and satisfactory to the inhabitants thereof; my first step was to fall upon some method of appointing a person to the office of surveyor, who should give general satisfaction to the people. I thought none more likely to do so than calling a convention and taking their recommendation for the person whom I would appoint. From the dispersed situation of the people, and the extreme badness of the weather, we failed in convening a majority; however, I took the sense of those who appeared, and who unanimously recommended Col. John Floyd, a gentleman generally esteemed, and I am persuaded truly worthy, and him I have commissioned surveyor of the colony at present, though perhaps it may be advisable, at a future day, to divide the colony into two districts and to appoint another surveyor to one of the districts.

The entering office I have disposed to Mr. Nathaniel Henderson, and the secretary's to Mr. Richard Harrison; though, upon consideration, I have thought that the numerous incidental expenses were so great that some way ought to be fallen upon to defray them without breaking in upon the monies arising from the sale of the lands, and that the $2 for entering, etc., and the other two for filling up the deeds, counterparts, annexing seals and plots, etc., was more money than the services of these officers absolutely required; I, therefore, have reserved out of each office, $1, to answer the purpose of defraying those extraordinary expenses, and the office is left well worth the acceptance of persons capable of filling them with credit.

The number of entries on our book is now upward of 900, a great part of which was made before I came to this place, when people could make entries without money, and without price; the country abounded with landmongers; since there is $2.00 exacted on the entry made, people are not so keen, though I make no doubt but all who can comply with the terms will endeavor to save their lands, and as many people who have got entry on the book are now out of the country, and cannot possibly pay up the entry money immediately, I have thought proper to advertise, that every person who had made entry on the book, and paid no money, that they come in and pay up the entrance money by the first of April, and take out their warrants of survey, or their several entries will, after that time, be considered as vacated, and liable to be entered by any person whatever.

The surveyors have now begun to survey, and some few people have been desirous of getting out their deeds immediately; but they generally complain of a great scarcity of money; and doubt their being able to take their deeds before next June, or even before next fall; though, in a general way, people seem to be well reconciled to the terms, and desirous to take upon them, except some few, whom I have been obliged to tamper with, and a small party about Harrodsburg, who it seems have been entering into a confederacy not to hold lands on any other terms than those of the first year. As this party is composed of people in general of small consequence, and I have taken some steps to remove some of their principal objections, I make no doubt but to do all that way; and for that purpose have formed a design for removing myself, with the office, to Harrodsburg, some time in February next, unless I should find from a trip I propose immediately taking there, that I cannot do it with safety. The principal man, I am told, at the head of this confederacy is one Hite, and him I make no doubt but to convince he is in an error.

Among other things one of the great complaints was, that the proprietors and a few gentlemen had engrossed all the land at or near the Falls of the Ohio, which circumstance I found roused the attention of a number of people of note; I therefore found myself under the necessity of putting a stop to all clamors of that kind, by declaring that I would grant no large bodies of land to any person whatever, which lay contiguous to the Falls; which I have done in a solemn manner. This, I am far from thinking will be injurious to the proprietors, but quite the reverse; and circumstances which will render more general satisfaction, and be of as much utility to the Colony, as any step heretofore taken.

You will observe that I am going on to justify the measure, before I inform you what it is. But to be brief, it is this; the Falls, it is certain, is a place, which from its situation, must be the most considerable mart in this part of the world; the lands around are generally rich and fertile, and most agreeably situated; which had occasioned many people to fix their affections on that place. Many applications have been made for large grants, at and about that place, and refused. Since which 20,000 acres, and upwards, have been entered there for the company; 40,000 or 50,000 more in large tracts by a few other gentlemen; a partiality was complained of; a general murmuring ensued.

Upon considering the matter I thought it unjust; I thought it a disadvantage to the partners in general; and that some step ought to be taken to pacify the minds of the people. I therefore entered into a resolution that I would grant to no one man living, within a certain distance of the Falls, more than 1,000 acres of land, and that it be settled and improved in a certain space of time, under the penalty of forfeiture; that every person who had entered more than 1,000 acres might retain his 1,000 out of which spot he pleased; that the several officers, who have claims there may each, on application and complying with our terms, be entitled to 1,000 within his survey. That a town be immediately laid out and a lot reserved to each proprietor, and then the first settlers to take the lots they may choose, enter and improve; which improvement must be done in a certain limited time, or the lot forfeited, and again to be sold, etc. These proposals

seem to have given general satisfaction, and every one who had entered large quantities, within these limits, gives it up with the greatest alacrity; and I am in hopes it will meet the general approbation of the company; if so, I shall be happy; if not, I shall be very sorry, though the necessity must justify the measure.

The Falls of the Ohio is a place of all others within the colony which will admit of a town, which, from its particular situation, will immediately become populous and flourishing; the land contiguous thereto rich and fertile, and where a great number of gentlemen will most certainly settle, and be the support and protection of a town at that place; a place which should meet with every encouragement, to settle and strengthen, inasmuch as it will most certainly be the terror of our savage enemies, the Kickeboos Indians, who border more nearly on that place than any other part of the colony; and as I think it absolutely necessary that the aforesaid proposed town, at the falls, to be laid off the ensuing spring, if I find it practicable to raise a party about the 1st of March and go down and lay out a town and stake it off; though this will, in a great measure, depend upon the future tranquillity of our situation, between this and then, for I assure you the little attack made upon us by the Indians the 23d of last month, has made many people who are ashamed to confess themselves afraid, find out that their affairs on your side of the mountains will not dispense with their staying here any longer at present; and I am well convinced once they get there, that every alarm, instead of precipitating, will procrastinate their return.

The sanguine expectations of Col. Williams in regard to the dissatisfaction of the settlers were not entirely realized. The "small party at Harrodsburg" was not to be so easily placated; the "Confederacy" seems to have been based upon something more than a determination "not to hold lands on any other than those of the first year," though this was the burden of the complaint. There was evidently an element of envy in the movement which manifested itself in an ill-tempered insinuation in regard not only to the character of the proprietors, but also to the character of the eminent men who composed the Boonesborough convention. A petition to the Virginia convention originated among these malcontents, though inasmuch as the date is not found in the document, the period* of its origin can only be determined by internal and collateral evidence.

In this paper the petitioners represent that they were attracted to Kentucky "by the advantageous reports of their friends who first explored it;" that they have been greatly alarmed by the conduct of the proprietors, "in advancing the price of the purchase money from 20s. to 50s. sterling, per 100 acres, and at the same time have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exorbitant rate, and, by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands even on those extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intention of rising in their demands as the settlers increase, or their insatiable avarice shall dictate;" that they "have been more justly alarmed at such unaccountable and arbitrary proceedings, as they have lately learned" of the general purchase at Fort Stanwix, and have "the greatest reason to presume that his majesty * * * will vindicate his title;" that they would have cheerfully paid the consideration at first stipulated by the company, whenever this grant had been properly authenticated; and therefore "humbly expect and implore to be taken under the protection of the honorable convention of the colony of Virginia, of which we cannot help thinking ourselves still a part, and request your kind interposition in our behalf, that we may not suffer under the rigorous demands and impositions of the gentlemen stiling themselves proprietors, who, the better to effect their oppressive designs, have given them the color of a law, enacted by a score of men, artfully picked from the few adventurers who went to see the country last summer, overawed by the presence of Mr. Henderson."

It may seriously be doubted whether this petition originated in Kentucky, but be that as it may, it is certain that of the eighty-four names appended as signers, but one representative name—that of James Harrod, a member of the Boonesborough convention—appears, and that is greatly invalidated by the self-stultification involved in the last sentence quoted. Not one of the signers, with the exception noted, ever became otherwise conspicuous in Virginia or Kentucky, while of those against whom the envious shaft was aimed, scarcely one has failed to

*Butler and Hall state that it originated in the Harrodsburg convention, June 6, 1776.

secure an honored place on some of the brightest pages of the history of that time.

The attempt to found the colony of Transylvania gave rise to a sharp conflict of interests; the increased cost of land, which, though it only raised the price to about 14 cents per acre, including all charges, was, in the scale of values at that time, an oppressive price, and the change was without doubt unwisely made, but the history of the whole enterprise reveals no avaricious tendency on the part of the company. The proprietors had made a large outlay in the original purchase; the expense of locating and maintaining the first settlement was considerable, and the first sales of lands did little more than cover the expense of doing the business. And yet, the company exhibited no parsimony in dealing with settlers. They hired between 200 and 300 men in founding the settlement, and it is said, upon the authority of the deposition of Benjamin Logan, that Henderson offered a gratuity of 640 acres to such as would raise a crop of corn the first year.

"In justice to this great company," says Butler, "it must be observed that it furnished, although for sale, all the supplies of gunpowder and lead with which the inhabitants defended themselves and their families. Indeed the books of Henderson & Company exhibit accounts for these articles with all the inhabitants of the country, in the years 1775–76; while they are credited with various items, as cutting the road to Cantuckey, hunting and ranging. * * * These accounts remained unclosed upon the books in every instance, shewing a condition of no little indebtedness for the colonists of Transylvania to the great proprietors." Yet when the ruling wage per day was about 33 cents, Col. Williams states in a letter to the company that materials for the manufacture of powder stored in Powell Valley could not be brought forward, because colonists demanded $1 a day for their services. Had the colony received the political recognition the proprietors sought, the mutual interests of proprietors and colonists would have led to an equitable arrangement of land difficulties, as the influences for a liberal government were numerous and influential; but this was not to be. The projected colony had fallen upon Revolutionary times; old things were passing away and newer modes were being ushered in.

The mission of James Hogg was productive of no positive results. Soon after the meeting at Oxford, he set out for Philadelphia and reached his destination on the 22d of October. On the 2d of December he returned, and some time in January, 1776, wrote a letter, probably to Henderson,* giving "an account of my embassy, which you will please to communicate to the other gentlemen, our copartners, when you have opportunity." This account is so attractive in its original form that it is here given entire—with the exception of certain non-essential paragraphs—as the fullest and most accurate information to be secured upon the subject. The journey was partly made in company with "Messrs. Hooper and Hewes," who were valued and influential friends of the Transylvania Colony, and who rendered important services in aid of its representative as indicated in the letter.

It was October 22 when we arrived at Philadelphia. In a few days they introduced me to several of the congress gentlemen, among the first of whom were, accidentally, the famous Samuel and John Adams; and as I found their opinion friendly to our new colony, I shewed them our map, explained to them the advantage of our situation, etc. They entered seriously into the matter, and seemed to think favorably of the whole, but the difficulty that occurred to us soon appeared to them. "We have petitioned and addressed the king," said they, "and have entreated him to point out some mode of accommodation. There seems to be an impropriety in embarrassing our reconciliation with anything new, and the taking under our protection a body of people who have acted in defiance of the king's proclamation will be looked on as a confirmation of that independent spirit with which we are daily reproached." I then showed them our memorial, to convince them that we did not intend to throw off our allegiance to the king, but intended to acknowledge his sovereignty whenever he should think us worthy of his regard. They were pleased with our memorial, and thought it very proper, but another

*The address of this letter, its exact date, and the name of the place where it was written are not recorded, and are probably lost. The body of the communication is preserved entire, which, with the other papers quoted in this review of the Transylvania Colony, are to be found complete in the appendix to Mr. Hall's work, edition of 1857.

difficulty occurred; by looking on the map they observed that we were within the Virginia charter. I then told them of the fixing their boundaries, what had passed at Richmond in March last, and that I had reason to believe the Virginians would not oppose us; however, they advised me to sound the Virginians, as they would not choose to do anything in it without their consent.

All the delegates were, at that time, so much engaged in the congress, from morning to night, that it was some days before I got introduced to the Virginians, and before then I was informed that some of them had said, whatever was their own opinion of the matter, they would not consent that Transylvania should be admitted as a colony, and represented in congress, until it originated in their conventions, and should be approved by their constituents. Some days after this I was told that Messrs. Jefferson, Wythe and Richard Henry Lee were desirous of meeting with me, which was accordingly brought about, but unfortunately Mr. Lee was, by some business, prevented from being with us, though I had some conversation with him afterward. I told them that the Transylvania Company, suspecting that they might be misrepresented, had sent me to make known to the gentlemen of the congress our friendly intentions toward the cause of liberty, etc., but said nothing of our memorial, or of my pretensions to a seat in congress. They said nothing in return to me, but seriously examined our map, and asked many questions. They observed that our purchase was within their charter, and gently hinted that, by virtue of it, they might claim the whole. This led me to take notice that a few years ago,* as I had been informed, their assembly had petitioned the crown for leave to purchase from the Cherokees, and to fix their boundaries with them, which was accordingly done by a line running from six miles east of the long island in Holston to the mouth of the Great Khanaway, for which they had actually paid £2,500 to the Cherokees, by which purchase both the crown and the assembly had acknowledged the property of those lands to be in the Cherokees. Besides, said I, our settlement of Transylvania will be a great service to the Virginians.

They seemed to waive the argument concerning the right of property; but Mr. Jefferson acknowledged that, in his opinion, our colony could be no loss to the Virginians, if properly united to them, and said, that if his advice was followed, all the use they should make of their charter would be to prevent any arbitrary or oppressive government to be established within the boundaries of it, and that it was his wish to see a free government established at the back of theirs, properly united with them, and that it should extend westward to the Mississippi, and on each side of the Ohio to their charter line. But he would not consent that we should be acknowledged by the congress until it had the approbation of their constituents in convention, which he thought might be obtained, and that for that purpose we should send one of our company to the next convention. Against this proposal several objections occurred to me, but I made none.

This was the substance of our conference, with which I acquainted our good friends, Messrs. Hooper & Hewes, who joined me in the opinion that I should not push the matter further * * * I was frequently with parties of the delegates, who in general think favorably of our enterprise. All the wise ones of them, with whom I conversed on the subject, are clear in opinion that the property of the lands are vested in us by the Indian grant; but some of them think that by the common law of England and by common usage in America, the sovereignty is in the king, agreeably to a famous law opinion, of which I was so fortunate as to procure a copy. The suffering traders and others, at the end of last year, obtained a large tract of land from the Six Nations and other Indians.* They formed themselves into a company and petitioned the king for a patent, and deserved to be erected into a government. His majesty laid their petition before Lord Chancellor Camden, and Mr. Charles York, then attorney-general, and afterward chancellor. Their opinion follows: "In respect to such places as have been or shall be required by treaty or grant from any of the Indian princes or governments, your majesty's letters-patent are not necessary. The property of the soil resting in the grantee by the Indian grants, subject only to your majesty's right of sovereignty over the settlements, as English settlements, and over the inhabitants as English subjects, who carry with them your majesty's laws wherever they form colonies, and receive your majesty's protection by virtue of your royal charters." After an opinion so favorable for them it is amazing that this company never attempted to form a settlement, unless they could have procured a charter, with the hopes of which, it seems, they were flattered, from time to time. However, our example has aroused them, I am told, and they are now setting up for our rivals. * * * * * *

I was several times with Mr. Deane, of Connecticut, the gentleman of whom Mr. Hooper told you when here. He says he will send some people to see our country; and if their report be favorable, he thinks many Connecticut people will join us. This gentleman is a scholar, and a man of sense and enterprise, and rich; and I am apt to believe has some thoughts of leading a party of Connecticut adventurers, providing things can be made agreeable to him. He is reckoned a good man and much esteemed in congress; but he is an enthusiast in liberty, and will have nothing to do with us unless he is pleased with our form of government. * * * You would be amazed to see how much in earnest these speculative gentlemen are about the plan to be adopted by the Transylvanians. They

*1770; treaty at Lochaber, S. C.

*Ante, page 79, and Appendix A, Note 8.

entreat, they pray that we make it a free government, and beg that no mercenary or ambitious views in the proprietors may prevent it. Quit-rents, they say, are a mark of vassalage, and hope they shall not be established in Transylvania. They even threaten us with their opposition if we do not act on liberal principles, when we have it so much in our power to render ourselves immortal. Many of them advise a law against negroes. Inclosed, I send you a copy of a sketch by J. Adams, which I had from Richard Henry Lee.

The situation was undoubtedly promising for the final political and material success of the colony, but public affairs were so complicated by the disturbed relations of the older colonies with the mother country, that it was manifestly impolitic, if not impossible, to urge matters further, and recognition was therefore necessarily held in abeyance. Such a necessity, however, proved fatal to the ambitions of the proprietors; the frontier settlements could not suspend existence until the political heavens cleared; the uncertainties and ravages of a desperate war were not calculated to encourage the enterprise of "speculative gentlemen;" and the "small party about Harrodsburg" were not slow to perceive the advantage which these circumstances placed in their lands.

The return of George Rogers Clark to Kentucky in 1776, after a short visit to Virginia, has been noted;* he had no special interest to serve, save to "lend a helping hand," and was not long in discovering the necessities of the situation. The disaffection at Harrodsburg had increased in the meanwhile; Virginia convention in the early part of 1776, while not prejudicing the question of recognizing the new colony, had encouraged the settlement of Kentucky; and the portentous shadows of the coming tempest of war were already darkening the frontier. The measures to be adopted in such a case were apparent to him; and it was largely due to his influence and direction that a convention was held at Harrodsburg June 6, to seek the protection and aid of Virginia. Though not present at its deliberations, he and Gabriel John Jones were chosen members of the Virginia assembly, and forthwith proceeded on their mission. The energetic action of Clark resulted in the recognition of the settlers as citizens of Virginia, and in the fall the county of Kentucky was erected.

This action on the part of Virginia, while not conclusive, was an important indication of the growing opinion which prevailed in that colony. Whatever the rights of the proprietors of Transylvania were under the royal *regime*, they underwent a serious change when Virginia set up her pretensions to independence. The erection of Kentucky County was opposed by Henderson and his friends with every available argument, but when effected the proprietors gave up the unequal contest. They still urged their claim to the property purchased, but this also was denied, and final action was taken by the house of delegates on November 4, 1778, as follows:

Resolved, That all purchases of land, made or to be made, of the Indians within the chartered bounds of this commonwealth as described by the constitution or form of government, by any private persons not authorized by public authority, are void.

Resolved, That the purchase heretofore made by Richard Henderson & Co., of the tract of land called Transylvania, within this commonwealth, of the Cherokee Indians, is void. But as the said Richard Henderson & Co. have been at very great expense in making the said purchase, and in settling the said lands, by which this commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage, by increasing its inhabitants and establishing a barrier against the Indians, it is just and reasonable to allow said Richard Henderson & Co. a compensation for their trouble and expense.

In this action the senate concurred on the 17th. Some fruitless effort was expended by the proprietors to secure a reversal of this act so far as it declared their purchase void, but reluctantly becoming con-

**Ante*, page 83. In reference to Clark's second visit to Kentucky, Butler notes the following incident, narrated by Gen. Ray: "I had come down," said the General, "to where I now live" (about four miles north of Harrodsburg), "to turn some horses out to range; I had killed a small blue-wing duck, that was feeding in my spring, and had roasted it nicely, on the brow of the hill, about twenty steps east of my house. After taking it off to cool, I was much surprised on being suddenly accosted by a fine, soldierly looking man, who exclaimed, 'How do you do, my little fellow? What is your name? A'nt you afraid of being in the woods by yourself?' On satisfytng his inquiries, I invited the traveler to partake of my duck, which he did without leaving me a bone to pick, his appetite was so keen; though he should have been welcome to all the game I could have killed when I afterwards became acquainted with his noble and gallant soul." In return Ray inquired of the stranger his name and business in that remote region; to which he replied, "My name is Clark, and I have come out to see what you brave fellows are doing in Kentucky, and to lend a helping hand if necessary." Ray, then a boy of sixteen, conducted Clark to Harrodsburg, where he soon identified himself with the interests of the frontier settlements.

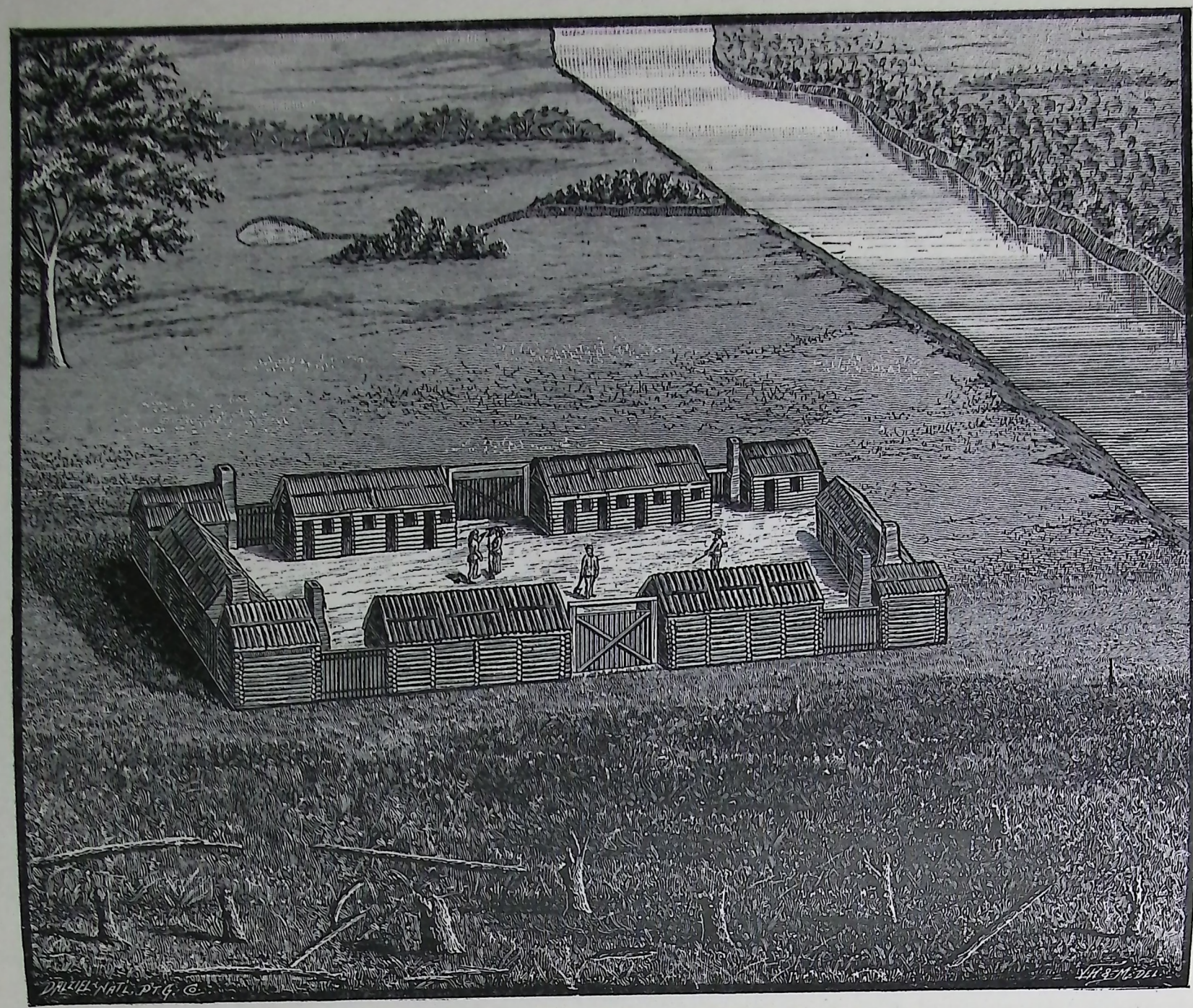
vinced of the futility of their efforts, they acquiesced in the decision of the assembly, and applied for the compensation to which the act adjudged them reasonably entitled. The assembly accordingly granted some 200,000 acres, lying on the Ohio, and extending twelve miles and a half up both sides of the Green River, "in full compensation to the said Richard Henderson & Co. and their heirs," etc. Thus ended the Transylvania colony.

But this contest, which decided the fate of a State, scarcely made a ripple on the surface of frontier life, and save the dissatisfaction which culminated in the convention at Harrodsburg, no note of it is found in the annals of the border. Its result, however, may be traced in the history of the Kentucky settlements. An unrecognized rivalry existed between the two leading towns from the first, and probably had much to do with the antagonism to the proprietors' project developed at Harrodsburg. It was evident that if the Transylvania colony was recognized, Boonesborough would become the chief place on the frontier; immigration would naturally be directed to it, and the value of the property in its vicinity be enhanced. Such, for a time, was the result. But the success of the Harrodsburg petitioners wrought a marked change; the latter town became the center of frontier influence, and some of the families earliest to settle in Boonesborough removed, in the fall of 1776, to Harrodsburg, which became the seat of justice for the county of Kentucky. Yet, notwithstanding this loss of prestige and numbers, Boonesborough continued, throughout the unsettled period of Indian hostilities, of the first importance in the history of the border,

The opening days of 1776 found the advance line of civilization in the Ohio Valley, held by the settlements of Hinkston, near Lars Station in Harrison County, of McClellan at Georgetown, of Logan in Lincoln, at Boiling Springs and Harrodsburg in Mercer, and Boonesborough in Madison County. During the preceding summer and fall the settlements had not been seriously disturbed by Indian depredations. Indeed, such was the security felt by the people, that Henderson wrote to the company under the date of June 12th, 1775: "It will no doubt be a surprise to you, but it is nevertheless true, that we are in no posture of defense or security at this time; and for my own part, do not much expect it will ever be effected, unless the Indians should do us the favor of annoying us, and regularly scalping a man every week until it is performed." It does not appear that the Indians were so accommodating as to make any attack at all until the 23d of December, when, it would seem by the following letter of Col. Williams, its salutary influence was entirely explained away. "The blockhouse"—"Fort Boone"—was destined to remain, for some months longer, their only dependence.

On Saturday, about noon, being the 23d, Col. Campbell, with a couple of lads (Sanders and M'Quinney) went across the river. On the opposite bank they parted. Campbell went up the river about 200 yards, and took up a bottom. The two lads, without a gun, went straightway up the hill. About ten minutes after they parted, a gun and cry of distress was heard, and the alarm given that the Indians had shot Col. Campbell. We made to his assistance. He came running to the landing with one shoe off, and said he was fired on by a couple of Indians. A party of men was immediately dispatched, under the command of Col. Boone, who went out, but could make no other discovery than two moccasin tracks, whether Indians or not could not be determined. We had at that time, over the river hunting, etc., ten or a dozen men, in different parties, part or all of whom we expected to be killed, if what Col. Campbell said was true, but that by many was doubted. Night came on, several of the hunters had returned, but had neither seen nor heard of Indians, nor yet of the two lads. We continued in this state of suspense till Wednesday, when a party of men sent out to search for them found M'Quinney, killed and scalped, in a cornfield, at about three miles distant from the town, on the north side of the river. Sanders could not be found, nor has he yet been heard of. On Thursday a ranging party of fifteen men, under the command of Jesse Benton, was dispatched to scour the woods twenty or thirty miles round, and see if any further discovery could be made. To these men we gave 2 shillings per day, and £5 for every scalp they should produce. After they went out our hunters returned, one at a time, till they all came in safe, Sanders excepted, who no doubt has shared M'Quinney's fate.

On Sunday, the 31st day of the month, our rangers returned, without doing any more than con-



BOONESBOROUGH FORT.

vincing themselves that the Indians had immediately, on doing the murder, ran off northward, as they discovered their tracks thirty or forty miles toward the Ohio, making that way.

On the above massacre being committed we began to doubt that there was a body of Indians about, who intended committing outrage on our inhabitants. However, we are perfectly satisfied since that their number was only six or seven men, who set off from the Shawnee town before the treaty at Fort Pitt,* with an intent, as they termed it, to take a look at the white people on Kentucky, and King Cornstalk, at the treaty, informed the commissioners of this, and said, for the conduct of these men, before they returned, he could not be responsible, for that he did not know but that they might do some mischief, and that if any of them should get killed by the whites he should take no notice at all of it. For this we have undoubted authority, and don't at present think ourselves in any greater danger here than if the above massacre had not been committed.

Another circumstance is that our ammunition grows scant. I don't think there is enough to supply this place till the last of March, supposing we should have no occasion of any to repulse an enemy; if we should, God only knows how long it will last. If any powder can possibly be procured, it would certainly be advisable to do it, if not, some person who can manufacture the materials we have on the way for the purpose of making powder. Most part of those are at the block-house, or at least within two or three miles of that, the rest in Powell's Valley.

One would reasonably suppose that the pioneers would find in the occurrence above related, a sufficient incentive to begin this work, but it was not until the latter part of July, 1776, that a commodious inclosure for defense was built on the plan drawn by Mr. Henderson in the preceding April.† Harrodsburg was similarly provided about the same time, but Logan's, McClellan's, and Hinkston's settlements were not so defended; the first two were subsequently fortified, and the other for a time was abandoned to be repossessed later, and fortified as Ruddle's Station.

*October, 1775; with congressional commissioners.

†See diary; entry of April 21. The larger fort at Boonesborough was a typical frontier defense; and as the plan of it has been preserved with a very good description of its surroundings, the engraving in the text may be considered fairly accurate. The plan, found in Henderson's writing, is copied from the engraving in Hall's work (p. 164) and may be seen in Appendix; note 9. The date commonly assigned for the completion of this fort, June 14, 1775, is erroneous. This date, derived from Filson's History, refers to the completion of the "small fort," mentioned by Henderson as "only wanting two or three days' work to make it tolerable safe," but which, on June 12, "remains unfinished." In his letter of July 21, 1776, Col. Floyd writes: "We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible."

The continued quiet which prevailed on the frontier reassured those who had fled from Kentucky on account of the Indian depredations committed in the spring of 1775, and early in the next spring these timid adventurers returned, bringing with them large numbers of others, who were eager to share in the bounty offered by the Virginia assembly. They naturally sought the scenes of their former explorations, and the valley of the Kentucky was once more alive with the busy activity of improvers. Many did not go further than the region first entered, and the territory now within the limits of Mason County was fairly thronged with these adventurers, the names of some sixty different persons being preserved. In the country now comprised in the counties of Scott, Harrison, Bourbon, Mercer, Madison and about Logan's fort in Lincoln, the number was scarcely less in proportion. In all, the number of new arrivals reached upward of 200, but the permanent increase of the settlements was very small. About April, Capt. John Haggin brought his family—the first to find a home north of Georgetown—and settled on Paddy's Run in Harrison County. In this season, also, Logan moved the members of his family to St. Asaph's, but realizing the insecurity of his station, he subsequently placed them in Harrodsburg. A few families settled at the mouth of the Kentucky, and others on Drennon's Creek, and these, with possible additions at Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, were the chief part of the permanent accessions to society on the frontier.

With the exception of the murder near Boonesborough in December, the Indians committed no depredations upon the Kentucky settlements from April 4, 1775, until April of the succeeding year. The savages had not abandoned their favorite hunting-grounds, however; their attention had only been temporarily diverted. At the close of the abortive congress with the commissioners at Pittsburgh, the warlike party of the Shawanese had withdrawn from the peaceably disposed portion of the tribe, and retiring toward what is now the northwestern part of the State of Ohio, sent their chief men

to concert measures with the British agents at Oswego. The war for independence had not yet begun, but it was felt in the older portions of the country to be inevitable, though such apprehensions had not yet become generally accepted in Kentucky, a delusion that was strengthened by the peace which ruled on the border. The English agents were not so short-sighted; they expected war to ensue, and while no campaign was decided upon with the Indians, they were instructed to hold themselves in readiness to join the British in their contemplated attacks upon the American settlements in the spring of 1776, and in April, the long truce was broken by the murder of Willis Lee at his station, called Lee's Town, the name of which has been perpetuated. From that period to the end of the year the settlements were kept in a constant state of alarm by the numerous bands of Indians, who "came to take a look at the people on the Kentucky." A letter of Colonel Floyd, which is elsewhere* quoted in full, gives a graphic picture of the experiences in Kentucky at that time: "The Indians seem determined to break up our settlement. * * * * They have, I am satisfied, killed several whom, at this time, I know not how to mention. Many are missing, who some time ago went out about their business, of whom we hear nothing. Fresh sign of Indians is seen every day. * * * * On the seventh of this month (July) they killed one Cooper on Licking Creek, and on the fourteenth, a man whose name I know not, at your salt spring on the same creek. * * * We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible. They are, I understand, doing the same thing at Harrodsburg, and also on Elkhorn, at the Royal Spring."

This renewal of savage hostilities had the usual effect of clearing the country of the timid, and most of those who had no permanent interest planted here. The bolder people at once busied themselves in building defenses. Hinkston's settlement, exposed by its location so far northward and its want of a stockade, was abandoned in July, and its leader, with eighteen followers, retired to Boonesborough, where, deaf to all persuasion, they excited a number of others with their fears, and the whole company departed for the older settlements, leaving less than thirty persons to defend the "large fort" just completed. A few less timid members of the Hinkston settlement, with several families from the mouth of the Kentucky and Drennon's Creek, united with the settlers at the Royal Spring (site of Georgetown) in building a stout stockade, which became known as McClellan's Fort—the first* of its kind north of the Kentucky River.

The general state of insecurity was further emphasized on July 14 by an act which showed the ubiquity and cruel adroitness of the savage foe. This was the capture of Elizabeth and Fanny Callaway and Jemima Boone from a canoe in sight of the fort at Boonesborough. The girls, the first aged sixteen years and the others fourteen, made such defense as they could, screamed and struggled, the eldest striking one of the assailants upon the head, gashing it to the bone, with a paddle—but in vain. They were carried off, but not without giving the alarm. Cols. Boone and Callaway were absent at the time, but soon returned and organized a rescuing party, which forthwith set out. Callaway, at the head of several on horseback, proceeded rapidly forward to cut off the retreat of the savages across the Ohio, whilst Boone, accompanied by Samuel Henderson, Capt. John Holder, Flanders Callaway and four others, followed the trail on foot. The girls took every possible precaution to leave evidences of their course for the guidance of the party which they were assured would follow for their rescue. The girls were captured late on Sunday afternoon, and early on Tuesday morning they were rescued, the pursuers making a sudden attack upon the Indian camp while the savages were preparing their breakfast. There were five of the savages, only one of whom got

*Ante, p. 82.

*This pre-eminence may be disputed in favor of McGee's Station, built three miles north of Boonesboro, about the same time. It is not possible to determine between these rival claims; there is less than a month's interval between the dates of their construction.

back to tell the story, the others dying from wounds or famine.*

Other depredations followed to keep alive the general alarm, and in all this danger the settlers found themselves principally dependent, for ammunition and many other things, upon the older settlements, from which they were separated by hundreds of miles of almost impassable forests, in the shadows of which lurked a numerous and desperate foe. In June, Clark and Jones had gone to Virginia on the double mission of procuring powder and securing recognition of the settlements as part of that colony; but early in October, before Clark's supply came to hand, the ammunition getting low at McClellan's Fort, Robert Patterson—subsequently one of the founders of Lexington, Ky., and Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio—with six other men from the fort, started to Pittsburgh to procure the required powder and other necessaries. On their way the party spent several days at the Blue Lick, curing buffalo meat and making other preparations for their journey. Proceeding thence to the present vicinity of Maysville, they secured a canoe and went up the Ohio River. Until they reached the mouth of the Kanawha, they observed no particular caution in their movements, but from this point forward, realizing they were in a dangerous region, they traveled from day-break till dark, and at night, cautiously landing, slept without a fire.

Late in the evening of the 12th of October they landed a few miles below the mouth of Hockhocking, in the present State of Ohio, and contrary to their usual practice made a fire, having become less cautious in consequence of their near approach to the settlements. They laid upon their arms around the fire, and in the night were attacked by a party of eleven Indians, who gave them a volley, and then fell upon them with their tomahawks. Col. Patterson received two balls in his right arm, by which it was broken, and a tomahawk was struck into his side, between two of his ribs, penetrating into the cavity of the body. He sprang out into the darkness, and got clear, supposing all of his companions were killed. He made for the river in hopes of getting into the canoe and floating down to Point Pleasant, but as he approached it he discovered that there was an Indian in it. In a short time the whole party of Indians went on board, and floated down the river. Col. Patterson then made an attempt to get to the fire, in which he succeeded. He found a companion, named Templeton, wounded in a manner very similar to his own case; another, named Wernock, wounded dangerously, and another, named Perry, slightly. Of the other three one was killed, one was missing, and the other, named Mitchell, was unhurt. They had saved one gun and some ammunition. They remained on the ground until morning, when they attempted to proceed up the river on foot, but Wernock was unable to move, and they were forced to leave him. They found themselves unable to proceed farther than a quarter of a mile from the camp, and it was then agreed that Perry should endeavor to reach Grave Creek, and bring them aid, while Mitchell was to remain and take care of the others. Wernock, who was left behind, died in the evening, and Mitchell, who had gone back to assist him, lost his way in returning to Patterson and Templeton, and did not find them until the next morning. They then moved a couple of hundred yards from the river, and the next day got under a cliff, which sheltered them from the rain, where they remained until Perry returned from Grave Creek with assistance. They were removed to that place after lying eight days in their suffering condition. Patterson laid twelve months under the surgeon's care.*

This incident is but one of the many that serve to illustrate the watchful scrutiny of the savages, and the terrible exactions which the settlement of Kentucky made upon the

*This account is supplementary to that given in Floyd's letter referred to above. A touch of romance is given to the painful affair by the fact that those named of Boone's party were the recognized lovers of the girls, in the order named. Two of the number—Samuel Henderson, youngest brother of Col. Henderson, and Elizabeth Callaway—were the principals in the first marriage celebrated in Kentucky. The ceremony was performed by Squire Boone, at Boonesboro, August 7, 1776. Their first child, Fanny, born May 29, 1777, was the first white child of parents married in Kentucky, and the fifth white child born in the State. The others were subsequently married. See Collins, Vol. II, p. 521.

*American Pioneer, Vol. II, pp. 344-5.

hardy pioneers who braved the dangers of the border in this heroic period. The character of Indian operations was well calculated to inflict the greatest distress upon the scattered stations. These forest fortresses were cut off from the support of the older communities by long and greatly exposed routes of travel; their defenders were harassed in their attempts to raise the crops necessary for their existence, and all attempts to secure powder, or other supplies, were closely watched, and, so far as possible, cruelly defeated. Such a plan, if successfully carried out, must have inevitably forced the little garrisons to retreat from their bold positions, or fall an easy prey to the overwhelming force which might be brought against them when thus brought to the last extremity. Kentucky was thus practically in a state of siege, though at long range, and without the regularity of details which a well-conducted investment would have afforded.

It was under such circumstances that Clark and Jones reached Pittsburgh in December, 1776, to secure the transportation of the 500 pounds of powder, granted by Virginia, "for the use of the inhabitants of Kentucke," to its destination. The watchfulness of the Indians, and their hostile intentions were well known, and their spies were to be seen lurking about the very settlement. But the case was urgent, and Clark was not one to calculate dangers if success seemed possible. Accordingly the precious consignment was embarked, and the delegates, with seven boatmen, launched out upon the river, pursuing their course in safety to the Three Islands (within the present county of Lewis). Here they secreted the powder, and after setting their boat adrift that it might not attract the attention of the Indians, the whole party began their march for Harrodsburg, by way of McClellan's Fort. On reaching the latter place they learned that Col. John Todd was in the vicinity, and would soon come in. Clark determined, therefore, to leave his colleague with five of the boatmen to await Todd's arrival, while he pushed on to Harrodsburg to report the result of his mission. A few days later Todd came, and on December 25, at the head of nine mounted men, piloted by Jones, set out in quest of the powder. On reaching a point near the Lower Blue Lick, the party was fiercely assailed by a band of forty or fifty savages, who were following the recent trail of the powder escort. Jones and another of the whites were instantly killed, two others were captured, and the rest put in rapid flight for the fort. Four days later the Indians, who were under the command of a noted Mingo chief called Pluggy, boldly assailed McClellan's Station, in which there were only twenty defenders. The attack was fiercely maintained for several hours, when the death of the chief put a sudden end to the fight, and caused his followers to retreat to their towns. Of the settlers two were mortally wounded, and two others less seriously hurt. The alarm inspired by this event effected the purpose of the savages much better than the direct assault; the fort was at once abandoned, its occupants retiring to Harrodsburg.

Thus, at the beginning of 1777, but two fortified posts remained, and in these were gathered all the settlers in Kentucky. Logan still continued to cultivate his improvement at St. Asaph's only assisted by his slaves, his family finding shelter in Harrodsburg. Early in this year, having been joined by several others, he determined to fortify his station, and soon afterward was joined by his own and other families. Thenceforward Logan's was one of the prominent strongholds on this frontier. Early in January, a force from Harrodsburg had safely brought the powder from Three Islands; a militia organization had been effected,* in which Clark probably held commission as major; and thus equipped the pioneers prepared to rely upon their own resources and fight it out. These crude defenses seem but a slight barrier to withstand the shock of war which dashed its angry waves against their frail strength, but they were held by determined men and women, who bravely kept the murderous hordes of savages at bay.

*A battalion had been formed of the inhabitants north of the Kentucky River in 1775. On the 5th of March, 1776, a reorganization was effected, which included all the settlers.

Although the fell bargain between tyranny and barbarism had not yet been consummated, the Indians this year appeared in Kentucky in greater numbers, and displayed greater activity than ever before. An extract from the diary of George Rogers Clark briefly tells the story:

March 6th,—Thomas Shores and William Ray killed at the Shawanese Spring. *March 7th,*—The Indians attempted to cut off from the fort (Harrodsburg) a small party of our men; a skirmish ensued. We had four men wounded and some cattle killed. We killed and scalped one Indian and wounded several. *March 8th,*—Brought in corn from the different cribs until the 18th day. *March 9th,*—Express sent to the settlement. Ebenezer Corn and company arrived from Capt. Linn on the Mississippi. *March 18th,*—A small party of Indians killed and scalped Hugh Wilson about a half mile from the fort, near night and escaped. *March 19th,*—Archibald McNeal died of his wounds received on the 7th inst. *March 28th,*—A large party of Indians attacked the stragglers about the fort; killed and scalped Garret Pandergrest; killed or took prisoner Peter Flin.

April 7th,—Indians killed one man at Boonesborough and wounded one. *April 8th,*—Stoner arrived with news from the settlement. *April 24th,*—Forty or fifty Indians attacked Boonesborough, killed and scalped Daniel Goodman, wounded Capt. Boone, Capt. Todd, Mr. Hite and Mr. Stoner. Indians, 'tis thought, sustained much damage. *April 29th,*—Indians attacked the fort and killed Ensign McConnell.

May 6th,—Indians discovered placing themselves near the fort. A few shots exchanged; no harm done. *May 12th,*—John Cowan and Squire Boone arrived from the settlement. *May 18th,* McGary and Haggin sent express to Fort Pitt. *May 23d,*—John Todd and company set off for the settlement. *May 23d,*—A large party of Indians attacked Boonesborough Fort; kept a warm fire until 11 o'clock at night; began it next morning, and kept a warm fire until midnight, attempting several times to burn the fort; three of our men wounded, not mortally; the enemy suffered considerably. *May 26th,*—A party went out to hunt Indians; one wounded Squire Boone, and escaped. *May 30th,*—Indians attacked Logan's Fort, killed and scalped William Hudson, wounded Burr Harrison and John Kennedy.

June 5th, Harrod and Elliot went to meet Col. Bowman and company; Glen and Laird arrived from Cumberland; Daniel Lyons, who parted with them on Green River, we supposed was killed going into Logan's Fort. John Peters and Elisha Bathey we expect were killed coming home from Cumberland. *June 13th,*—Burr Harrison died of his wounds received May 30. *June 22d,*—Barney Stagner, Sr., killed and beheaded half a mile from the fort. A few guns fired at Boone's.

July 9th,—Lieut. Linn married; great merriment. *July 11th,*—Harrod returned. Express returned from Pittsburgh.

August 1st,—Col. Bowman arrived at Boonesborough. *August 5th,*—Surrounded ten or twelve Indians near the fort, killed three and wounded others; the plunder was sold for upward of £70. *August 11th,*—John Higgins died of a lingering disorder. *August 25th,*—Ambrose Grayson killed near Logan's Fort, and two others wounded; Indians escaped.

September 8th,—Twenty-seven men set out for the settlement. *September 9th,*—Indians discovered; a shot exchanged; nothing done. *September* 11th,—Thirty-seven went to Joseph Bowman's for corn; while shelling they were fired on; a skirmish ensued; Indians drew off, leaving two dead on the spot, and much blood; Eli Gerrard was killed on the spot, and six others wounded. *September 12th,*—Daniel Bryan died of his wounds received yesterday.*

Such was the record made at Harrodsburg of passing events. Each of the other stations could have added a similar story, had there been "a chiel amang them takin' notes," but the terrible struggle has not been passed unrecorded by other hands. Hostilities began very early in the spring; hardly time enough to organize another force had elapsed after the retreat of Pluggy's band in December, before a party of seventy warriors under Blackfish took the war-path leading to Kentucky, where they arrived sometime in February, and Clark's first entry, in the extract quoted, marks the first act of the new year's campaign.

James and William Ray, Thomas Shores and William Coomes were engaged in making a clearing at the Shawanese Spring, about four miles from the Harrodsburg Fort, for Hugh McGary, the step-father of the two Rays. On March 6th, Shores, with the two brothers, went to a sugar-camp in the vicinity to regale themselves with syrup or sap. Here they fell in with a party of Indians, who instantly followed a murderous volley by a rush upon the startled whites. William Ray was killed by the first fire; Shores was captured, but James Ray, with surprising agility and unequaled speed, escaped unhurt to give the alarm.

Coomes was unconscious of his danger,

*Morehead's address, p. 162.

but, alarmed by the protracted delay of his companions, had ceased his work and was about to go to the camp when he caught sight of fifteen Indians approaching. Fortunately the heavy undergrowth and canebrake shielded him from their observation, and sinking down behind the trunk of a tree he had just felled, the Indians passed him unnoticed to the temporary hut errected by the choppers for their camp.

So soon as they were out of sight, Coomes escaped toward the sugar-camp, to find out what had become of his companions. Discovering no trace of them, he concealed himself amidst the boughs of a fallen hickory tree, the yellow leaves of which were of nearly the same color as his garments. From his hiding place he had a full view of the sugar-camp; and after a short time he observed a party of forty Indians halt there, where they were soon rejoined by the fifteen whom he had previously seen. They tarried there for a long time, drinking the syrup, singing their war-songs, and dancing their war-dance. Coomes was a breathless spectator of this scene of revelry, from the distance only of fifty or sixty yards. Other straggling parties of savages also came in, and the whole number amounted to about seventy, instead of forty-seven, as stated by Butler and Marshall.

Meantime, James Ray had communicated the alarm to the people of Harrodsburg. Great was the terror and confusion which ensued there. The hot-headed McGary openly charged James Harrod with having been wanting in the precautions and necessary courage for the defense of the fort. These two men, who had a personal enmity toward each other, quarreled and leveled their fatal rifles at each other's bosoms. In this conjuncture the wife of McGary rushed in and turned aside the rifle of her husband, when Harrod immediately withdrew his, and the difficulty was temporarily adjusted.

McGary insisted that a party of thirty should be immediately dispatched, with him, in search of Coomes, Shores and his step-son, William Ray. Harrod, the commandant of the station, and George Rogers Clark thought this measure rash and imprudent, as all these men were necessary for the defense of the place, which might be attacked by the Indians at any moment. At length, however, the request of McGary was granted, and thirty mounted men were placed under his command for the expedition.

The detachment moved with great rapidity, and soon reached the neighborhood of the sugar-camp, which the Indians had already abandoned. Near it they discovered the mangled remains of William Ray, at the sight of which McGary turned pale, and was near falling from his horse, in a fainting fit. As soon as the body was discovered, one of the men shouted out, "See there! they have killed poor Coomes." Coomes, who had hitherto lurked in his hiding place, now sallied forth, and ran toward the men, exclaiming: "No, they haven't killed me, by Job! I'm safe." The party having buried Ray and rescued Coomes, returned in safety to Harrodstown, which they reached about sunset.*

This war-party of the Indians was bent on more serious mischief than the waylaying of such settlers as chance threw in their way; but true to their theory of warfare they refrained for a time from further aggressive movements, after the escape of young Ray, and, in the interval thus afforded, the garrison hurried to place the fort in as good a state of defense as possible. Early in the succeeding morning, March 7, the people in the stockade discovered a cabin, situated on the eastern edge of the town, in flames. Thinking it a result of accident, a party sallied forth to extinguish the fire, when the Indians, observing the success of their ruse, attempted to cut off the rescuers from the fort. The whites were too quick for their assailants; hastily retreating they escaped the toils of the savages, and though obliged for a time to take refuge behind trees to beat back the enemy, they eventually reached the fort with four men wounded, having killed one of the attacking band and wounded several others. This ended the present attack, the Indians probably intending only to develop the strength of the garrison, and perhaps strike an effective blow toward crippling the defense, by capturing or killing a number. Though foiled in the achievement of this object, the field was not abandoned; a close watch was maintained upon the place and such injury inflicted as occasion offered.

Boonesborough was similarly scrutinized, and frequent shots exchanged which inflicted casualties on either side. Concerted attacks were made upon the fort on the 15th and 24th of April, on the 23d of May, and 4th of July. Of these, the attacks of the 15th of April and 4th of July are more particularly mentioned by the earlier historians, though Clark mentions the wounding of Boone, Todd, Hite and Stoner in the attack made

* From "Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky," by Rev. Dr. Spalding, 1844. His information was derived from a son of Coomes. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 611.)

by forty or fifty savages on the 24th of April.* The first attack was a fierce assault, evidently made with the hope of suddenly breaking into the fort while deprived of any hope of assistance from the other stations, which were threatened at the same time. The defenses proved impregnable to such weapons as the Indians could command, and the garrison, suffering some in wounds, and much in the destruction of corn and cattle, inflicted such punishment upon the exposed savages as to force them to retire with precipitation. On May 23, a more determined attack was made, in which the Indians made several desperate attempts to set the cabins on fire, but without success. Again in July, bent on the destruction of this most formidable stronghold, the savages returned to the attack with redoubled fury, continuing the fire of their muskets until midnight. The number of the assailants was estimated at 200, but after protracting the siege for "two days and nights," they lost all hope of success, and "tumultuously and with clamor departed."

The Indian campaign of this year bears a strong resemblance to the grand tactics of modern warfare. The left of the line, held by the three outposts, was first developed and "felt," and then, while a show of attack was continued here, and the center threatened, the main assault was hurled at Boonesboro, on the right, and repeated again and again with a desperation that indicated the value they set upon success at this point. Defeated here, the brunt of the attack was aimed at the center, where Logan's Fort, weak in numbers and less elaborate in its defenses, promised a better chance of success, but not so great results if achieved.

This change of attack was accomplished with unusual secrecy. One morning* in the latter part of May, while some of the women were outside of the inclosure, engaged in milking the cows, guarded by the usual sentinels, they were startled by a sudden volley from a party of Indians, who, to the number of 100, had gathered about the station entirely unobserved by the whites. Of the sentinels, one was killed outright, another was mortally wounded, and a third, Burr Harrison, was disabled; the rest of the men, with the women, escaped unhurt to the protection of the palisades. Harrison ran a few paces and fell to the ground within plain view of the garrison, too near to be approached with safety by the Indians, and too far off to permit any attempt for his rescue with hope of success.

The situation was one of the most trying that the pioneers of that day were called upon to face. The agony of the unfortunate man's family in this helpless plight, the forlorn character of any attempt to effect his rescue, and the common danger involved in any further loss to a garrison which at first consisted of only fifteen men, three of whom were already *hors de combat*, all appealed with a powerful but conflicting force to the brave generosity of the garrison. It was plainly the part of wisdom to forego any attempt to reach the suffering man. Courage could afford no protection against the pitiless bullets of the savage marksmen, who commanded every foot of the ground, and left the wounded man un-

*To watch the Indians and give timely notice of their approach six spies were appointed, for the payment of whom Maj. Clark pledged the faith of Virginia. Boone appointed Kenton and Thomas Brooks, Harrod, Samuel Moore and Bates Collier and Logan, John Conrad and John Martin. These spies performed good service. It was the custom for two each week, by turns, to range up and down the Ohio, and about the deserted stations looking for Indian signs, etc. By this means the settlers had timely notice of the approach of the enemy during the year, save once.

On this occasion, Kenton and two others, early one morning, having loaded their guns for a hunt, were standing in the gate of Boonesborough, when two men in the field were fired on by the Indians. They immediately fled, not being hurt. The Indians pursued them, a warrior overtook and tomahawked one of the men within seventy yards of the fort, and proceeded leisurely to scalp him. Kenton shot the daring savage dead, and immediately with his hunting companions gave chase to the others. Boone, hearing the noise, with ten men hastened out to the assistance of the spies. Kenton turned and observed an Indian taking aim at the party of Boone; quick as thought he brought his rifle to his shoulder, pulled the trigger first, and the red-man bit the dust. Boone, having advanced some distance, now discovered that his small party, consisting of fourteen men, was cut off from the fort by a large body of the foe, which had got between him and the gate. There was no time to be lost: Boone gave the word—"right about—fire—charge!" and the intrepid hunters dashed in among their adversaries, in a desperate endeavor to reach the fort.

At the first fire from the Indians, seven of the fourteen whites were wounded, among the number the gallant Boone, whose leg was broken, which stretched him out on the ground. An Indian sprang on him with an uplifted tomahawk, but before the blow descended, Kenton, everywhere present, rushed on the warrior, discharged his gun into his breast, and bore his leader into the fort. When the gate was closed and all things secure, Boone sent for Kenton; "Well Simon," said the old pioneer, "you have behaved yourself like a man to-day—indeed, you are a fine fellow." This was great praise from Boone, who was a silent man, little given to compliment. Kenton had deserved the eulogium; he had saved the life of his captain and killed three Indians without having time to scalp any of them. There was little time to spare, we may well believe, when Kenton could not stop to take a scalp. (Sketch of Kenton, contributed to McDonald's Biographical Sketches, p. 215.)

*Butler and Marshall place the occurrence on the 20th, Clark on the 30th of May.

touched by further shots only to lure other victims within their reach. But neither prudence nor personal danger could steel the heart against the frantic pleading of his wife, and the piteous cries of the man, as he struggled to move toward the fort, or lay weltering in his blood. Logan could withstand the promptings of his heart no longer; he determined to risk his life to bring in his comrade, but he begged in vain for volunteers to assist him. The hazard was too forlorn even for those nurtured amid danger.

At length, inspired by the noble resolve of his leader, one with no interests to compromise but his own, announced his willingness to anticipate the natural end of life, and proposed to accompany him. Together they ran to the gate; and outside, Logan, regardless of his follower, rushed with mad speed through the terrible storm of bullets that greeted him to the spot where the wounded man lay, but Martin, the volunteer, appalled by the fury of the attack, shrank back within the gate. To grasp the wounded man and bear him on his shoulders to the fort, was for Logan the work of a moment. The intrepid frontiersman was equally fortunate, but every portion of his clothing bore significant evidence that the risk had not been over-estimated, and that he owed his life, a hundred times, to the rapidity as well as the audacity of his movements.

The attack upon the fort was now begun with vigor, but the friendly palisades turned death harmlessly aside, while the garrison with unerring rifles inflicted death or wounds wherever the savages exposed themselves. Every adult occupant of the fort was engaged in its defense, the men in their places at the port-holes, and the women running bullets, loading guns, standing guard, or preparing food. But the scarcity of powder and lead foreshadowed a graver danger than did the paucity of numbers. Approach to the other forts was closely guarded, and it is doubtful if they had sufficient ammunition to spare any could it have been brought away. The only other practical source of supply was the Holston settlements, 200 miles away. To reach this point, the vigilance of the investing force must be eluded, and the long journey pursued through forests infested with a numerous savage foe, watchful for any such attempt. Difficult as the outward trip might be, the return was rendered doubly so by the burden which the messengers must carry. There was no immediate prospect of a termination of the siege, which in the end proved the most determined and best sustained in the history of the Kentucky frontier, and the daily expenditure of ammunition only brought the obvious necessity nearer.

Again Logan proved himself an ideal commander, ready to lead where danger threatened most. Selecting two comrades, he cautiously left the fort, and avoiding the beaten paths, guided only by his woodcraft, he escaped the nearer foe. Avoiding Cumberland Gap, which was likely to be guarded by the Indians, he explored his passage "where no man ever traveled before, nor probably since, over the Cumberland Mountain, through clifts, and brush, and cane; clambering rocks and precipices to be encountered only by the strong, the bold and the determined." Having secured the required ammunition and given his comrades directions how to proceed homeward, he flew back to the endangered post with the speed of the chamois, making the 400 miles in ten days. The powder soon afterward arrived, was successfully introduced into the fort, and the little garrison continued the contest with renewed zeal.

The siege thus begun was protracted through three weary months with scarcely any interruption, until even terror grew monotonous. But, fortunately for the sorely beset pioneers, the Indians did not possess that firmness derived from discipline, nor the organization which leads to a division of military duties.

The Indians, in besieging a place, are hence but seldom seen in force upon any quarter; but dispersed and acting individually, or in small parties. They conceal themselves in bushes, or weeds, or behind trees, or stumps of trees; or waylay the path or field, and other places to which their enemies resort; and when one or more can be taken down, in their opinion, they fire a gun or let fly the arrow, aimed at the mark. If necessary they retreat; if they dare they advance upon their killed or crippled

adversary; and they watch the watering place for those who go for that article of primary necessity, that they may by these means reduce the place to their possession, or destroy its inhabitants in detail.

In the night they will place themselves near the fort gate, ready to sacrifice the first person who shall appear in the morning; in the day, if there be any cover, such as grass, a bush, a large clod of earth, or a stone as big as a bushel, they will avail themselves of it to approach the fort, by slipping forward on their bellies within gun-shot; and then whosoever appears first gets the fire, while the assailant makes his retreat behind the smoke from the gun. At other times they approach the walls, or palisades, with the utmost audacity, and attempt to fire them, or beat down the gate. They often make feints to draw out the garrison on one side of the fort, and if practicable enter it, by surprise, on the other. And when their stock of provisions is exhausted, this being an individual affair, they supply themselves by hunting; and again, frequently return to the siege, if by any means they hope to get a scalp. (Marshall.)

None of the stations, therefore, were closely environed for a long period. During the spring and summer of this year (1777) the enemy was never very remote from any of the posts, but the necessity for hunting and their inaptitude for laborious watching, when the results of it were generally unprofitable to themselves, led the Indians temporarily to relax their efforts on the forts. The whites, accustomed to the freedom of the forests and the energetic life of pioneers, chafed under the restraint imposed by the presence of the savages, and at the first intermission of attack sought the woods. They considered themselves, as Marshall remarks, "rather the best marksmen, and as likely to see the Indian first as to be seen by him, while the first sight was equivalent to the first fire, and the most expert shooter held the best security for his life." But this exposure was so far impelled by duty as to preserve it from any appearance of idle bravado; game was scarcely less necessary to the whites than to the savages, and the product of their fields was a very important feature in the pioneers' plans "to flusterate the intentions of the Indians and keep the country."

With the exceptions noted, there were few days on which the hardy frontiersman could not evade the vigilance of the enemy to secure game or other supplies at a distance, and thus it happened that, notwithstanding the whole region was in a "state of siege," the garrison were kept supplied with meat, and the fields adjacent to the forts were cultivated. Such exploits, however, were attended by great hazard, and while such a consideration weighed lightly with men inured to daily danger, they paid a severe penalty for any indiscretion.

In this summer, Butler relates that while young Ray was one day shooting at a mark within 150 yards of the fort at Harrodsburg, his single companion was suddenly killed by a shot from an Indian in the woods beyond. A quick glance revealed the perpetrator of the deed, and Ray was about to inflict instant vengeance upon the murderer of his comrade, when he found himself assailed by a number of savages who had taken advantage of his action to steal upon him unawares. Apprised of his danger, the young marksman bounded toward the fort with the speed and agility of a deer. A storm of bullets followed his flight, and so close upon him were the savages that the garrison feared to open the gate sufficient to admit the fugitive. In this fearful dilemma, Ray threw himself down behind a small stump within seven steps of the palisades, where he lay momently expecting death. The savages redoubled their efforts to strike their victim, or to prevent his rescue, and for four hours he lay in this predicament, the rifle balls of the enemy striking all about him in dangerous proximity. At length, seeing no other chance for escape, he cried out to his friends: "For God's sake, dig a hole under the cabin wall and take me in." This was at once done, and the lad rescued from his perilous position.

At times, when the dispersion of the Indians gave the whites opportunity to attack a party not too greatly their superior in numbers, the garrisons assumed the offensive, and gave the savages an impressive idea of their prowess. Some time in June, a party of seventeen men, under command of Maj. Smith, pursued a body of Indians from Boonesborough to the Ohio, where they arrived only to find the savages well over the river.

They succeeded in killing one who lingered behind the others, however, and turned back to retrace their steps. In their homeward march they discovered a band of about thirty Indians idly resting upon the grass, unconscious of danger. Dismounting quietly, and leaving nine of their party with the horses, the rest crept silently forward to the attack. When near the Indians, one of them passed near the whites in the direction of the horses; he was instantly shot, and with a loud yell fell to the ground. The single report did not alarm his companions, who, thinking he had shot a wild animal, laughed boisterously, but gave the incident no further attention. In another instant the whites poured a full volley into their midst, and charged upon them with loud shouts. The startled savages returned a scattering fire and fled, when the whites proceeded on their journey, having but one man wounded.

On the 25th of July, a party of forty-five men from North Carolina reached Boonesborough, and not long afterward Col. Bowman, at the head of 100 of the Virginia militia, arrived at the same place.* The latter force was Virginia's contribution to the defense of her citizens in "that remote country" now known as Kentucky County, the leader of which bore her commission as county-lieutenant of the new political division. Such reinforcements, more than doubling the former numbers of the garrisons, were very welcome to these anxious people, for while Boonesboro and Harrodsburg were relieved of the immediate presence of a hostile force, the enemy was still in the country in strong numbers, and held a close watch, with frequent attacks upon St. Asaph's. Bowman's attention was at once directed to the relief of Logan's devoted little garrison, and the van of the relieving force, which reached his station in September, brought the first intimation that the beleagured pioneers had of the arrival of reinforcements in the country. A detachment, considerably in advance of the main body, found the Indians in force about the fort and drew their fire, from which several were killed, but the savages were dispersed, and the long siege was at last ended.

The Indians still kept in the vicinity of the forts in considerable numbers until a final engagement at Harrodsburg closed this year's active campaign. To somewhat repair the loss inflicted by their inability to raise a crop of corn, the settlers of this place determined, in the fall, to sow a patch of turnips about 200 yards northwest of the station. While clearing the ground for this purpose, one of the guards discovered an Indian and fired on him without effect. On the next day the cattle were observed to give unmistakable evidence of the presence of the enemy—"snuffing the air about a small field in the farthest corner, which had been allowed to grow up in very high weeds." Clark at once proposed to turn the ambuscade upon the plotters. Instructing the workmen to continue their labor in that portion of the field nearest the fort, he proceeded with a party of men to gain the rear of the ambush, by a circuitous route, the workmen in the meantime calling to their comrades in the fort to come out and work.

The maneuver was entirely successful; a sudden volley killed four of the startled savages, the remainder of whom immediately gave way in hasty retreat, rapidly pursued by the exultant whites. Pushing down the creek some 400 yards, the pursuers came upon the remains of a deserted Indian encampment, which gave indications of having been occupied at some time by a force of 400 or 500 savages. This camp had been deserted before the discovery, but it was undoubtedly the point from which the Indians had directed the activity of the hostile bands during the year, and the party so successfully routed was probably the last remnant of the savage host who had lingered to take a last "look" at the pioneers of this station. In this skirmish, James Ray took the last degree in the novitiate of the frontier; he killed his first Indian, was complimented by Clark, and presented with his victim's rifle.

The frontier derived but little permanent strength from the large show of reinforcement noted; the militia was enlisted only

*The date of Col. Bowman's arrival is placed "about September," by Marshall (Vol. I, p. 53), whom Mr. Butler follows without question. Clark makes the date August 1st. See diary, *ante*.

for a short term of service, a large part of which was spent on the journey to Kentucky, and their subsequent discharge was followed by their early return homeward. Logan's Station received a welcome accession in "the arrival of Montgomery's party,"* and the other forts were similarly strengthened, but these additions were probably entirely offset by the return of some who, very naturally, found an irresistible attraction in the security of "the settlements," after the year's experience on the frontier. As winter approached, therefore, few remained save those who had "borne the burden and heat of the day." On the 2d of September, an accurate census of the inhabitants was taken, of which the report of Harrodsburg alone has been preserved as follows: men in service, 81; do. not in service, 4; women, 24; children over ten years, 12; do. under ten years, 58; slaves above ten years, 12; do. under ten years, 7; total, 198. This number was probably greater than the other two combined, but of the permanent fighting force that remained through the winter, Marshall estimates the number at 102 men; at Boonesboro, 22; at Harrodsburg, 65; and at St. Asaph's, 15. Truly, "the battle is not to the strong."

[NOTE.—In reference to the number of remaining whites, it should be said, that it is by no means clear whether this estimate should be referred to the period when the active hostilities of 1777 began or to the close of the campaign, after the balance had been struck between the casualties and the permanent accessions. In the latter case, it will be observed that Logan's Station just "held its own."—*See Marshall, Vol. I, p. 55; Butler, p. 95.*]

*This indefinite allusion is found in Marshall's History, Vol I, p. 54. It probably refers to William Montgomery, the father of Mrs. Logan who came about this time with several sons.

CHAPTER VII.

KENTUCKY'S PART IN THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

WHILE Kentucky was thus engaged in an unequal contest with her savage foes, affairs on the sea-board were making momentous progress. The second colonial congress had met, with authority to declare war; echoes from the fields of Lexington and Bunker Hill had summoned patriots everywhere to arms; the United Colonies had declared their independence amid the wild acclaim of the people; the disastrous battle of Long Island had been succeeded by the masterly retreat across the Delaware; the victory on the Stillwater had been followed by the defeat on the Brandywine; and the dreary winter at Valley Forge was, even now, adding new luster to the patriots' devotion; the colonial bark was irrevocably launched upon the flood-tide of revolution.

This changed relation of the older colonies to the crown had not yet affected the character of the conflict in Kentucky. It was still a contest between the adventurous pioneer and the implacable savage, waged on either side for the possession of the fair lands beyond the Big Sandy. Though neither antagonist could claim a victory, the whites had gained a foot hold that was destined to be more firmly planted, and the red men were beginning to read their fate in the quiet determination of the heroic band that defied their fiercest assaults. To an unscrupulous foe, no field could be more inviting, and this "remote country" was not destined longer to escape the ruthless ravages of an enemy, who, deaf to every demand of civilization, incited the savages to bloodier deeds, and armed them with the more effective enginery of war.

A startling evidence of the industry and far-reaching plans of the new foe had already made its way through the forests to the frontier. On the person of one of Bowman's militia men, killed in the first approach to St. Asaph's, was found a proclamation issued by the British commander-in-chief, Lord Howe, offering protection to such as would abjure the colonies and denouncing such as refused. The paper came directly to Logan's possession through the faithful fellow who discovered it, and this insidious attack, so prolific of evil in the old communities, was here turned harmlessly aside.

But a more substantial attack was preparing. Rumors of an impending blow, aimed by the allied British and Indians at the frontier forts, had long been rife in the region beyond the Ohio, but it had been deferred, and by an unfortunate fatality did not fall until the passions of the frontiersmen, not less barbarous than the Indians, and far more culpable, violently removed the last feeble barrier to its consummation.

The British agents at Oswego were busy concerting a general attack, when, in the early summer of 1777, Cornstalk, the great chief of the Shawanese, went to the frontier fort at Point Pleasant to talk over the situation with his friend, Capt. Arbuckle, the commandant. The chief was earnest in his desire for peace, but found himself surrounded by those of his race, of his own tribe and others, bitter in their hatred of the frontiersmen, and eager to join the British. He declared his inability to stem the tide that was setting toward the English, unless the Long Knives would help him.

With fool's caution and the basest treachery, the whites determined to prevent war by removing its only barrier. They retained Cornstalk and Red Hawk, who had

accompanied the chief, and thus these savages found themselves entrapped by trusting to a white man's honor. On the succeeding day, the chief's son, alarmed at his father's delay, approached the farther shore and gave a halloo. The whites met him with friendly smiles, and inveigled him into their snare.

On the third day, a hunter for the fort was killed by two unknown Indians. When this fact became known, the murdered hunter's friends demanded vengeance upon the innocent prisoners. Arbuckle showed an expiring spark of manhood in attempting to save the victims of his treachery, but threatened with the rifles of his men, if he further interfered, he stepped aside and the ruffians did their bloody work. Cornstalk met his fate calmly, and fell dead where he had risen to meet his foes, pierced by seven bullets. The others died less easily, and with less composure, but without resistance. This was an atrocious deed, and while it did not precipitate the meditated attack upon the frontier, it confirmed the whole Shawanese nation in their hostility to the Americans, and gave a certain sanction to the reprisals that followed.

Early in the autumn the blow fell; 400 savages, led by Simon Girty,* descended upon Fort Henry at Wheeling, on the 26th of September.† Though garrisoned by only twelve men and boys, besides the women, the fort made a stout resistance, each member of both sexes vying with the other in deeds of heroism. After several days of vigorous but unavailing attack, in which they lost about 100 of their number, the allies suddenly withdrew, burning the fences, and slaughtering the cattle of the settlers as they departed. Enraged, but not discouraged, by this unsuccessful termination of the first campaign of the combined forces, the enemy organized a new expedition, destined for Kentucky, but in the interval the new year dawned.

It was under such auspices that the eventful year of 1778 was ushered in. South of the Ohio, the quiet which succeeded the close of the fall's campaign was yet unbroken, and the settlers improved the opportunity, thus afforded, in effecting such repair of the damages they had received, as was possible. In the winter, the stock of salt in the community was found greatly reduced, and on New Year's day, a company of thirty men, recruited from the several stations, set out under the direction of Boone to manufacture a new supply. While the rest labored at the lick, the leader acted as scout and hunter. For more than a month the work progressed without interruption or incident, and three men had been sent back with the product of their labors, when the enterprise was suddenly brought to an unfortunate conclusion. On the 7th of February, while engaged in his duties as scout and hunter, Boone fell in with a detachment of Indians, led by two Canadians. The discovery was mutual; Boone sought to escape by instant flight, but the enemy, anxious to secure a prisoner from whom they could learn the condition of the forts, reserved their fire and dispatched several of their swiftest runners in pursuit of the fugitive. The hunter was soon captured, but, for some reason, the savages delayed further movements for eight days. Then they proceeded to the Blue Lick, where they captured the remaining twenty-seven salt-makers. Unable to give his comrades warning of their danger, Boone had arranged favorable terms of capitulation, and as the Indians came upon them, signified to his friends that they should surrender without resistance. This was accordingly done, and the savages, too much elated to prosecute their enterprise further, turned back with their prisoners to Chillicothe, on the Little Miami.

The first obvious result of the introduction of the English into Kentucky campaigns was a great amelioration of the conditions of war. The salt-makers surrendered on conditions of life and good treatment, which were scrupulously observed by the enemy. On their return journey of three days, the party encountered very severe weather, but the captors seem to have generously shared every privilege of fire and food with their prisoners. On the 10th of March, Boone, with ten of his

*Appendix A, note 10.

†The date usually assigned is September 1. See *American Pioneer*, Vol. II, pp. 302, 314, 339.

companions, was conducted by a band of forty Indians to Detroit, where the prisoners were turned over to Gov. Hamilton, for the offered reward. Boone, however, was reserved by his captors, for whom they had conceived so high a regard, that they refused an offer of £100, made by the governor for the great hunter's ransom. The disappointment of Boone was extreme and excited the sympathy of several English gentlemen, who were cognizant of the affair. They generously offered to supply him with such things as he could use for his comfort, all of which he steadily declined, as he was unwilling to accept courtesies which he saw no immediate prospect of his being able to repay.

Accordingly, on the 10th of April he parted from his comrades, and returned with his obtrusive admirers to Chillicothe. Here Boone was adopted as a son by "one of the principal families," a relation to which, however little it may have flattered his vanity, he adapted himself with the ready tact of one who was scarcely less a child of nature than his adopted relatives. Recognizing him as *facile princeps* of the whites on the border, the Indians let slip no opportunity of contesting with him in marksmanship and athletic exploits. In all these contests the captive, with a shrewd insight of the savage character, fell just far enough short of the first place to command their respect without awakening their jealousy. He became an active member of the tribe for the time, and by his skill won the plaudits of the braves, while his well-conceived courtesies to the chief men gained their respectful regard.

Thus time wore on, and could Boone have divested himself of his love for kindred and country, he could not have found more congenial employment, nor more admiring friends. The hunter's stoical acceptance of the situation not only won the admiration of the natives, but served to lull to sleep any lingering apprehension of his desire to escape, which they may have entertained. He was therefore largely freed from restraint, and in June accompanied a party to the Scioto salt lick to procure a quantity of that necessary condiment.

On learning of the capture of Boone and his companions, their friends found it useless to attempt to effect their rescue, but, with eminently practical sense, they sent out a party to bury the kettles until it should be safe to bring them in, which was subsequently done. The portentous character of this event was well understood. The loss of so many experienced men greatly weakened the slender garrison, and the calamity could only be mitigated by an increase of caution. But so inured to the strange vicissitudes of their eventful life were these hardy people, that, no Indian demonstrations following, and none of the captured comrades returning, the incident was allowed to recede in the background of present duties, and the flow of life soon returned to its wonted channels. Boone and his companions were given up as dead; the stricken wife of the leader, accompanied by her unmarried children, returned to the solace of her father's home and the security of the North Carolina settlements; and the garrison, no longer apprehensive of immediate attack, grew careless in their false assumption of security, remitted their caution, and allowed their defenses to fall into decay.

Another event at this time contributed to this result. In the frontier station at Harrodsburg, Clark had fathomed the strategy of the British in the west, and had discerned their points of vantage. He quietly drew his own conclusions, and early in 1777 had sent two scouts to explore the Illinois country, who had been absent from April until June. With information thus derived he set out for Virginia in the fall, reaching Williamsburg on the 5th of November. On the 2d of January, 1778, he received his instructions and commission as lieutenant-colonel; on the 4th of February he proceeded to Pittsburgh to raise troops for his enterprise, while his subordinates were active in the same service in the settlements on the Holston and in western Virginia.

In this expedition the pioneers of Kentucky took a lively interest, although ignorant of its destination. Clark's hopes of large re-enforcements from North Carolina were grievously disappointed, and he there-

fore called on Col. Bowman to repair to Corn Island with as many of the Kentucky militia as could be safely spared from the exposed stations. It is not recorded how many men these stations furnished, but more were offered than it was deemed prudent to accept, and only William Harrod's company, and a part of another from Kentucky, accompanied the expedition. Besides these, Cols. John Todd and William Linn and Simon Kenton joined the enterprise as volunteers.

Thus constituted, in the latter part of June the little army set forth from the rendezvous, leaving a number of families, who had accompanied Clark against his wish, as garrison of a block-house, which he had caused to be erected for the protection of the army stores left behind, and Clark having caused a spot to be cleared for the purpose, the impromptu garrison planted and succeeded in raising a crop of corn, which gave name to an insignificant spot which has long since been washed bare of soil by the current of the river.

While the thoughts of the frontiersmen of Kentucky were thus drawn out to foreign conquest, events beyond the Ohio were conspiring to bring war's alarms to their very doors. Even before Clark left his depot at Corn Island, Boone had returned to Boonesborough, as one from the dead, bringing the most disturbing intelligence. He had been engaged with his Indian companions at the salt lick but eight or ten days, when a returning war-party passed near the spring. This party consisted of 450 Indians, who had made an unsuccessful raid on a fort in Greenbrier County, Va., and were now on their way to the general rendezvous to concert a new foray. The salt-makers immediately joined the returning warriors, and with them proceeded toward the towns on the Maumee. Boone was not long in ascertaining that an attack on Boonesborough was meditated, and, stimulated by this alarming discovery, soon found means to evade the renewed watchfulness of the savages. When near the present site of Washington, in Fayette County, Ohio, the anxious captive set out one morning before sunrise as if to hunt; once clear of his comrades, he shaped his course for the threatened station, and did not cease his rapid journey* until he reached his destination on the 20th of June.

Under the inspiration of Boone's presence and the news he brought, the garrison hastily set about repairing the fort, "to repair its planks, strengthen its gates and posterns, and to form double bastions; all of which was completed in ten days." In the latter part of July one of Boone's fellow-prisoners escaped from the Indians, and brought the information "that the Indians had, on account of Boone's elopement, postponed their march for three weeks."

In the meantime the enemy guarded the secret of their movements by a strong force of runners, who kept a close watch upon the station. These scouts were observed lurking in the forest near the fort, and Boone, understanding their mission, determined to unmask the enemy's designs by an expedition across the Ohio. Accordingly, on the 18th of August, he left Boonesborough with a party of nineteen men, proceeding rapidly to a point within four miles of Paint Creek Town, near the Scioto. Kenton had returned from Illinois in time to join the expedition, and was at this time somewhat in advance of the main party, acting as scout. While cautiously making his way through the thick underbrush, he was startled by a loud laugh in his immediate vicinity, and had scarcely time to gain the shelter of a tree, when its origin was explained by the approach of two Indians riding on the same horse. Permitting them to ride within short range, Kenton sent a sure shot through the breast of the foremost rider. Both fell instantly to the ground, one dead and the other severely wounded, while the startled pony, wheeling suddenly to the rear, carried the alarm to a body of thirty savages who were approaching.

The scout now found himself assailed by an enemy of superior numbers, who ap-

*The distance, estimated at one 160 miles, was accomplished on foot in four days, during which Boone had but one meal. For this he had provided by secreting a small supply of food in his blanket. This meal, according to certain depositions made seventeen and nineteen years later, was had on the 19th of June, 1778, when he "roasted some meat and got some drink at the forks of three branches of Flat fork of Johnston's fork of Licking River," a spot now included within the limits of Robertson or Fleming County. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 656.)

proached with such skill as to baffle all his attempts to get a shot. In this perilous position he was soon joined by his comrades, who had hurried forward at the report of his rifle, and a smart skirmish ensued. The Indians were finally forced to give way with one killed and two wounded, the whites escaping any casualty.

Kenton and Montgomery were at once sent forward to reconnoitre the village, which they found entirely deserted. Correctly divining that its inhabitants had left to join the war-party forming at Chillicothe, Boone made haste to retrace his steps in order to gain the fort in advance of the enemy, who, he was assured, was about to carry out their meditated attack. Marching night and day, the little party of whites soon struck the enemy's trail, which they cautiously followed until the 6th of August; making a wide detour, they then passed the savages, and on the next day reached their destination in safety.

The garrison now looked forward to the advance of the enemy with anxiety; nor had it long to await the *denouement.* On the 8th, the Indians appeared, flaunting the flags of France and England above them. The whole body drew up in plain sight of the fort. Their numbers were imposing, even to the pioneers who were accustomed to give large odds to the enemy, and the commander, Du Quesne, evidently counted much upon the effect which this display was calculated to have upon the garrison. Four hundred and thirty-two "frightfully painted" savages constituted the body of the beseiging force, while the presence of the commander, and eleven other Canadians, bespoke discipline and trained resources, which were to be feared more than the great disparity of numbers.

The border struggle had indeed assumed a portentous shape; a new enemy, possessing the powerful accessories of civilized warfare, was now in the field, and even Boone felt that it was a "critical time." That the issue must be fought out was a foregone conclusion with the pioneers, but when the garrison was summoned to surrender in the name of his British majesty, the king of England, Boone took advantage of this touch of civilization introduced in the enemy's procedure, and requested two days for consideration, which were readily granted.

The frontier militia was a very democratic organization, and though there was little doubt of the result of a conference the leader summoned the garrison and placed the whole case before them, clearly pointing out the alternatives involved. The decision was prompt and unanimous to fight, but desirous of gaining all the advantage possible out of the parleying mood of the enemy, Boone withheld this determination for a time, and dispatched some of the men to bring in the stock while the truce lasted. At the expiration of the two days, from one of the bastions of the fort, Boone gave his reply to the summons of Du Quesne, to the effect that they were determined to defend their fort while a man was living.

The Canadian found it impossible to conceal the disappointment which this reply occasioned, and to the astonishment of the garrison, declared that "it was the orders of Gov. Hamilton (the British officer at Detroit) to take them captive, and not to destroy them;" and that if nine of their number would come out and treat with him, he would immediately withdraw his forces, and return home peaceably.

The meditated treachery in this proposal is very thinly veiled, and that Boone should have entertained the invitation for a moment has occasioned an often expressed surprise. The experienced pioneer, as it will appear, was not deceived by so unusual a proposition, but, as he narrates, it "sounded grateful in our ears, and we agreed to treat." The fidelity with which the savage had observed the conditions of capitulation in the case of the salt-makers, certainly afforded some reason to trust this strange proposition, at least within discreet limits; the favorable impression he had gained of Hamilton's humanity rendered the character of the offer far more plausible than would appear at first glance; and the formidable array of enemies, in plain view, seemed to make it expedient to avoid a conflict, if it could be

done at no great sacrifice. The issue has somewhat modified the bearing of these considerations, but it does not appear, even now, that Boone was actuated by a short-sighted policy. That the attack failed, was simply due to the lack of determination in the leaders, and hardiness in the savages; and the confirmed treachery of white Indian leaders had not then been so clearly demonstrated as at a later period.

At all events, Boone was careful to guard against treachery; the conference was held within fifty yards of the palisade and the keenest marksmen were placed so as to best cover the retreat of the whites in case of necessity. A brief treaty was accordingly concluded, when the Indian negotiators came forward, saying that it was customary with them, on such occasions, for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendship. "They immediately grappled us," says Boone, "but, although surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them, and escaped all safe into the garrison, except one that was wounded." On the first appearance of hostility, the garrison opened fire, doing considerable execution; the Indians were equally ready, and the retreating whites were exceedingly fortunate to escape from the shower of bullets that followed them, with only a single wound.

With this, the battle opened; the Indians, seeking shelter, began a brisk attack on every side, and, as Boone relates, "a constant fire ensued between us day and night, for the space of nine days." Every artifice familiar to the savage was employed in vain. At one time the garrison discovered, by the muddy character of the river, that the enemy was digging a mine, entering through the face of the high river bank. A countermine was immediately sunk within the fort, and the dirt thrown over the palisades as an intimation to the hostle miners that their work was discovered. The Indians were not disposed to prosecute a laborious enterprise in the face of probable failure, and this intimation proved sufficient to put an end to all further subterranean operations in this siege. The whole attack was marked more by vehemence than by valor; a rapid discharge of rifles was maintained throughout the siege, but at a pretty safe distance, and many of the bullets fell short of the fort and sank harmlessly upon the ground.*

The garrison, on the other hand, fired with deliberation, and generally only when a sure mark presented itself. The consequent disproportion of cause and effect on the part of the garrison, as compared with their own efforts, deeply impressed the Indians, and may account for the absence of any attempt to storm the stockade. The garrison numbered nearly fifty men, and an assault could scarcely have been made without the sacrifice of an equal number of the assailants. At such a cost even victory would have been purchased too dear, in the estimation of the Indian, and so the attack was continued at long range.

To such an attack, the fort was impregnable, and the improvident savages, finding their provisions running short, abruptly terminated the siege on August 20. In all this protracted engagement, the most formidable thus far in the history of Kentucky, the whites "had but two men killed, and four wounded; besides a number of cattle" destroyed. The Indians suffered more, having thirty-seven killed and a great number wounded.

On retiring from Boonesborough, the savages did not stay their retreat until they had reached their towns beyond the Ohio, where they found a nearer foe to engage their attention. This ended the regular campaign, but straggling bands of Indians continued to infest the forests of Kentucky, and the fall was not suffered to pass without such incidents as served to challenge the settlers' right of possession. Harrodsburg was attacked by one of these bands, but a sudden sally of the garrison easily beat off the assailants. In this skirmish one of the whites received a flesh wound in the face, which knocked him down. His antagonist, supposing him dead, ran up to secure his

*It is said that 125 pounds of lead were picked up about the fort, besides the bullets imbedded in the palisade. (See "Boone's Narrative.")

scalp, when the prostrate pioneer, having regained his senses in time, shot the savage dead and escaped to the fort.

Indians were found frequenting the vicinity of St. Asaph's, and on one occasion, while ranging for "signs," Logan discovered a party at the Big Flat Lick, about two miles from his station. He immediately returned, raised a squad of men, and proceeding to the spring routed the savages with heavy loss. Not long after this event, Logan was again out in search of game and Indians, when, as he approached this lick he received a volley from a band secreted near by. This fire broke his arm, and slightly wounded him in the breast. The Indians immediately rushed upon him to take him captive, but, being mounted, he had the good fortune to escape, after one of his assailants got near enough to grasp his horse's tail. But such incidents were too common to excite serious alarm, and while settlers found in them sufficient cause to use caution in their movements, the general course of frontier life went on without marked interruption. The Indian invasion repelled, Boone sought his family in North Carolina, and did not return until 1780, and Kenton, less domestic in his tastes, sought adventure beyond the Ohio.

Kenton had joined Col. Clark in his Illinois expedition, and after the fall of Kaskaskia, returned to Harrodsburg with dispatches. Notwithstanding the importance of his mission, Kenton's love of adventure led him to indulge in exploits, the success of which alone saved him from rebuke. A little way from his starting point, Kenton and his companions fell in with a camp of Indians with a number of horses. The savages were attacked and dispersed, and the horses sent back to Kaskaskia. Pursuing their journey by way of Vincennes, the party stealthily traversed the village, secured two horses for each man, and pushed on. Reaching the White River, a raft was constructed on which to transport the guns and luggage, while the horses were driven into the water to swim across. On the opposite shore a party of Indians lay encamped, who seized the horses as they emerged, but failed to discover the Kentuckians. Hastily concealing themselves, the whites permitted the raft to float down the stream, and at night constructed a second one, and crossed at another point. Completing his journey without further incident, Kenton reached his destination just in time to take part in Boone's expedition to Paint Creek.

On the determination of the leader to return to Boonesborough, Kenton and Montgomery resolved to remain to "get a shot" and steal some horses. After waiting two days and a night in vain for a "shot," they solaced themselves with a fine horse apiece, on which they safely rode into the fort on the day after the Indians had raised the siege.

In the "piping times of peace" which followed, these adventurous spirits, joined by one named Clark, projected an expedition into the Indian country to procure more horses, and accordingly set out for Chillicothe in September. Reaching their destination in the night, they found a lot of animals in a corral, and succeeded in securing seven of them, but not without raising an alarm. Clinging to their booty, they rapidly made their way to the river, hotly pursued by the pillaged savages. On reaching the Ohio, they found it fretted up by the wind into a tumultuous state, and so boisterous that all their efforts failed to make the horses enter the water. With a foolhardy contempt for their danger, they resolved to wait one day, in the hope that the river would become smooth enough to afford a passage. In this they were not disappointed; but they now found an obstacle in the disposition of the horses, which had not yet recovered from their fright of the preceding day. Recognizing that further delay would bring the savages upon their heels, they turned loose the led horses, intending to escape with the ones they rode, but in an unfortunate moment of indecision, they reconsidered this wise conclusion, and determined to gain or lose all.

Turning about to recapture the horses just set free, the party had ridden but a short distance, when their ears were assailed by the loud whoop of an Indian. Utterly bereft of prudence, Kenton dismounted and

cautiously went forward to reconnoiter. On reaching a commmanding ridge, he discovered two of the enemy mounted and in such close proximity that retreat was vain. He instantly presented his weapon, and pulled the trigger, but the gun flashed. The Indians were down upon the audacious horse-thief in an instant, but by rapid flight he gained some fallen timber in safety, and had eluded his pursuers, when, on emerging into an opening, he was espied by another member of the general party and taken captive. The savages, transported with rage at the daring attempt to steal their horses, gathered around him, upbraiding and beating him with their ramrods, when Montgomery, who had thus far escaped detection, chivalrously, but foolishly approached, fired an ineffectual shot and fled, only to yield his life and scalp to the savages that instantly pursued him. Clark, with the best judgment, hastily retreated at the first alarm, and reached the fort in safety.

Kenton was now to pay a severe penalty for his temerity. His captors spent the night near the river, and taxed their ingenuity to devise means to secure their prisoner from any chance of escape. Laying him flat upon his back, his legs were spread apart, and each foot stoutly fastened to a stake driven firmly in the ground; a pole was then laid across his breast, to which his extended arms were securely lashed, the thongs passing under his body from end to end of the pole, to prevent the possibility of his "working" loose; and a lariat, noosed about his neck, was drawn taut and attached to a sapling. It is needless to add that the savages found their victim safe in their toils in the morning.

Rapid preparations were then made to convey their prize to Chillicothe, during which the Indians seemed to find their native language inadequate to express their emotion, and assailed him with cuffs and epithets couched in broken English, the latter ranging from "a teef," "a hoss-steal," "a rascal," to a "d—d white man." Among the animals, for which Kenton dared so much, was an untamed colt, which the fiendish malice of the savages suggested as the proper means to carry him to their destination. The prisoner was accordingly placed upon the colt's back, his hands tied behind him, and his feet fastened by thongs passing under the animal's belly. This done, the horse was turned loose with blows and shouts, carrying his helpless rider through brush and briers to the great danger and suffering of Kenton, and the intense satisfaction of his foes. But fate, more kind than his savage tormentors, interposed, and after a few exhibitions of alarm and astonishment, the beast quietly submitted to its strange burden, and sedately joined the caravan.

On the third day the party reached Chillicothe, where Kenton was stripped of his clothing and tied to a stake. Here he was surrounded by a hooting mob of men, women and children, who scarified his back with repeated blows, and assailed his ears with every opprobrious epithet that their malignity could invent until midnight, when he was released and placed under guard until morning. Contrary to his expectations, instead of being remanded to the stake, he was ordered to run the gauntlet; in this trial his agile strength enabled him to disappoint the vengeance of his enemies by reaching the goal with but few serious blows. A council was then held, and Kenton learned from a brutal renegade white that his final fate had been deferred—that he was to be conducted to Wappatomica, and there burned.

Such intelligence was calculated to stimulate every sense of the captive to devise some way of escape, but it was not until the report of guns, and the shrill scalp-halloo of his escort signaled their near approach to a town, that Kenton was emboldened to make such an attempt. With a startling cry he shook off his guards, and bounded into the thick under-brush. The character of the country favored his flight, and he soon left his astonished foes far in the rear, but forgetting his close proximity to the village, he rushed headlong into a group of the new enemy, called out by the signals, and was speedily returned to captivity.

The village was Pickaway, and after spend-

ing the night tied to a stake and attended by despair, he was led on the following day to his destination. Here he was again forced to run the gauntlet, and was severely hurt. Soon after, he was taken to the council which had been convened to decide his fate, and where he met Simon Girty, to whom he made himself known. The situation of his friend deeply touched the renegade's heart, and thus prompted he exerted his influence with the Indians with such effect as to secure Kenton's release. Taking him to his own wigwam, Girty supplied his old comrade with a complete suit of Indian clothing, and for three weeks was his constant companion.

Though free, Kenton was not unobserved by the savages, and escape was impossible. In the meantime a steady reaction set in, and he was one day suddenly summoned with Girty to attend a council; here, notwithstanding the renegade used his best endeavors, Kenton was bound and delivered to be burned at Sandusky. He was securely pinioned and led by a halter between mounted guards, and while thus marching through an Indian village, he was suddenly assaulted by a savage, who nearly severed his arm from the shoulder with an ax. The demoniacal savage would have inevitably ended Kenton's sufferings with another blow, had not his guards quickly interposed to save him for the torture of the stake. At another town he met the celebrated Mingo chief, Logan, whose noble spirit moved him to intercede for the young captive. After unusual exertions he failed to alter the determination of the warriors, but effected his object through an English Indian agent stationed at Sandusky.

Thus Kenton approached his fate; running the gauntlet thirteen times, narrowly escaping death on several occasions, his body emaciated and gaping with terrible wounds, he reached his destination with the assurance that on the morrow he should be burned. Here, the agent, Drewyer, begged possession of the captive that he might gain information of him concerning the frontier, and to this end wished to take him to Detroit. Permission was at last reluctantly granted, on condition that the prisoner should then be returned to his captors, and on this pretense Kenton was allowed to accompany the agent to the English headquarters. Once within the protection of the garrison, all fear of the stake was removed. Here Kenton rapidly recovered from the effects of the ill-usage, and being placed under little restraint, began to consider plans for a return to Kentucky. He was at this time only twenty-four years of age; "was fine looking, with a dignified and manly deportment and a soft, pleasing voice, and was, wherever he went, a favorite with the ladies." These attractions he turned to a good account in providing for his escape.

There was no difficulty in leaving the post, but the 200 miles of wilderness, which must be traversed, was tenanted with hostile savages, and the fate he had so narrowly escaped was too vivid in his mind to be lightly incurred again. However, his enforced stay gradually became more irksome, and having found two fellow-prisoners willing to accompany him, he set about procuring arms and supplies for the journey. A trader's wife had become greatly interested in his history, and through her assistance, he procured whatever was needed. On June 3, 1779, Kenton, Bullitt and Cofer set out on their perilous journey, which they ventured only to pursue at night, and thus after thirty-three days of alternate hiding and traveling, they reached the falls of the Ohio in safety.

The success of the Illinois campaign and the enactment of the celebrated land-law, passed in May, 1779, gave a remarkable impulse to the settlement of Kentucky. A general spirit of confidence was infused throughout the Territory of Virginia, and not only were large numbers encouraged to emigrate from the eastern settlements, but many of the settlers on the frontier, tired of the restraint imposed by the crowded character of the older stations, ventured out to form new ones. These, obedient to the same necessities, followed the form and character of the older ones, and consisted of a cluster of cabins, which, connected by a wall of palisades, enclosed a space that served the various purposes of park, parade-ground and corral. "Their original population, consisting of

small numbers in general, was various, and depended on the party that could be collected—often upon the popularity of the leader. They were sometimes colonies from older stations, sometimes composed of recent immigrants. They were always receptacles for new-comers, and many of them by the accession of numbers, and additional cabins, swelled into villages in the course of a year or two, and were as suddenly depopulated when no longer influenced by surrounding danger." (Marshall.)

Among the earliest movements which mark this development, was that which resulted in the settlement formed near the falls of the Ohio. The families,* left by Clark on the island, waited only to learn the successful issue of the expedition before planting themselves on the main land. This was probably done in the fall of 1778, when, re-enforced by certain of the returning militia, under Col. Linn, they erected a stockade, "on the eastern side of the large ravine, which formerly entered the river at the present (1838) termination of Twelfth Street." In the succeeding spring this station felt the quickening influence of the time, and sent out several colonies. Prominently among these was one which established Linn's Station on Beargrass Creek, in Jefferson County, about ten miles from the falls; another planted Brashear's Station, at the mouth of Floyd's Fork, in Bullitt County; a third founded Sullivan's Station, on the Bardstown road, about five miles southeast of the falls, in Jefferson County; a fourth established itself in the near vicinity of the old stockade, and these became known as the Middle and Spring Stations.

A similar activity manifested itself in the interior. Early in the spring, Robert Patterson organized a company at Harrodsburg, and on April 1st, founded Lexington. It is probable that a single cabin alone marked the site of the proposed station until the 14th instant, when fourteen persons left Harrodsburg to make the new settlement their permanent home. This outpost gained considerable accessions during the year, and subsequently became one of the foremost stations on the frontier.

About the same time, Isaac Ruddle, of St. Asaph, accompanied by John Burger, penetrated still further north and erected a station, including Hinkston's old cabin on the south fork of the Licking, where he was soon afterward joined by his brother, James, and other families. Somewhat later, probably in the fall, Bryan's Station was established on the south bank of the north fork of the Elkhorn, about five miles northeast of Lexington. This colony consisted principally of immigrants from North Carolina, of whom the Bryans were the most conspicuous. There were four brothers of this family: Morgan, James, William and Joseph, all men in easy circumstances, with large families of children approaching maturity. William, though not the eldest, was the natural leader of the party. His wife was the sister of Boone, as was also the wife of William Grant, another member of this settlement. The station early fell a victim to the hostility of the savages. In the following May, while out hunting with a considerable party near the mouth of Cane Run, William Bryan and Grant were both seriously wounded by the Indians. Being mounted on the same horse and able to retain their seat, they escaped to the fort, where Bryan's wound proved fatal. The rest of the family, saddened and discouraged by this event, abandoned the station, and returned to North Carolina. The garrison, thus weakened, must have been obliged to resort to some other settlement, had not a considerable accession of Virginians, at this juncture, repaired this serious loss. The station continued to bear its founder's name, and became prominent in the subsequent "troublous time."

Less prominent settlements planted in this region, in 1779, were known as Martin's, Grant's and Todd's Stations. The first was

* Marshall (Vol. I, p. 67) gives the number of these families as thirteen; Clark, in his letter to the Hon. George Mason, referred to in a preceding part of this work, gives the number at "about twenty families." McMurtrie in his "Sketches of Louisville" (1819), places the number of families at six, but names only five, the record of the other having been lost. Casseday (History of Louisville, 1852), following the latter author, mentions these pioneers in the following strain: "Let this frail record, at least, lend its quota toward the honorable preservation of the names of Capt. James Patton, who piloted the first boat over the falls; Richard Chenoweth, John Tuel, William Faith and John McManus, the only names that history or tradition has given of those earliest settlers of our native city."

located where John Martin had built a cabin in 1775—about five miles south of Ruddle's Station and three miles below the site of Paris. Grant's was planted by a colony, of which Col. John Grant, of North Carolina, and Capt. William Ellis, of Virginia, were leaders, and was situated between Bryan's and the present site of Paris, about five miles northeast of the first-named place. It was greatly harrassed by the Indians, and in 1780 was abandoned by its founders, who returned to the East. Todd's was planted on the Hickman, near the site of Keene, in Jessamine County, by John and Levi Todd. They soon afterward abandoned it, and retired to Lexington.

Save the exceptions noted, these stations northwest of the Kentucky River were off-shoots of Harrodsburg; but while the frontier capital was thus contributing to the settlement of that exposed region, other of its people were planting settlements within the shadow of its protection in Mercer County. Of these, the strongest was known as Bowman's Station, located six miles east of Harrodsburg, which was settled in 1779 by thirty families under the lead of Col. Abram Bowman. Of another, Gordon's Station, only its name has been preserved; while a third was established by the McAfees. The early adventures of this family in Kentucky have been elsewhere noted, and the rise of their station on the Salt River, six or seven miles below Harrodsburg, marks their return after an absence of some four years.

They made a clearing and some other improvements at this point in 1775, but in the fall they had returned to Virginia, leaving their crops and forty head of cattle in the care of the settlers, who had joined them and proposed to remain. In May of the following year they provided an ample stock of necessary supplies and attempted to bring them forward in canoes, by way of the Gauley and Kanawha Rivers, but finding this impracticable, they stored them in a *cache* and returned for pack-horses. The disturbing events which preceded the Revolutionary war frustrated their plans, and September had arrived before they could return to their depot. This they found broken open, and the supplies wantonly wasted, or from long exposure to the elements rendered entirely worthless. This necessitated a second return to Virginia, where they found the war actually begun, and giving up their plans for emigration, they joined the American army. Two years elapsed before they were free to renew their plans, when they were found once more on the frontier, established in a quadrangular inclosure of cabins and stockades.

Similar signs of development were to be found about Logan's Station. William Whitley, who came from Virginia in 1775 and joined Logan in 1779, established a settlement not far from St. Asaph, within the present limits of Lincoln County. Here he was joined by the family of Samuel Daviess and others in the same year. About the same time, William Worthington, one of the "Long Hunters," erected a station near the present northern line of Lincoln County; others went farther north to the vicinity of Danville, where "Field's lottery cabin" was erected in 1774; and in the fall, Pittman erected a station on the Green River, near the mouth of Pittman's Creek, about five miles west of Greensburg.

From Boonesborough, Col. John Floyd went out in the early spring, and planted a station at the mouth of Beargrass. This he soon afterward abandoned, and settled on the middle fork of this creek, about six miles from the falls. In the succeeding summer or fall, he was followed by Squire Boone, who fixed his settlement at "Painted Stone," on Clear Creek, near the site of Shelbyville. This station grew rapidly in size and numbers, and for upward of two years was the only fort between the posts on the Beargrass and Harrodsburg. Strode made a station two miles from Winchester in Clarke County, in this year, and about a mile above Boonesborough. Nathaniel Hart, in company with a party from Pennsylvania, established another station on the bottom lands of the Kentucky.

Of the large accessions received from the east, some emigrated in parties of considerable numbers, under the direction of com-

petent leaders, and effected a settlement in safety. Others came singly, or in companies of two or three, simply to "spy out the land," while many came hampered by their families, and encumbered with household effects, prepared to settle on "bare creation." These adventurers, inexperienced in the dangers of a land beset by lurking bands of savage foes, fell easy victims to the ambush by day and the assault by night. Murders followed in rapid succession; and the savages, committing their depredations with comparative impunity, threatened to entirely stop the inflowing tide of settlers. Not only humanity, therefore, but the very permanence of the settlements also, demanded that this life-giving current be protected. But with this necessity clearly apparent, it is quite probable that the bold remedy of an invasion of the Indian country would have been indefinitely deferred, had not a terrible victory of the savages incited the frontiersmen to immediate action.*

In 1778, Col. David Rogers had been dispatched to New Orleans by the governor of Virginia, to procure munitions for the military operations in the West. Spain had not yet declared war, and the Spanish authorities were obliged to observe caution in granting such contraband supplies to the Americans. Concealing his large boats and most of his command in the Ozark River, Rogers proceeded to his destination, accompanied by Capt. Benham and a boat's crew. On arriving at New Orleans, he found an English sloop-of-war in port, the captain of which observed the arrival of the Americans with suspicion, and maintained so close a scrutiny upon their movements that their mission seemed likely to end in failure.

It was at this time that Capt. Benham was sent overland to Clark, at Kaskaskia, probably with dispatches. The captain accomplished his task and safely reached the falls of the Ohio, in the spring of 1779. Soon after his arrival, the two keel-boats of Col. Rogers, who had succeeded in evading the watchfulness of the British officers, came up and took Benham on board. The boats then proceeded up the river for Pittsburgh, the captain in command of one of them.

On reaching the sand-bar above the present site of Cincinnati, it was discovered to be bare half the way across the river, and at the same time a number of savages on rafts and in canoes were observed coming down the Little Miami, its flood-tide carrying the Indian flotilla across to the Kentucky side. Confident in the superior strength of his force, Rogers ordered the boats to draw up to the Kentucky shore, and the troops to land for the purpose of surprising these warriors. Impressed with the idea that he had only a small party to deal with, the commander proceeded with too little caution, and just as his movements promised the fullest success of the maneuver, he found himself completely environed by an overwhelming number of the enemy. The first intimation of his perilous situation was followed by a murderous volley from every side, which was instantly succeeded by an irresistible assault with the tomahawk. The whites could make no successful resistance, and of the forty or fifty engaged, not more than ten ever returned to their families. One boat, left in charge of five men, escaped capture by putting off into the river and floating down to the falls; others of the crew escaped by a determined effort to break through the enemy's lines, though most were killed in this attempt.

Two of those who joined in this desperate charge, were Capt. Robert Benham and John Watson, the story of whose sufferings and rescue is one of the most thrilling of the authentic tales of the border. In escaping the toils of the enemy, Benham was disabled by a wound through both his hips. He instantly fell to the ground, but fortunately near a prostrate tree, which afforded him a convenient place of concealment. Here he lay undiscovered through the next day, while the Indians near by were scalping and plundering his slain comrades. On the evening of the second day, having retained his rifle and ammunition, and the savages having abandoned the field, he shot a raccoon, which he discovered descending a tree near him. Scarcely had the report of

*Appendix A, Note 11.

his gun been heard, when he was startled by a human cry in the near vicinity. Hastily reloading his gun in the expectation of discovering an enemy, he awaited further developments in silence. The cry was soon repeated, but Benham, maintaining his silence, cocked his gun, and prepared to fire at the first sight of an approaching foe. The cry came a third time from a nearer point, and the wounded officer could distinguish the words: "Whoever you are, for God's sake, answer me."

The cry proved to come from Watson, who had been disabled by wounds in both arms, and had escaped death by hiding. The two wounded men were soon together, and each supplying the other's defect, they supported themselves in their crippled condition for several weeks. In this division of labor, Benham killed and cooked the game, and dressed the wounds of both, tearing off their shirts for bandages; Watson in the meanwhile made his legs useful in kicking the slaughtered game within the reach of his companion, and in raking and rolling brush and small wood where he could use it for fuel. The greatest difficulty was experienced in getting water, but Benham finally contrived to put the brim of his hat between his companion's teeth, who then waded into the water until it reached his neck, when he could manage to fill the hat and return with it to the captain.

In a few days the small game within the reach of Benham's rifle was all destroyed or driven off; when Watson, going out and making a wide detour, would drive the game within the reach of his companion. Wild turkeys were fortunately abundant, and they had no difficulty in securing all the food they needed. In this way they sustained themselves until their wounds so far healed as to permit Benham to travel, and Watson to afford slight assistance with one hand. They then changed their location, erected a small shed at the mouth of the Licking, where they kept watch for some passing boat to effect their escape.

After maintaining this crippled existence for some six weeks, they discovered a flatboat floating down the stream. Benham made signals to the crew, but fearing an ambush into which they suspected these efforts were intended to decoy them, the occupants of the boat gave no heed, and the poor wretches, with feelings of despair, saw their first chance of rescue slipping from their grasp. After passing them half a mile, however, a crew put off from the boat and cautiously approached the point where they were. Nearly naked, and their countenances rendered repulsive by their unkempt hair and beard, the unfortunate men were objects more calculated to give rise to suspicion than pity; but their true plight was soon revealed, and they were taken to the falls, where they fully recovered.

Early in 1779, Washington projected a movement against the Indians all along the border. Gen. Sullivan was directed against the Six Nations in New York, and with him, Col. Brodhead was ordered to co-operate by an attack on the tribes on the Pennsylvania frontier, from Fort Pitt. On April 21, these plans were so far modified as to change the direction of Brodhead's attack from the tribes on that border to the western Indians, and to make the capture of Detroit his ultimate object. It is probable that it was arranged, through the governor of Virginia, that the frontier militia of Kentucky, should co-operate with Brodhead in his western movements, and Bowman accordingly issued instructions, in April, that the settlers should plant their corn as early as possible, and prepare for an expedition in May. For some unrecorded reason, the western campaign was abandoned; Brodhead proceeded up the Alleghany, inflicted severe chastisement upon the tribes in this region, and the Kentucky expedition did not move.

Public affairs were in this posture when the few of Rogers' command who escaped found their way to Harrodsburg, and brought the fearful tidings of that massacre. Samuel Frazee, a member of Mr. Harrod's company at the falls, also came from the mouth of the Licking, bringing the alarm to the frontier capital. The abandoned expedition was hastily revived, and so much of the fighting

strength of the interior settlements as could prudently be spared, was ordered to rendezvous at Lexington, from whence the whole should proceed to the mouth of the Licking, where the contingent from the falls was directed to join them with batteaux, on which to cross the river.

The force thus brought together consisted of five companies. Of those from the interior, one, under Benjamin Logan, was drawn from Logan's, Whitley's and Clark's stations; another from Boonesborough was commanded by John Holder; a third recruited from Bryan's and Lexington Stations, with additions from Harrodsburg, was led by Levi Todd; and the fourth, under the command of Josiah Harlan, was made up of recruits from Wilson's and McAffee's Stations, besides a contingent from Harrodsburg, and a body of men, under the command of Lieut. John Haggin, from Ruddle's and Martin's Stations. The men were all volunteers and "found themselves." Each man carried his munitions and subsistence, the latter being restricted to a "peck of parched corn," though "some public beef" was issued at the rendezvous.

The expedition set forth in July. The line of march led from Lexington down the west bank of the Licking; reaching the headwaters of the Bank Lick Creek, the little army encamped for the night, and on the next day reached the Ohio. Meeting the company of William Harrod here, the organization of the expedition was completed by the appointment of Maj. George; Michael Bedinger, as adjutant. On crossing the river, the order of March divided the force into three divisions, commanded respectively by Bowman, Logan and Frazee.* The trail of the red men was struck near the present site of Cincinnati; and followed to old Chillicothe, with such success as to come upon the town without betraying their presence. Scouts were sent forward, who reported, on their return, a large number of savages present, but that they were entirely unconscious of the near approach of an enemy.

The whites had reached a point about a mile distant from the Indian town, when the spies were sent forward. It was in the early part of the night, and when their report was received, some hours later, it was arranged that Logan should lead his force to the left, while Bowman should turn to the right, and together they should encircle the town, the attack to begin when their forces joined in the rear of the village. Logan quickly accomplished his part of the maneuver, and impatiently awaited the arrival of the other wing to begin the attack. The hours slowly passed and daylight began to dawn, but still Bowman's party did not make its appearance. Anxious to avoid jeopardizing the success of the expedition by premature action, Logan ordered his men to secrete themselves in the tall grass and wait for the expected signal to attack. In gaining cover, however, some of the men attracted the attention of one of the dogs in the town, which instantly set up a furious barking. Soon a single warrior was observed to emerge from a cabin and peer carefully about to discover the cause of the dog's disturbance, cautiously advancing at the same time toward where the whites lay concealed. Logan imposed the utmost silence upon his men, hoping to capture the savage without alarming the rest of the inhabitants, but just as this design seemed in a fair way to be realized, a gun was discharged from the other side of the town by one of Bowmen's men.

The town was instantly alive; the inhabitants shouting and hurrying to a strong central cabin, intent upon making a stubborn defense. Recognizing the uselessness of further disguise Logan led his men close upon the retreating savages, taking advantage of the deserted cabins to get close to the Indian stronghold. Here he found himself in a critical position; the savages, having recovered from their panic, were maintaining

*The narrative of Samuel Frazee, which assigns himself the command of one of the divisions, differs materially from other generally accepted accounts of the expedition, but the fact of his participation in the movement, and the fortuitous publication of his story, give it a certain sanction, which may render it worth considering. However, while the evidence at hand does not authoritatively controvert his statements, a reasonable question may arise, whether the prominent part he assumed in his narrative would have entirely escaped the notice even of a somewhat inaccurate record of that event. The order of March as represented in the narrative is confirmed by an independent deposition quoted by Mr. Collins (Vol. II, p. 425), though the leaders are not named. The number of men in the expedition is estimated from 135 to 300.

a rapid and well-directed fire upon their assailants. The enemy greatly out-numbered the whites in Logan's party, which was in such a position that neither an advance nor a retreat could be made without great exposure. It was at this juncture that the intrepid leader looked in vain for some evidence of support from the other division. Observing that the Indians had become aware of their superiority in numbers, and were showing an intention of turning his flanks, he began to prepare a moveable breast-work of doors and puncheons taken from the deserted cabins, under cover of which he proposed to storm the enemy's position.

Before the necessary preparations were completed, a messenger from Bowman reached Logan with orders to retreat. Beside himself with astonishment and indignation, Logan had no recourse save to obey, but such a movement to the undisciplined militia was a difficult one to perform with success. "Each man selected the time, manner and route of his retreat for himself. Here, a solitary Kentuckian would start up from behind a stump and scud away through the grass, dodging and turning to avoid the balls which whistled around him. There, a dozen men would run from a cabin and scatter in every direction, each anxious to save himself and none having leisure to attend to his neighbors." In this way, Logan's men soon rejoined the party under Bowman, which for some unaccountable reason had remained where they had halted the night before.* Here confusion became worse confounded. "Some cursed their colonel, some reproached other officers, one shouted one thing, one bellowed another, but all seemed to agree that they ought to make the best of their way home without the loss of a moment's time."

In the midst of all this disorder the commander of the expedition seemed paralyzed, and Logan, ably seconded by other officers, restored something like discipline among their followers. The sharp crack of the Indians' rifles aided these efforts in no small degree, for nothing cleared the mental vision of the pioneers more readily than a sense of danger. The Indians, astonished to see their foes rout themselves in this unceremonious manner, hesitated for a few moments to make a close pursuit, but recognizing the sincerity of the retreat, they were soon down upon the disordered whites. The Kentuckians quickly formed a square, and taking shelter behind trees, readily repelled the attack. The retreat was then begun in an orderly manner, but the column had proceeded no great distance,* when the savages renewed their attack, this time on all sides.

Matters now assumed a serious aspect; the men began to grow unsteady, the colonel continued incompetent, and the savages seemed likely to succeed in their design of retarding the retreat until re-enforcements could be hurried forward to aid in the attack. At this critical juncture, Capts. Logan and Harrod, Maj. Bedinger and others, leading some of the best mounted of their followers, charged the savages, forcing them to leave their coverts, and cutting many of them down, while the main body made good use of their rifles upon such of the enemy as were forced to expose themselves. This spirited action dispersed the enemy, and the discouraged and weary troops were allowed to continue their march without disturbance. The retreat followed the line of the outward march, crossing to Kentucky; the plunder was disposed of by auction, and the men discharged to take such paths as would the most easily bring them to their several homes.

Of the result of this expedition, the most conflicting opinions were entertained. The whites, at a cost of eight or nine killed, had captured 163 horses, had burned the greater part of the village, and inflicted a loss of fifteen or twenty slain (the noted chief,

*"Sketches of Western Adventure," by Rev. John A. McClung, 1832, p. 113, *et. seq.* Frazee, in the narrative quoted by Mr. Collins (Vol. II, p. 426), says: "About midnight we attempted to move on three sides of the Indian camp and were to remain stationary, within good gun-shot of the Indians, until daylight, when we were to make a simultaneous attack upon the camp. Just as we had gotten up within a short range, an Indian dog gave the alarm. A tall Indian raised up from the center of their camp and I shot him down, and immediately gave word to my men to fire. The Indians shot from the cracks of their huts, and after we had fired three rounds I gave word to retreat. I saw that we were fighting to a great disadvantage."

*McClung says: "But scarcely had they advanced half a mile." Bradford (notes on Kentucky in the *Kentucky Gazette*) says: "had not marched more than eight or ten miles."

Blackfish, was among them) upon the savages, yet the expedition had evidently miscarried. While, under the circumstances, the result was far less than a disaster, still it could not be disguised that the object of the campaign, in which the whole strength of Kentucky had been enlisted, had proved sadly inconclusive, and that, too, without any satisfactory reason. Gen. Ray and others, competent to judge intelligently of the matter, did not discredit the commander of the expedition, but the general disappointment made Col. Bowman the object of its resentment. Public sentiment, therefore, gradually retired Bowman and preferred Logan, whose services had certainly been marked by gallantry and efficiency.

Unsatisfactory as the result of this expedition proved, it served, with the more efficient one conducted from Pittsburgh by Col. Brodhead, to temporarily relieve the border of the presence of any formidable array of savages. Predatory attacks were still made, but with less frequency and success, and the tide of immigration continued unabated. Even the rigor of winter failed to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ardor of the immigrants, and many families, traveling to Kentucky, were forced to camp on the way, where they suffered great privations.

The winter of 1779–80 was unusually severe, and is noted in the annals of the State as "the hard winter." The water in the rivers was frozen to an extraordinary depth, while that in the shallow streams was converted into ice to the very bottom. The frequent fall of snow, which the regularity of the temperature preserved from wasting, early covered the ground to a great depth, and remained so long as to threaten the extermination of brute life. Thousands of large and small animals of the forest perished, while the domestic animals of the settlers, despite their care, fell victims to exposure and starvation by hundreds. Families on the road, their progress impeded by the snow, soon exhausted their slender stock of provisions, and in many cases were obliged to feed on the wasted carcases of their perished animals. The spring brought its share of evils, but it was none the less hailed with lively satisfaction. Much of the stock which had survived cold and hunger was swept away by floods, and travel was greatly impeded, but these were temporary ills.

Privations did not end with the vernal season, however. The game, invigorated with the fresh verdure, supplied the people with wholesome meat, but the supply of corn proved inadequate to the demand occasioned by the large accession to the population on the frontier. Before the end of winter the people were forced to practice the closest economy in the use of bread, and long before a new crop became available there was no corn to be had. During this period the nominal price of the cereal at the falls varied from $50 per bushel in December, 1779, to $165 in January, 1780, and $30 in May. These prices were based on the value of depreciated continental currency, but they represent a wonderful exaggeration of the value, even when expressed in coin.

These facts, unknown or unheeded in the older settlements, did not deter others from seeking new homes in the West, and the spring of 1780 witnessed an unprecedented immigration. Besides those who followed the early routes by tedious overland journeys, large numbers came down the Ohio to the falls, and thence proceeded inland by wagon. In the preceding fall and in this spring, Floyd notes, in his correspondence with Col. Preston, the arrival of 300 large family boats at the falls, and that as many as ten or fifteen wagons could be seen daily setting off for the interior. New stations continued to spring up in all directions, generally in the vicinity of those already established, though a few more adventurous souls settled in the isolated regions now embraced in the counties of Nelson, Hardin, Green and Logan. Many of the new-comers, however, remained in the vicinity of the falls, and the cluster of six stations, planted here, soon numbered as many hundred inhabitants.

The settlement at this point was rapidly growing in importance. Clark, on turning over the civil government of the Illinois country to Col. Todd, had fixed his head-

quarters at the falls, and here in the spring of 1780, he was joined by Col. George Slaughter with 150 State troops from Virginia. This promise of security, with the natural advantages which the river navigation gave it, confirmed the general opinion that "the Falls of the Ohio is a place, of all others within the colony, will admit of a town." Accordingly in May (1780), the Virginia legislature passed "an act for establishing the town of Louisville." This act, made John Todd, Jr., Stephen Trigg, George Slaughter, John Floyd, William Pope, George Merriweather, Andrew Hines, James Sullivan and Marshall Brashiers, trustees, provided for the platting of certain lands, and for the sale of lots "at the court houses of adjacent counties," and required the purchasers "to hold their said lots subject to the condition of building on each a dwelling-house sixteen feet by twenty at least, with a brick or stone chimney, to be finished within two years from date of sale." This period was subsequently extended, on account of Indian disturbances, but thenceforth the town of Louisville, which received its name in grateful recognition of the French monarch's assistance in the Revolutionary war, had a permanent place in the annals of Kentucky.

On the 10th of May a land office was opened at Harrodsburg for the reception of warrants issued by the treasurer of Virginia, and the holders of these claims, or their agents, thronged the office. The object was to secure the location of lands, to which these warrants entitled the owners, and a majority of the men present in Kentucky were interested in this business. In the presence of this overshadowing interest, the danger to be apprehended from the enemy was forgotten. The report of "fresh signs," that some one was fired on, or even that a settler had been killed or captured, created but a momentary bustle; a scouting party might be induced by the circumstance to go out, but its duties were quickly dispatched, and its members were soon engaged in the pursuit of the hour—the acquisition of land.

There were others, however, who were so situated as to give more attention to public affairs, and Clark about this time was engaged in an enterprise, which, though of the first importance and conceived in wise statesmanship, foreboded no good to Kentucky. The design of erecting a fort near the mouth of the Ohio was intimated in Gov. Patrick Henry's instructions to Col. Clark in 1778, and in the succeeding June, Henry's successor gave express orders to carry it out. The object, though not yet accomplished, had not been forgotten, and Gov. Thomas Jefferson in January and April, 1780, reiterated his orders for the fulfillment of this design. The question of the western boundary of the united colonies had already been broached at the Spanish court—a question, which Jefferson had foreseen must arise with England, in case of a victorious issue of the colonial struggle. In such an event, Jefferson was determined to be in actual possession of the Northwest, by means of a chain of fortified posts, of which the one on the Mississippi, and those in the Illinois country, indicated a direction which must make Detroit the northern terminus.

This was indeed the plan which received the sanction of Jefferson's State policy as well as of Clark's ambition, and accordingly, in the spring of 1780, Clark set out from Louisville with 200 troops to accomplish the first part of the grand design. Going down the river to a point on the Mississippi, five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, he erected a stout stockade, which he called Fort Jefferson, in honor of the governor. Besides a small garrison left in the fort, a number of families, persuaded by the unusual inducements offered, located near by and took forcible possession of a region where the Chickasaws had long held undisputed sway. This nation had been on friendly terms with the whites, and it was a grave oversight that their permission was not sought, before the fort was erected. As it was, however, this unprovoked invasion of their territory aroused their resentful patriotism, and these hitherto peaceful tribes harried the western and southern boundaries of Kentucky, until the evacuation of the fort in the next year removed the cause of their hostilities.

Clark's designs were not greatly misinterpreted by the successor of Hamilton at Detroit, and the new base of operations established on the Ohio incited him to fresh activity in the attempt to cripple the settlements of Kentucky, which thus menaced the British power in the northwest. Fort Pitt was less feared, not simply because more remote, but also because its expeditions westward had generally proved abortive, and the contest was therefore accepted as lying between Clark, with his fearless frontiersmen, and the British at Detroit, aided by the hostile tribes north of the Ohio. On recovering from the effect of Clark's audacious campaign in the Illinois country, the English commandant at Detroit, descending upon Vincennes, had gained a cheap victory, and planned for the next year an expedition which was to set out from the captured post and fall upon the stations in Kentucky, while another should at the same time strike from the region farther east. The subsequent recapture of Vincennes, and with it the commandant, seriously interrupted this programme, and it was not until 1780 that his successor could prepare a counter-stroke to Clark's gallant victory; but this, he determined, should be overwhelming.

The expedition consisted of about 1,000 Canadians and Indians, with six pieces of artillery, under the command of Col. Byrd. These forces were rendezvoused on the 1st of June, and immediately set out for Kentucky. Such formidable preparations could scarcely be hidden even in the recesses of the Ohio forests. Rumors of the organization of an expedition with artillery, destined to attack Louisville, were noted by Floyd in his correspondence as early as May, and yet such was the overweening confidence or general distraction of the people in securing their lands, that no reasonable precaution was taken to ascertain the truth of the rumor or to guard against surprise. Byrd was accordingly allowed to approach at his convenience without opposition or observation.

In the absence of any wheel-ways, the artillery was brought down the Big Miami; thence to the Licking, which was ascended as far as the present town of Falmouth. Here the ordnance was landed, and the line of march slowly pursued up one branch of the river to Ruddle's Station. The invading force had been twelve days in making the distance from the Ohio River, having chopped out a wagon road most of the way, and yet, on the 22d of June, the first intimation that the garrison of Ruddle's Station had of the approach of the overwhelming army was the discharge of a piece of artillery, in their immediate vicinity. This portentous sound was quickly followed by the appearance of the hostile host and a summons to surrender to the forces of his Brittanic majesty's representative. Resistance was out of the question, and Capt. Ruddle stipulated only that the garrison should become prisoners solely of the English. This was agreed upon, but no sooner were the gates unbarred, than the savages rushed in and seized on the whites, each claiming the victim in his clutches as his individual property.

The most heart-rending scenes were enacted. Several reluctant prisoners were instantly dispatched with the tomahawk. Little children, convulsed with grief and fright, were torn from the arms of their mothers; wives were separated from their husbands, and scarcely two of any family were destined to be near each other in captivity. In vain did Ruddle remonstrate with Col. Byrd. While anxious to fulfill his part of the engagement, the commander found himself helpless in the hands of the insatiable savages. The prisoners were stripped of their property, and divided among their Indian captors, who, having thoroughly rifled the station, now demanded to be led against Martin's Station, only five miles away. This, the British officer refused to do until he had exacted a solemn promise of the chiefs that their followers should be satisfied with the plunder alone.

Martin's Station was found carelessly resting in the same foolish security with the rest of the border, utterly unconscious of the tragedy, which had just been enacted a few miles distant. The demand for the surrender of the station was quickly acceded to by the

garrison, who, profiting by the fate of Ruddle's party, were recognized as the prisoners of the English. After plundering this station, the Indians clamored to be led against Lexington, but this Byrd refused to do, assigning the difficulty of moving his artillery, the probability of failure in the attack, and the necessity of taking advantage of the present high water to effect a retreat, as his reasons. While these suggestions had sufficient plausibility to satisfy the savages and still occasion some doubt as to his real sentiments, the reader will not greatly err if he credit the commanding officer with the possession of such humanity as led him to refuse to become accessory to further horrors, such as he had witnessed at the captured stations.

The retreat decided upon, the whole force returned to the point of debarkation, where, the ordnance and stores being reloaded, the Canadians retraced their outward route, while the Indians. separating from their allies, took a shorter road for their towns, carrying the prisoners taken at Ruddle's Station with them. Among the captives was John Hinkston, who had returned to his "improvement" when the advent of Ruddle's party had rendered it reasonably safe. He was a brave and experienced woodsman, and managed to make his escape on the first night of the retreat. Taking advantage of the guard's attempting to start a fire, he leaped into the darkness, where the friendly undergrowth enabled him to elude the swift pursuit of the savages. After many narrow escapes from recapture, he succeeded in reaching the fort at Lexington on the next day, where his story was the first information the garrison had of the disaster which had befallen the more advanced stations.

On the heel of these events, Clark returned from Fort Jefferson to find a letter from the governor, urging an expedition against the Indians on the upper waters of the Miami, and especially with a view to destroy the trading post known as Loramie's Store, which served the English as a depot of supplies for the neighboring tribes. The events just narrated added a more powerful incentive, and Clark immediately proceeded to Harrodsburg to enlist the borderers in the new crusade. Here he found the settlers oblivious of every other interest, eagerly pressing their claims, and deaf to any appeal which was calculated to lead them away from the absorbing pursuit. With the cordial co-operation of the surveyors, Clark issued an order temporarily closing the land office, and sent his proclamation through the settlements, setting forth the urgent reason for his action, and calling for volunteers to aid him in chastising the savages. Thus brought to their senses, the people quickly rallied to his standard. Clark had a body of State troops at Louisville, which was dignified with the title of "regiment," though scarcely numbering more than 300 men. With these, and the volunteers from the various stations, the force assembled at the mouth of Licking in July, numbered about 1,000* men, besides some artillery conveyed up the river from Louisville.

The expedition was conducted with skill and good fortune, and the invaders succeeded in reaching Piqua unannounced. A stubborn skirmish ensued when each of the belligerent forces lost seventeen killed. The Indians finally gave way, and after destroying the town and growing crops, Logan was dispatched with his regiment to destroy the trading post at Pickaway. By this time the savages had learned of the presence of a hostile force in their midst, and Logan found only a deserted town and store. These he burned, and cutting the corn, returned to the main body, when, the whole expedition retiring to the Licking, the volunteers were discharged.

This campaign, though scarcely more conclusive in its results than the one it was designed to retaliate, had the good result of relieving Kentucky of further formidable inroads during the remaining part of the year. The usual predatory bands of savages continued to infest the border, however, and waylaying the unwary hunter at the various licks, or on the frequented trails, inflicted considerable damage. It was in an adven-

*The papers of Capt. James Patton, of Louisville, placed the number at 998, divided into two regiments under the immediate commands of Cols. Linn and Logan. See Butler, p. 117.

ture with one of these bands that Daniel Boone signalized his return to the frontier. He had brought his family from North Carolina to Boonesborough in the summer, and had been closely engaged on his "improvement" until October, when, with his brother Edward, he went to the lower Blue Lick to secure a supply of salt. On their homeward journey they were fired on by a party of Indians; Edward was killed and scalped, and Daniel compelled to seek safety in instant flight. His start and superior skill soon enabled him to place a safe distance between himself and his pursuers, but, with the aid of a dog, the savages found no difficulty in following his trail, and pressed him so closely that concealment was impossible. The situation was becoming critical, but observing that his only chance of escape was in destroying the dog, Boone halted until the baying animal came within range of his gun, when he shot the troublesome brute, and escaped in safety to the fort.

Such attacks were not submitted to by the settlers without some attempt at reprisal, but these efforts on the part of the whites were attended with very meager results. Indeed it was the opinion of leading men in the colonies that the western border could only be rendered reasonably secure by the capture of Detroit. After the failure of McIntosh in 1778, Washington renewed the project, but after vainly making repeated efforts to put the movement on foot he felt obliged to forego this undertaking, as it involved too great an expense for the limited continental resources.

Jefferson could not so readily yield this object. The constant demand upon Virginia for several hundred men and their necessary supplies, all seriously needed on the Atlantic border, urged the Virginia executive to devise some means to rid the commonwealth of this meanacing post in the West, and by one grand expenditure of men and money to stop the continual drain upon the resources of the State. The estimated cost of the movement was placed at £2,000,000, a sum which even made this resolute patriot hesitate. In September, 1780, however, Jefferson wrote the American commander-in-chief that the commonwealth had determined to undertake the enterprise, provided he would grant the State such military supplies as were necessary, Virginia furnishing the men and subsistence and conducting the expedition. This was agreed upon, and the New Year opened with the prospect that this troublesome post of the enemy would soon be in the hands of the Americans.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY.

THE early years of Kentucky's struggle with the united forces of the English and Indians, while marked by cruel reverses and discouraging casualties, were nevertheless relieved by such evidences of general success as to encourage the settlers to expect victory in the end. The later years, on the contrary, proved more exacting upon the fortitude of those who still dared to brave the perils of the frontier. The long-continued strain, which the war imposed upon the older communities, greatly reduced their resources for their own defense, and left none to be lightly expended in the defense of the frontier, which the prevailing sentiment began to regard as maintained largely in a spirit of fool-hardiness. The enemy was not similarly affected. Hitherto the allies seemed to have carried on their attacks with more determination, and, though rather by good fortune than by good strategy, secured their most effective victories in these trying years. Happily the end of the war brought relief, just when the frontier forts were about to fail, and the darkest hour of the struggle was thus made to give way to the dawn of peace. But the opening days of 1781 revealed nothing of this. A deceptive lull in hostilities reassured the settlers, while the leaders, planning a new expedition against Detroit, hoped the event was preparing that should bring speedy relief to the border.

Clark had gone to Richmond to aid in concerting these measures, and under date of December 28, 1780, Washington inclosed to Jefferson an order on Brodhead, the officer in command at Fort Pitt, to furnish the representative of Virginia with a company of artillery, ammunition, intrenching tools, and a force of men sufficient for a captain's or major's command. It was provided that beside such regular troops as Clark had at Louisville, and those to be secured at Fort Pitt, the 2,000 troops to form the attacking force should be drawn from the militia of the western counties of Virginia proper, and from Kentucky. Accordingly, on the 22d of January, 1781, Clark was commissioned "brigadier-general of the forces to be embodied in an expedition westward of the Ohio," which was to rendezvous at Louisville by the 15th of March.

In the meantime an obstacle had arisen to delay the enterprise. Benedict Arnold, eager to prove the sincerity of his treason, had secured a commission to lead a raid into Virginia, and Clark took temporary command under Baron Steuben, who covered Petersburg from the attack of the enemy. Relieved from this duty, the general energetically set about recruiting the force destined for the western expedition. In the preceding fall, Kentucky had been divided into three counties, with Floyd, Logan and Todd as county-lieutenants, and the respective regiments of militia placed under their command as colonels, with William Pope, Stephen Trigg and Daniel Boone as lieutenant-colonels. With such names it was not difficult to conjure up a formidable body of militia, especially for an expedition led by Clark, but to raise an available force of 2,000 men was a large undertaking under the most favorable circumstances. It was designed to make the attack after the Wabash had become clear of ice, and before the lakes opened, but the most vexatious delay was experienced, and it was not until the middle of summer that Clark reached Louisville. By this time the golden opportunity had passed, and the ac-

tivity of the enemy on the border finally put an end to the general's long cherished plan of reducing the English stronghold at Detroit.

It is not probable that the enemy fathomed the plans of the Kentucky general, but the operations of the savages were well calculated to afford the greatest obstacle to their successful execution. With the opening of spring, marauding bands spread through the region south of the Ohio, attacking the less protected settlements, waylaying the unwary by the principal trails and springs, and creating so great a concern for the safety of the stations that it is probable only a comparatively small number of the militia could have prudently been spared for the expedition, had it prospered so far as to set forth. In March the several stations on the Beargrass were attacked, and Col. Linn and Capts. Tipton and Chapman killed. Pursuing one of these bands, Capt. Aquilla Whittaker, with fifteen men, followed the trail of the retreating enemy to the foot of the rapids where, supposing the Indians had crossed the river, the whites took canoes to continue the pursuit. They were scarcely embarked when they were assailed from the shore by a volley which killed or wounded nine of their number. The rest, undaunted by this disaster, returned to the shore and boldly faced the foe, but the Indians did not remain to contest the field.

About the same time another tragedy was being enacted about seventy-five miles to the southeast. Here, on the head-waters of the Green River, the father and brother of Mrs. Benjamin Logan had built four cabins, marking a large, irregular, square area, but unprotected by palisades. These families had been residents of Logan's Fort until this spring, when, thinking that little danger from the Indians was to be apprehended in a locality so remote from the Ohio, they took possession of their new homes. They did not long remain undiscovered. One night in March a small party of Indians concealed themselves near enough to command the doors of the cabins, and in the morning, as William Montgomery, Sr., stepped out of his cabin in the gray of the early dawn, he was immediately shot dead, as was a slave boy who closely followed him. Montgomery's daughter, Jane, then a young woman, promptly closed and barred the door, calling for a rifle. Betsey, her twelve-year-old sister, clambered up the chimney, and gaining the ground from its top, set out at the top of her speed for Pettit's Station, about two and a half miles away. Her escape was observed, and an Indian pursued her some distance, but she out-ran the savage and safely reached the station, from whence a messenger was at once dispatched to St. Asaph's for succor. The bold bearing of the older girl prevented the Indians from trying to force the cabin, though she and a little brother were the only occupants.

William Montgomery, Jr., with his wife and one child and a bound boy, occupied another cabin. The first crack of the rifle alarmed him, and directing the servant to guard the door with a heavy sap-trough, he discharged his rifle through a crevice in rapid succession, killing one and seriously wounding another of the savages before they withdrew out of his range. John Montgomery, but lately married, occupied a third cabin; he was shot while in the act of rising from his bed, his cabin door forced open and his wife made captive. Joseph Russell, who with his wife and three children occupied the fourth cabin, succeeded in making his escape, leaving his family and a mulatto slave girl to fall into the hands of the savages. The escape of Betsey Montgomery probably induced the Indians to beat a hurried retreat, and the pursuer of the little girl found his companions gone on his return. Mounting a log in front of the cabin of William Montgomery, Jr., he began signaling his comrades by a loud halloo, when Montgomery, who had not yet ventured to open his door, sent a fatal shot through the unsuspecting savage.

The arrival of the messenger from Pettit's Station was scarcely announced at St. Asaph's, when a blast of Logan's horn spread the alarm—a magical note, which almost instantly conjured up a company of twelve or fifteen fully armed frontiersmen. The

ten or twelve miles' distance to the scene of the attack was quickly traversed, and taking the trail, which was rendered plain by Mrs. Russell's shrewdness in breaking twigs and dropping shreds of her handkerchief as she went, the Indians were soon overtaken. The whites at once made a fierce onset, the Indians leaving their prisoners and a wounded comrade in their hasty flight. All the prisoners were recovered save a little daughter of Mrs. Russell; on hearing the voice of Logan she cried, "There's Uncle Ben," whereupon the cruel savage that had her in charge struck her with his tomahawk. On the march the rescuers found the yellow girl tomahawked, scalped, and left for dead, but on hearing friendly voices, she sprang to her feet and eventually recovered.

In April,* the depredations and continued presence of the Indians created a good deal of alarm among the occupants of Squire Boone's Station on Clear Creek. After deliberation it was decided that prudence demanded the removal of the occupants of that station to the protection of the stronger forts on the Beargrass. Such a movement, in the presence of an enemy, was a hazardous undertaking, and the event proved that the fighting force, encumbered with the care of the women and children, beside household effects and cattle, could not offer the most effective resistance to the savages. The action of the pioneers did not escape the observation of the Indians, who allowed the emigrants to reach Long Run, when they attacked the retreating whites with an overwhelming force, dispersing the company with great loss of life and damage of property, Boone being among the severely wounded. Col. Floyd, gaining intelligence of this disaster, hastily summond a company of twenty-five men for the purpose of rescuing the party and chastising the enemy, but he seems to have greatly under-estimated the character of the foe. Although approaching with the greatest caution, his party fell into an ambush, and though, after suffering fearful losses, he made a stubborn stand, he was utterly routed by the savages, whose overwhelming numbers emboldened them to charge with their tomahawks. Sixteen of the whites fell dead or mortally wounded, and Col. Floyd himself, dismounted and worn out with exertion, only escaped from a vigorous pursuit through the magnanimous gallantry of Capt. Samuel Wells, with whom Floyd was not then on friendly terms. Henceforth, "they lived and died friends."

The number of the Indians was estimated at 200, and this band was probably the center from which the numberless depredations of this period were directed. After the engagement with Floyd, the band seems to have drifted inland, and in the following month with a part of its numbers assailed McAfee Station. The first notice that the garrison had of their presence was on the morning of the 9th instant. Samuel McAfee and a single companion set out from the station to go to a field lying in the vicinity, and had gone about a fourth of a mile, when they were fired on by a concealed enemy. His companion was instantly killed, but McAfee, uninjured, turned quickly about and ran for the fort. A single Indian had managed to get between him and the stockade, and now barred his progress; both instinctively raised their guns, and both pulled the trigger, but the Indian's weapon "flashed" scarcely an instant before McAfee's bullet reached his brain, and, springing over his prostrate foe, the frontiersman gained the fort.

On hearing the report of the guns, McAfee's brothers hurried out to the rescue, but met Samuel just as he had cleared his foe. Robert determined to take a look at the dead Indian, though warned of his danger and urgently pressed not to do it. On satisfying his curiosity, he turned toward the station, only to find himself beset by five or six of

* See Marshall, Vol. I, p. 115. Butler, p. 115, places this occurrence in September, and refers to "Col. Floyd's letters," which were in manuscript. In the absence of these or other deciding data, the text follows Marshall for the reasons that the first historian of Kentucky, on the whole, may be deemed the more reliable in the matter of dates, and that the earlier date is better supported by the natural presumption in the case. The presence of Clark at Louisville, with considerable re-enforcements, and the means adopted by him to guard the passage of the river, as well as the absence of numerous depredations or any other spirited attack in the fall of 1781, (see Marshall, Vol. I,. pp. 118-127) discourage the belief that so large a body of savages was in Kentucky in the latter part of the year, while the events which occurred in the spring, not only warrant the belief in the presence of such a body of the enemy, but independently suggest it. The savages were especially bold in their attacks in the region of the falls at this time, and the frequency of their cruel exploits would naturally give rise to the apprehensions which caused the removal of Boone.

the enemy, who had gained his rear. Rapidly dodging from one tree to another, he sought to flank his enemies and gain the station, and did succeed by his maneuvers in shaking off all but one of his pursuers. Finding himself closely pressed by this one, he hastily threw himself over a fence and turned at bay. The Indian took shelter behind a tree, but presently exposed himself enough for McAfee to lodge a bullet in his brain. This delay had given time for others of the enemy to approach, and, turning to continue his flight, he found himself confronted by several of the Indians. Taking to a tree, he prepared to try conclusions with the new foe, when bullets from another quarter made the bark fly in dangerous proximity to his person. He therefore dashed out from his cover, and made his way to the the stockade gate, followed by a dozen bullets, none of which touched him.

The savages now regularly invested the station and for two hours kept up a rapid fire without doing any damage. The garrison replied in a spirited manner, the women molding the bullets which the men discharged. After killing all the cattle in their reach the Indians suddenly retired, probably warned of the approach of re-enforcements from Harrodsburg, which the firing had called out, and a little later, Maj. McGary, with a strong party, came up at a rapid gallop. All united in pursuit of the enemy, who was swiftly overtaken and a brisk skirmish had, in which the savages were routed with considerable loss. The whites lost in the whole series of encounters two killed and one mortally wounded.

Such was the state of affairs which challenged Clark's attention on his return to Louisville. A formidable foe had entered Kentucky, and for months had committed numberless depredations with comparative impunity. Settlements had been depopulated, a large amount of property had been destroyed, and more than a hundred persons killed or captured, but the crowning stroke of the campaign was yet to be added.

In providing for his western expedition, Clark used every effort to recruit as large a part of his force in the east as possible, and among others enlisted the influence of Col. Archibald Laughrey, the county-lieutenant of Westmoreland County, in Pennsylvania. It was arranged that the western division should rendezvous at Wheeling, and from thence descend to Louisville. Clark reached this point with a portion of his force in July, but, alarmed by the wholesale desertion which began to deplete his ranks in spite of his watchfulness, he found it necessary to proceed down the river without further delay.

The Pennsylvania contingent, consisting of something more than 100 men, set out for Wheeling under the command of Laughrey on the 25th of July. On reaching the appointed place of rendezvous, it was learned that the main body had only recently gone forward, and Capt. Shannon, with four men, was hastened after the army with a letter to the general, conveying the information that the belated detachment was on the way and seriously in need of supplies. This messenger failed to overtake Clark, fell into an ambuscade, and was captured with his men. From the letter Shannon carried, and deserters, the captors learned of Laughrey's coming and of the weakness of his command, and determined to overwhelm it. The five prisoners were conspicuously placed on island No. 54, since known as Laughrey's Island, and promised their lives if they would hail their comrades on their approach and induce them to surrender. Fortunately this supreme test of their heroism was spared them. Before reaching the island, the boats bearing the detachment were landed on the Kentucky shore, and arrangements made to prepare a meal for the men, while the horses were landed to graze sufficient to sustain them until Louisville could be reached.

The point chosen for this purpose was an unhappy selection. A little below, a small creek (Laughrey's) entered the Ohio from the right side, and nearly opposite the creek a large sand-bar, which the low stage of the water left bare, stretched itself from the Kentucky shore nearly across the river. At the landing the boats were commanded by overhanging banks, which clothed with tim-

ber and heavy under-brush afforded the greatest advantage to the enemy. The Indians had been warned by their scouts of the approach and landing of the whites, and in the midst of their preparations the volunteers were assailed by a sudden storm of bullets. Surprised, but not demoralized, the militia made a stout resistance, until their supply of ammunition was exhausted, when they retreated to their boats. Here they found themselves completely entrapped; the sluggish current moved them but slowly, and a large body of savages, rushing out upon the bar, poured a murderous fire into their crowded and unprotected ranks. Caught thus between the fire from bank and bar, escape was out of the question, and the survivors were compelled to surrender. The savage victors, mad with success, fell upon their defenseless prisoners and bid fair to exterminate the whites, when a more sagacious chief put a stop to the massacre. Forty-two of the whites were killed and sixty-four were taken prisoners, the greater number of whom were ransomed by the British and exchanged two years later.

On the heels of this disaster came an urgent appeal for help from Fort Jefferson. The Chickasaws, dissatisfied with the result of their predatory attacks, determined by one overwhelming assault to abate this menacing fortress. A force of 1,200 warriors was assembled under the command of a Scotchman, named Colbert, whose half-breed descendants succeeded to the chieftaincy of the nation. Small bands anticipated the approach of the main body, and ravaged the region about the post with fire-brand and tomahawk, until nothing was left upon which the occupants of the fort could draw for their support. The garrison was in a perilous condition; sickness and absences had reduced the number of defenders to about thirty men, of whom two-thirds were ill with the ague. Ammunition was scarce, and all supplies outside of the fort being destroyed, the people were reduced to the verge of starvation. In this predicament, messengers were dispatched to Louisville for help, and preparations were made to hold out until assistance should come.

In their raids about the fort, the Indians had captured one of the settlers, upon whose fears they had wrought so well as to draw from him a true account of the garrison's situation. The main body thereupon advanced upon the post and demanded its immediate surrender. A parley ensued in which Colbert declared that the weakness of the garrison was well known, that the hope of succor was vain, as a large force had been sent to intercept its approach; that the whites could not hope to withstand the overwhelming force ready to be brought against them, and that he would protect the lives of the prisoners, save certain ones whom the savages had determined to butcher. Without discussing his statements, the whites only agreed that if the Indians would retire, they would soon abandon the fort and leave the country. This proposition Colbert agreed to submit to the chiefs, but when in the act of retiring from the conference he was fired on and wounded by an occupant of the fort, whose entire family had recently been murdered by the savage marauders.

This put an end to treaty making, and a fierce attack was begun. For three days and nights, the assailants exhausted every device to gain possession of the stockade. Fortunately it was well armed with cannon, which, loaded with bullets, and discharged at close range, made terrible havoc among the savages. Several attempts to surprise or fire the fort nearly succeeded, and several bold assaults were with diffiulty repelled with the aid of the cannon. There was no food and even the water in the wells began to fail, when the welcome succor arrived. The band sent to waylay it had struck the river too high up, and thus the despairing garrison was permitted once more to hope. The whites, thus relieved and re-enforced, easily repulsed their assailants, who were finally forced to retire with great loss. The garrison only suffered a few wounds, but the isolated location of the fort made it difficult to support, and it was speedily abandoned, most of its occupants going to Kaskaskia, and forming some of the earliest American settlements in Illinois.

This series of untoward events constituted a sum of discouragement which might well have checked the ambition of a far more determined man than Clark. A foreign expedition was obviously out of the question, and the newly commissioned general found himself compelled to act upon the defensive. That he performed this duty with his usual success reflects no less credit upon his genius than the prosecution of the far-reaching plans which prompted his preparations in the early part of the year would have done. The latter achievement would have doubtless yielded him greater renown, but the result of his efforts in the more restricted field demonstrated that his success depended less upon happy strokes of fortune than upon the solid resources of his own ability.

Under his direction a stronger stockade was built at Louisville, spies and scouting parties, who reported directly to him, were scattered all along the border, and a galley, well armed with cannon, patrolled the river from the falls to the mouth of the Licking. The latter device proved a most effective means of protection, and Clark had the satisfaction of the general belief that it was instrumental in averting, at least, one formidable raid. Other precautions were maintained so long as Clark remained in command, but the great aversion of the militia in performing the labor of rowing this galley, and the gradual decrease of the regular troops, obliged him to give up this river defense before the end of the year. However, so effective had been his measures that after the siege of Fort Jefferson, "the Indians were but seldom heard of," and the settlers, blessed with abundant crops and freedom from warlike pursuits, began to complain because the absence of the surveyors of two of the counties prevented their locating lands.

The savages having glutted their vengeance for the time, and finding their adversary on the alert and prepared to inflict swift punishment upon such as should venture across the river, gave up further hostilities for this year, but neither party counted the victory won. Encouraged by their successes, the Shawanese sent their runners far and near to invoke the aid of the other tribes in a contest which involved the fate of all. Clark, in the meantime, was not less active; he did not rest on the precautions already taken, and it is probable that, even in the face of discouragements he had hitherto met, he still cherished the hope that the way would be opened to the achievement of his darling enterprise. The first step toward such a consummation was evidently to place his base of operations beyond the danger of successful attack, and to this end he planned, and had erected at Louisville, the most formidable fortification in Kentucky.

This structure, named Fort Nelson, in honor of the third governor of Virginia, was probably begun in the fall of 1781, and inclosed about an acre of ground. It was constructed on the "second bank" of the river, between the lines now marked by Sixth and Eighth Streets. The work consisted of continuous log pens, filled with earth thrown out of an exterior ditch, and upon this foundation palisades, ten feet high, were erected. At the foot of this barrier, a ditch, eight feet wide and ten feet deep, with a row of blunt pickets along its middle line, was constructed on three sides, the pickets, with the slope of the bank, being considered sufficient protection on the side of the river. The gate was placed opposite Clark's headquarters, about on the line where Seventh Street approaches the river. The armament consisted of several small cannon placed in the bastions, and "a double fortified six pounder," which had been captured at Vincennes, and which constituted the field artillery employed by the general on several of his expeditions. Thus prepared, he awaited the opening of the new campaign.

The winter passed with such absence of hostilities as to encourage the more sanguine of the settlers to hope that the Indians had yielded the struggle, but such hopes were destined to be rudely dispelled. The usual predatory bands of savages were again seen or heard of among the settlements early in the spring. Frequent reports of cattle killed, hunters waylaid, travelers attacked, and horses stolen, came from all directions.

Early in March a band fired on Strode's Station, killing two men, and immediately retired; soon after this attack, the Indians fell upon the occupants of a new station* west of the Kentucky River, and about the same time killed and scalped a young woman in sight of Estill's Fort† a little farther west. At the last named station the savages captured a negro, whose plausible but exaggerated story of the strength of the garrison caused the marauders to beat a hasty retreat.

Warning of this raid was conveyed to the garrison at Boonesborough on March 19, 1782, when an abandoned Indian raft was observed floating down the river. This was a pretty sure indication that the enemy had crossed the Kentucky farther up the stream and that they might be expected to commit depredations in the rear of the settlements. This intelligence was immediately sent to Estill's Station, and to Col. Logan, who bore command in this region. The latter took prompt measures to avert the threatened danger. Sending fifteen men to Capt. Estill, he directed that officer to increase the force to forty men, and with this company to discover and drive out the enemy. It was when this duty had stripped the station of every man, except one who was sick, that the Indians made their attack, and were induced to retreat by the loyal sagacity of the captured negro. On the departure of the savages, the women sent two boys to bear the information to the scouting party, which was found by the messengers on the morning of the 21st instant, in what is now the northeast corner of the limits of Madison County.

The intelligence brought by the boys determined the party to proceed in immediate pursuit, though five of the number, who had families in the station, becoming alarmed for their safety in their defenseless condition, turned back. Crossing the river, the rest soon struck the trail of the retreating savages, and on the 22d, after leaving behind ten of their number, whose jaded animals prevented their making a rapid march, the pursuers came upon the enemy two miles below Little Mountain, the present site of Mount Sterling. The whites by successive detachments had been reduced in numbers to twenty-five men, but each one was a thorough woodsman and skillful marksman. Marching in four lines they at length discovered six Indians at a little distance, "preparing rations from the body of a buffalo," at whom Capt. Estill discharged his rifle with such effect as to put them to flight. Another of the pursuing party, pressing forward some distance in advance, fired at a warrior, who halted for a moment, and just as he discharged his weapon, another Indian, passing between him and the object of his aim, received the bullet, which, passing through him, proved fatal to them both. This effective shot, witnessed by the whole company, was accepted as a happy omen of success, and raised the spirits of the whites to a point of enthusiasm.

"The battle began at Buffalo Crossing on Small Mountain Creek, a branch of Hinkston, in a bend of the creek, where a small branch put in on the east side, and was fought principally between that and the branch next below." The Indians had just crossed the creek, and were ascending the farther slope as the whites descended the other. The locality was well adapted to the usual form of Indian warfare, the stream having formed a pleasant glade, flanked on both sides by a heavy growth of timber, free from the ordinary dense underbrush. But the savages were still disposed to retreat, when their leader, disabled by a chance shot, called on his followers to dispute the passage of the creek. The casualties suffered by the Indians had reduced their effective number to twenty-five, and now, "every man to his man, and each to his tree," the terrible contest began, with the combatants not over sixty yards apart.

"Never was a battle more like single combat, since the use of firearms; each man sought his man, and fired only when he saw his mark; wounds and death were inflicted on either side, neither advancing nor retreating. The firing was deliberate; with caution

*Appendix A, Note 12.

†This station was founded by Capt. James Estill, probably about 1780. It was situated nearly four miles southwest from the present site of Richmond, in Madison County.

they looked, but look they would for the foe, although life itself was often the forfeit. And thus both sides firmly stood, or bravely fell, for more than one hour; upward of one-fourth of the combatants had fallen, never more to rise, and several others were wounded. Never, probably, was the native bravery or collected fortitude of men put to a test more severe. In the clangor of an ardent battle, when death is forgotten, it is nothing for the brave to die—when even cowards die like brave men—but in the cool and lingering expectation of death, none but the man of true courage can stand. Such were those engaged in this conflict." (Marshall.)

Thus far the results of the combat had left the situation practically unchanged. Neither party could advance or retreat without fatal peril, but in this form of combat the advantage was likely to turn in favor of the Indians, for, though less expert as marksmen, they were more skillful than the whites in sheltering their persons behind a tree. This was a theory generally accepted by the frontiersman, and success in a pitched battle with the savages was gained by the whites generally by a successful turning of their adversaries' flank. Comprehending, therefore, that a long continuance of the contest must insure his defeat or at best give him a victory too dearly purchased, Estill sought an opportunity to effect the usual maneuver. A little valley, flanking and extending to the rear of the Indians' position, suggested the feasibility of such a movement, though only at great hazard, as by weakening the force in front the enemy might gain the advantage which the whites sought. However, the commander determined upon the attempt. Detaching Lieut. William Miller with six men, he directed him to gain the rear of the savages, while their absence from the line was disguised by an extension of the diminished force which remained.

This movement was the beginning of the end. Miller, no longer supported by the calm confidence of his superior officer, became panic-stricken and deserted the field. The savages were not long deceived by the show of strength in their front and soon compelled a portion of the opposing line to retreat to a more advantageous position. In effecting this retrograde movement, the whites unfortunately exposed themselves, and several fell victims to the unerring rifles of their foes. At this juncture one of Estill's warm personal friends received a wound in the head, which, instead of prostrating him, crazed his brain, and, unconscious of his danger, he began to stagger in the space which still separated the two lines. A powerful savage, whose gun had just been discharged, sprang forward with his tomahawk to dispatch the unfortunate man, when Estill, observing the danger of his friend, and his gun also being unloaded, rushed forward knife in hand to defend or avenge him. The able-bodied combatants immediately grappled, and were so evenly matched that neither for a time could use his weapon. Their rapid movements in the meanwhile protected both from the ready rifles on either side, until Estill's arm, which had been shattered by a wound four months before, suddenly gave way, and the savage sealed his victory with a fatal plunge of his knife into his antagonist's breast. Scarcely had his yell of triumph told the result of the struggle, when a bullet from one of the whites stretched him dead upon the body of his victim.

The death of one more of the whites closed the battle. Both leaders were now dead. The voice of the Indian chief which had animated his followers was no longer heard, and the whites, weakened by wounds and desertion, withdrew from the contest, leaving the savages too severely punished to pursue. Seven whites were left dead upon the field, and three were carried off severely wounded. The contest, in fact, was a drawn battle, but the fact that the whites left their dead in the hands of the enemy has given it the name of "Estill's defeat," * and such was the character of the depressing effect which it produced upon the frontiersmen. In this contest the savage displayed a determined courage and fortitude which were new to the borderers, and the even balance in which the battle

* Appendix A, Note 13.

hung so long as the forces remained equal threatened to dispel forever the bold assumption of superiority of the white man. If the settlers could no longer successfully contend against the numerical superiority of the Indians, then the final extinction of the frontier settlements was a foregone conclusion. The frontiersmen, however, were not of a character to yield to such an abstract conclusion unaided by the logic of events, but it is unquestionably true that the uncertain future was faced with silent forebodings that greatly modified the audacious courage of the pioneers.

Events which closely followed the "defeat" only confirmed the general impression. The savages seemed inspired with a new boldness; creeping into the very shadows of the stations, they would suddenly assault the unsuspecting pioneer, kill and scalp him before the surprised gaze of his companions, and, escaping with the bloody trophy, would instantly be lost in the mazes of the surrounding wood. The next attack would fall upon some distant point, and often, while commiserating the misfortunes of some remote station, the startled pioneer would be confronted with death at his own door. Occasionally the savage paid the penalty of his temerity with his own life, but this was too infrequent to relieve the fear of the settlers or discourage the Indians. At the beginning of the summer, these depredations suddenly ceased and the months of June and July were passed in such quietude that the people began to hope the worst was passed. But this was only the final precursor of the storm of war that was about to fall upon the border.

The Shawanese had been unusually active in preparing for the new campaign. Their runners had visited all the western tribes between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and Cherokees, Wyandottes, Tawas and Pottawatomies, besides a detachment of Canadians and the Shawanese, were represented in the grand assemblage of warriors which had been convened at old Chillicothe to take part in the grand expedition that was designed to break the power of the whites in Kentucky. To this gathering, even the outlying scouts were called, and thus the stations experienced the lull of battle which precedes the furious charge. The assembled savages, already eager for the fray, were excited to the pitch of madnes by the artful harangue of the notorious Girty, when the chiefs led out their followers to the number of about 500 men, with the renegade as commander-in-chief. Of all this preparation the settlers seemed profoundly ignorant, and it was not until the hostile horde was at their doors that the Kentuckians became aware of the terrible danger that threatened.

The first renewal of hostilities occurred on the 10th of August, when an advance party committed depredations at Hoy's Station,* and retired, taking with them two boys as prisoners. The alarm was given out, and Capt. John Holder, from his station on the Kentucky, two miles below Boonesboro, set forth in pursuit of the marauders, recruiting his party, as he passed McGee's and Strode's Stations, to the number of seventeen. The Indians were overtaken near the Upper Blue Lick, and though greatly superior in numbers, the whites boldly attacked them. There was little hope of success, and after a short engagement, finding the enemy was about to overpower his little company, Holder gave orders for a retreat, which was successfully accomplished after losing four men killed or wounded.

After the destruction of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations in 1780, Bryan's occupied the advance line on the frontier, and it was against this station that the Indian host was led. Intelligence of Holder's discomfiture was brought hither late on the 16th instant, and the rest of the day, with the greater part of the night, was spent by the garrison in fitting out the fighting force to go to the relief of the endangered settlement. Amid the bustle of this preparation,† the savages silently surrounded the fort with the intention of assaulting it when the inhabitants were asleep, but disconcerted by the unwonted activity of the settlers, which was manifest at

*This station was erected in Madison County, about 400 yards southwest of Foxtown, in the spring of 1781, by William Hoy.

†Appendix A, Note 14.

a distance, the enemy changed his plans and decided to make a regular attack in the morning. Their preparations completed, the whites took advantage of the few remaining hours to gain some refreshment in sleep, but at early dawn the whole force was under arms, and the gates thrown open to permit their egress. The Indians, utterly misapprehending the movement, greeted the first advance of the troops with a storm of bullets and war cries, which revealed to the astonished whites that the enemy they sought was before their walls. The gates were quickly closed, and, rushing to the port-holes, the garrison observed about 100 of the savages plainly exposed to view, firing and yelling, and expressing their defiance in violent gestures.

The fort consisted of some forty cabins disposed in parallel lines and joined at the ends by palisades. It was situated on a gently rising bank on the south side of the Elkhorn, a few yards to the right of the Maysville and Lexington road. The station was ill-prepared to withstand a siege; the palisades had been allowed to get out of repair, and the small supply of water within threatened a greater danger than the foe without. The walls were readily patched, but the lack of water, which was obtained from a spring situated some distance from the fort, was more difficult to remedy. The more experienced of the garrison were not deceived by the antics of the savages. They correctly divined that the object of the Indians was to draw the main body of the whites in pursuit of those who were feigning an attack, when the principal force of the assailants, concealed on the other side, would master the walls thus left undefended. The garrison was not at a loss how to deal with this attack, but the first duty was to place the fort, so far as possible, in condition to successfully sustain a siege, and to that end secure a supply of water before active hostilities made it impossible.

The spring was near a large thicket, in which it was certain the main body of the enemy was concealed. Nevertheless, it was believed that if the women were to go with their pails and bring the water as was their custom, they would be allowed to do so unmolested, as the Indians would believe from this bold adherence to the ordinary procedure that their ambush was undiscovered, and therefore would not hazard the complete success of their plans by revealing their presence in a premature attack. This was sound reasoning, but it required a bold resolution and most determined courage on the part of the women to effect the movement with success.

The women of the station were summoned and the proposition stated. There was some natural demur in acceding to a plan which necessitated such reckless exposure of noncombatants to the mercy of an enemy who regarded neither age nor sex in his warfare, but the matrons of the settlement, confirming the judgment of their husbands, the whole body determined to dare much in a cause which involved the fate of all. The fancy can scarcely picture a more heroic scene in the whole range of border experience than this utterly defenseless company of women, led by those whose lives on the frontier had taught them rightly to appreciate the barbarities of savage warfare, marching out of the stockade gates; and one is at a loss which to pity most in this trying ordeal, the brave women with a show of equanimity facing the lurking horrors of an uncertain fate, or the equally brave men, as from the port-holes they watched the progress of those whose every forward step strained the cracking heart-strings to an anguish that, however intense, must make no sign. The whole journey to and from the spring was made with the most decorous deliberation, the young and timid gaining confidence from the steadiness of their elders. Fortunately the event justified the judgment which planned the undertaking, and the supply of water thus secured, the men at once turned to their part of the work.*

Thirteen young men were then sent out to attack the savages, who had kept up their noisy demonstrations in the meantime. The sallying party was directed to fire rapidly in order to convey to the ambushed enemy an

*It may rob this incident of some of its heroism to allow that the danger of the exploit has been exaggerated in the generally accepted accounts, but the author of "Annals of the West," in a foot note, says: "We have it on the best authority, however, that Simon Kenton said this was all romance; by his account there was a covered way to the spring." (Annals of the West, p. 250.)

exaggerated impression of the number of the whites engaged, but to discontinue the pursuit as soon as the main body of the Indians attacked the fort. On hearing the heavy firing of the garrison's detachment recede in the distance, confident that their ruse had succeeded, some 300 or 400 savages, with ferocious yells, rushed from their cover to assault what appeared the abandoned walls. Some reached the cabins and fired them with their lighted torches, others reached the pickets with the intention of hewing their way into the inclosure, but the great mass of the assailants fell back in utter astonishment before the deadly volley that did frightful execution on the crowd of unprotected warriors. In two minutes, not an Indian was to be seen. The wind being favorable to the whites, the flames did but little damage, and were soon extinguished, and the young men returning in safety to the fort, both assailants and assailed settled to the duties involved in a regular attack. Thus matters progressed until about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when re-enforcements arrived.

On the first intimation of danger, two of the garrison, well mounted, had broken through the Indian line and hastened to Lexington to secure assistance. Arriving at this station about sunrise, they found it occupied only by women and children, the rest having gone to the aid of Hoy's Station, which was supposed to be in danger. The messengers pushed on and overtook this party, which had been joined by some volunteers from Boonesborough. The situation of Bryan's Station was soon told, when the whole force, consisting of sixteen horsemen and about twice as many footmen, turned back and marched to the relief of the beleagured fort. The messengers had left before the full strength of the enemy was known, and the firing having temporarily ceased the re-enforcing party boldly approached the station. The horsemen, taking the usual route, rode rapidly along a narrow lane, on both sides of which the Indians had disposed themselves to receive them. The horsemen were within a few feet of the enemy, until then undiscovered, when they received a terrific fire from both sides. Fortunately the motion of the riders as well as the clouds of dust raised by the horses so protected man and beast that neither received a wound.

The footmen did not fare so well; they were approaching the fort through a cornfield some distance from the position of the savages when the firing began. Anxious to aid their comrades, and heedless of the indications which pointed out the greatly superior numbers of the enemy, the footmen rushed to the attack only to find themselves suddenly cut off from the fort, and in the midst of an overwhelming force. The savages had not had opportunity to reload their guns, and turned upon the footmen with the tomahawk. The whites were still in the corn, which with their loaded rifles alone saved them from annihilation. Reserving their fire the footmen retreated toward Lexington as opportunity offered, while the savages, careful not to precipitate themselves upon the threatening rifles of their enemy, were greatly hampered in their pursuit by the tall corn. Although this outside skirmish continued for an hour or more before the Indians gave up the chase, the whites lost only six men killed or wounded.

The attack upon the fort was renewed, but the events of the day had not been such as to assure the assailants of final success. The chiefs were manifesting a disposition to abandon the enterprise, and about sunset, the fire slackening on both sides, Girty determined to try the effect of negotiation. Approaching the station in the shelter of a stump, he hailed the garrison and demanded the surrender of the place under the pretense of a desire to prevent the further effusion of blood. He declared resistance was useless; that he expected soon to be in possession of cannon, when the destruction of the defenses and the massacre of the defenders would inevitably follow. While the settlers knew Girty and the general unreliability of all he said, the fate of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations was fresh in their minds, and the effect of Girty's address was such as to make many falter. Before there was any opportunity to make any expression of faint-hearted senti-

ments, if any wish to do so existed, Aaron Reynolds returned a taunting defiance, which so exasperated the renegade that he summarily closed the parley. It was apparent to the savages that there was no hope of success. The fort could not be taken by assault, and the whole country was rising. To linger much longer was to invite destruction, and, killing such stock as they did not take away, the Indian host quietly withdrew just before daylight.

In the meantime the interior settlements had not been inactive. From Lexington, Col. Todd had sent the alarm to Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, leaving Lieut. Col. Trigg of the latter place to notify his superior, Col. Logan, of the situation. There was neither time nor disposition to indulge in "red tape" formalities, and Trigg hurried to the appointed rendezvous with his hastily raised force, not less promptly than Lieut.-Col. Boone. By noon, therefore, on the 18th instant, Col. Todd, at the head of 182* men, reached the imperiled station. The Indians were found gone with evidences of precipitation in their movements, though these were probably intended to deceive the whites, whom the enemy evidently wished to draw into rapid pursuit. The question of following the enemy was discussed, and conflicting suggestions urged with some persistence. On the one hand it was represented that Logan was undoubtedly raising a considerable force, which would arrive within twenty-four hours, and that the large force of Indians suggested the necessity of observing every precaution to guard against disaster. On the other hand it was urged that the pursuit of the savages, if not undertaken promptly, would find them across the Ohio and disbanded, when it would be impossible to inflict any salutary punishment. As to the authors of these opposing arguments, writers are not agreed, but the latter opinion prevailed, and late in the afternoon the whites moved forward in pursuit of the retreating enemy.

*Marshall (Vol. I, p. 141) gives the number at 166; Butler (p. 125), on the authority of Gen. Clark, gives the number at 182. This is confirmed by Bradford. The two may perhaps be reconciled by taking the latter estimate as the number which set out from Bryan's Station, where the party must have received some accessions, as there were some sixty men in the fort after accounting for the losses and re-enforcements. If the latter number be correct, the whites must have engaged in the battle of Blue Lick with upward of 200 men.

The trail of the savages was plain, and the whites had not proceeded many miles when Boone's observant eyes discovered evidence which clearly indicated the wish of the savages to be followed. The trees along their course were marked, and instead of concealing their route everything indicated their intention to leave a broad trail, but at the same time pains had been taken to conceal their numbers. For this purpose, they had marched in single file, each one stepping in the footsteps of his leader, and at their camps the limited number of fires and other indications showed a studied care to disguise their strength. The irresistible inference to be drawn was that an ambush was to be expected, and Boone's thorough knowledge of the country and hunter's instinct at once suggested the Lower Blue Lick as the probable site where a surprise would be attempted. This lick is situated about thirty-five miles from Bryan's Station. "The Licking River at this place is about 300 feet wide at common water, and forms a semi-ellipsis, which embraces on its northeast side, toward Limestone, a great ridge of rocks which had been made bare by the stamping of buffaloes and other game, drawn together from time immemorial to drink the water and lick the clay. Two deep ravines, heading in this ridge near each other, and extending in opposite directions, formed the longest diameter of this ellipsis. This ridge had very little timber on it, and what it had was very indifferent and exhibited a very dreary appearance; but the ravines were furnished, not only plentifully with timber, but with a thick brushwood also."*

The whites encamped that night within about five miles of this point, and on the following morning cautiously proceeded forward. On reaching the southern bank of the Licking, they, for the first time in their march, saw a number of Indians leisurely ascending the rocky ridge on the other side. Here the pursuers came to a halt. Col. Todd was the senior officer and in command;

*Notes on Kentucky by John Bradford.

Trigg was next in point of seniority, and Boone third. Other officers were Majs. Harlan, McBride, McGary and Levi Todd, and Capts. Bulger and Gordon, most of whom were volunteers without command. These, with other officers, to the number of a dozen or twenty, met in front of the ranks and joined in consultation. That the situation was undoubtedly critical was apparent to the least observant of the company. The action of the retreating savages afforded a strong presumption that an ambuscade was formed just where Boone had suggested it would be. At this juncture the officers all turned to the veteran woodsman, and, in response to Col. Todd's request, he said that it would be proper to do one of two things: "Either to await the arrival of Logan,* who was undoubtedly on his march to join them, or, if it was determined to attack without delay, that one-half of their number should march up the river, which there bends in an elliptical form, cross at the rapids and fall upon the rear of the enemy, while the other divisions attacked in front. At any rate, he strongly urged the necessity of reconnoitering the ground carefully before the main body crossed the river." (McClung.)

Scarcely had Boone submitted his opinions when Maj. McGary "raised the war-whoop," and, spurring his horse into the river, called vehemently on all who were not cowards to follow *him* and *he* would show them the enemy. Presently the army was in motion. The greater part suffered themselves to be led by McGary; the remainder, perhaps a third of the whole number, lingered awhile with Todd and Boone in council. All at length passed over, and, at Boone's suggestion, the commanding officer ordered another halt. The pioneer then proposed, for a second time, that the army should remain where it was until an opportunity was afforded to reconnoiter the suspected region. So reasonable a proposal was acceded to, and two bold but experienced men were selected to proceed from the lick along the buffalo trace to a point half a mile beyond the ravines, where the road branched off in different directions. They were instructed to examine the country with the utmost care on each side of the road, especially the spot where it passed between the ravines, and upon the first appearance of the enemy to repair in haste to the army. The spies discharged the dangerous and responsible task. They crossed over the ridge, proceeded to the place beyond it, and returned in safety without having made any discovery. No trace of the enemy was to be seen.

The little army of 182 men now marched forward. Col. Trigg was in command of the right wing, Boone of the left, McGary in the center, and Maj. Harlan with the party in front. Such is Boone's account of the positions of the several officers. He does not define Col. Todd's. The historians have assigned him to the right with Col. Trigg. The better opinion seems to be that he commanded the center.

As they approached the ravines, it became apparent that Boone's anticipations were well founded, and that the vigilance of the spies had been completely eluded. The enemy lay concealed in both ravines in great numbers. The columns marched up within forty yards of the Indian line before a gun was fired. The battle immediately commenced with great fury and most destructive effect on both sides. The advantage of position and overwhelming numbers soon determined it in favor of the savages. The fire was peculiarly severe upon the right. Col. Trigg fell, and with him nearly the whole of the Harrodsburg troops. Boone manfully sustained himself on the left. Maj. Harlan defended the front until only three of his men remained. He also fell, covered with wounds. The Indians now rushed upon them with their tomahawks, spreading confusion and dismay through their broken and disabled ranks. The whole right, left and center gave way and a mingled and precipitate retreat commenced. Some regained their horses; others fled on foot. Col. Todd was shot through the body, and when he was last seen was reeling in his saddle, while the blood gushed in profusion from his wound. The Indians were then in close pursuit.—*Morehead's Address, p.* 99.

The obvious line of retreat was by way of the ford where the army had passed over, and from the battle ground to the river pursuer and pursued mingled in confused flight. *Sauve qui peut* was the sentiment of the distressed whites, while the exultant savages plied their murderous tomahawks upon the unresisting fugitives. The mounted men generally escaped, but the footmen, cut off from the ford, threw themselves into the river, where they were shot by the remorseless foe, or drowned through their inability to swim. One, Netherland, who had previously been suspected of cowardice, being mounted, had gained the farther bank in safety, but, seeing the terrible danger to which his dismounted comrades were exposed

*A statement, made by Benjamin A. Cooper, who took part in the battle, was furnished by Mann Butler, the historian, to the *St. Louis Era*, from which it was copied in the *Frankfort Commonwealth* of January 15, 1846. In this statement he contradicts the common account that Todd's party expected Logan to bring re-enforcements.

in the water, called upon others who had escaped with him to turn and defend their friends in the river. A temporary rally was thus effected and a few volleys drove the savages back to a less resisting foe, and many were thus saved from destruction. This check to the enemy was very brief. The Indians were discovered crossing the river farther up the stream, and the stampede was renewed.

Boone bravely sustained his position on the left, until the crumbling of the right and center left him to bear the brunt of the attack unsupported. He still manfully disputed the progress of the Indians, until his idolized son and many of his friends were stricken down, and himself surrounded by some 200 infuriated savages, when he sought to escape. Intimately acquainted with the ground, accompanied by a few friends, and bearing the body of his wounded son, he plunged into the ravine abandoned by the Indians. Escaping the immediate attack of the enemy, and baffling one or two small parties that pursued him a short distance, he swam across the river to a point where he was unobserved. Here, in a well-noted place, he laid the body of his son, who had died in his arms, and made his way in safety to Bryan's Station.

Another instance of that heroism which everywhere embellishes the pages of frontier history, was exhibited by Reynolds, whose reply to Girty before Bryan's Station constituted one of the closing features of that memorable siege. With one or two others he was among the last to turn toward the river, but being well mounted soon overtook the flying crowd and among them discovered Capt. Robert Patterson slowly making his way on foot. This officer was in the rear of the throng, exhausted by his exertions, and impeded in his progress by the effects of injuries received from the savages in previous encounters. The Indians were rapidly approaching and escape was impossible. At this moment Reynolds rode up, hastily dismounted, and, assisting Patterson to take his place, the gallant young fellow pushed rapidly forward and crossed the river on foot. In effecting this passage, his leathern breeches became so heavy with the water they had absorbed that he sat down on a log to remove them, in order to facilitate his movements. In this position he was captured by the enemy. Being in a sound condition he was not dispatched, but hurried forward under heavy guard to be reserved to grace the triumph of the returning victors. A small party of Kentuckians soon attracting the attention of his captors, he was left in charge of three warriors, two of whom, eager to join in the active pursuit, left him in care of their comrade. In this way the two proceeded some distance, when, the savage stooping to tie his moccasin, Reynolds assaulted his guard with his fist, and quickly disappeared in the thicket. The young pioneer eventually escaped and received from Patterson as a token of his appreciation "200 acres of first-rate land."

The Kentuckians sustained few losses after crossing the river, notwithstanding the victorious enemy urged the pursuit for twenty miles. The nearest point of safety was Bryan's Station, and thither the demoralized force made its way, each man after his own fashion. The horsemen followed the buffalo trail and reached their destination in about six hours; the footmen, abandoning the beaten path, reached the station by circuitous routes, most of the survivors gaining the station by nightfall.

In the meantime, Logan had reached a point some miles beyond Bryan's, when he met fugitives from the scene of disastrous battle, and returned. Halting here until the rear came up, late in the afternoon, the troops again set out, marching most of the night. About noon on the following day the battle-ground was reached. Here the bodies of their slain countrymen were found strewn about the ground, mangled by wounds, torn by birds and beasts of prey, and some floating in the river, partly eaten by the fish; all were so swollen and disfigured as to defy recognition. Diligent search was made for evidence of the Indians, but no fresh "sign" being discovered, Logan concluded that they had gone beyond his reach, and having carefully collected and

buried the remains left upon the field, he returned to Bryan's Station, where his force was dismissed.

The battle of Blue Lick was the crowning event of a season which had brought only a succession of disasters to the distressed settlements. The hardy society which had grown up amid the perils of savage warfare was not unaccustomed to endure the vicissitudes of such a life with rare fortitude and uncomplaining resignation, but the shadows of this disaster spread over the interior settlements like a pall. Of the sixty men killed in the vigor of manhood, there was scarcely one who did not leave wife and children to mourn his death. Nearly one-half of this terrible loss fell upon Harrodsburg; in Lexington, "many widows were made;"* and Bryan's Station and Boonesborough suffered in proportion. In the loss of the leading men the whole community shared, and to the memory of those whose gentler virtues shone with peculiar luster in the crude civilization of the border, rude strength paid the sad tribute of a tear. Of the gallant men who fell there was none more brave or more beloved than Maj. Harlan. The death of Cols. Trigg and Todd was greatly deplored. They were men of fine intelligence, of personal worth, and of public usefulness. "They were particularly qualified to counsel, enlighten and guide the people in their private and civil concerns; while the suavity of their manners and the urbanity of their minds rendered them easy of access, and always ready to assist those who sought their information or advice."

Col. John Todd was universally beloved; he died without a stain upon his character and, it is believed, without an enemy in the world. He was the eldest of three brothers, was educated at his uncle's in Virginia, and at maturity entered upon the study of the law, subsequently obtaining a license to practice. He settled at Fincastle, Va., for the practice of his profession, but attracted by the glowing accounts of Kentucky visited Boonesborough in 1775, and became a resident there until 1779, when he moved to Lexington. In the spring of 1780 he was a delegate from Kentucky to the assembly at Virginia, and while attending on this session married Miss Hawkins. From the year 1778 he might be considered as residing in Illinois until his marriage. Settling his wife in Lexington, he was obliged to make a long and dangerous trip to visit his family, and besides aiding in the councils held by Clark, and accompanying him in one or more of his expeditions, it is believed he passed the journey from Lexington to Kaskaskia twice and probably four times a year. His duties as lieutenant of Illinois County, and after the fall of 1780 of Fayette County, gave ample scope for the exertion of his great executive ability, and made large demands upon his time and attention. It is said that he had only recently returned from Illinois when the depredations of the Indians summoned him to the battle of Blue Lick* and an untimely grave.

The details of this disastrous engagement were soon known throughout the Kentucky border, and rendered the settlers especially watchful for "signs," as it was feared the enemy might be emboldened by their success to attack other points. But the Indians did not prove in this case an exception to the general rule, and the greater part retired to their towns to enjoy their triumph. The western tribes, which had formed a part of this expedition, however, took their departure from the main body near the scene of the battle, and pursued their homeward course through Kentucky with the hope, probably, of adding to their trophies, and at the same time extending the alarm and confusion created by their unexampled victory. Their presence was heard of about the 1st of September on the Salt River, and Col. Floyd promptly went out at the head of a good force in quest of them. After scouting several days without finding the savages, the party disbanded, the members retiring to the several stations from which they were drawn, believing the enemy had left the country.

*In a letter to Gov. Morehead, in 1840, Nathaniel Hart wrote: "I went with my mother in January, 1783, to Logan's Station to prove my father's will. He had fallen in the preceding July. Twenty armed men were of the party. Twenty-three widows were in attendance upon the court to obtain letters of administration on the estates of their husbands, who had been killed during the past year."

*Appendix A, Note 15.

Among others, Kincheloe Station, on Simpson's Creek, in what is now Spencer County, had contributed to the scouting party. During the absence of its contingent the women alone kept watch and ward without noticing any indications of an enemy. On returning from the fruitless scout, the men, worn out by their duty, and confident that all danger had passed, went to bed without taking any special precautions against a surprise by the savages. Unfortunately, the Indians had only eluded the whites, and observing the exposed condition of this station, made a simultaneous attack upon the cabins, when the occupants were wrapt in the deep slumber which their fatigue induced. Bursting open the doors, the savages commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, and almost before the victims realized the nature of their danger, the whole settlement was still in death. A few women and children were taken prisoners, several of them only to be basely murdered on their journey toward captivity. A few others, taking advantage of the darkness, escaped in the melee and reached other stations.

One of the settlers received the alarm early enough to place his wife and a young woman of the family under the cabin floor, and then escaped in the darkness. Remaining in the neighborhood until assured of the departure of the savages he returned to his cabin, relieved his wife and companion and conducted them in safety to another station. Another, occupying a small cabin with his wife and two children, one an infant, bravely stood at bay and fought the savages who had forced his cabin door, though outnumbered five to one. He had succeeded in killing several of his assailants, when, seeing his wife, with the babe in her arms, cruelly murdered, he instantly placed the other child in the loft, and hastily mounting after it escaped through the roof. On alighting upon the ground, he was assailed by two savages whom he had driven out of his cabin. Wounding one with his knife, he prostrated the other with a powerful blow of his empty gun, and, snatching up his child, plunged into the surrounding woods and escaped.

A Mrs. Polk, who was captured with four children, after narrowly escaping death at the hands of her captor, finally reached Detroit, where she was ransomed with her children by a British officer. A letter from her to her husband apprised him of her fate. He immediately set out for the place of her detention with her letter as his only passport. He succeeded in making the journey in safety, and subsequently returned to Kentucky with his family unharmed. Another of the captive women made her escape, but, totally unacquainted with the region, she wandered about in the wilderness, subsisting on sour grapes and green walnuts until, on the eighteenth day, she was accidentally discovered entirely denuded of clothing and reduced to the physical proportions of a skeleton. She was taken to Lynn's Station, where she eventually recovered. Such is the terrible story of this devastating raid. The whole population of Kentucky was panic-stricken, and if the savages could have been brought to repeat it in the fall, scarcely a station would have remained tenanted through the succeeding winter. On August 30th, Boone wrote the governor of Virginia: "I have encouraged the people in this county all I could; but I can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thoughts of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case, it would break up the settlements." The demand for some measure to restore the pioneer's lost faith in himself was imperative, and Clark early summoned the leading men to Louisville to aid in concerting some movement of reprisal. At this conference it was determined to organize an expedition for the invasion of the Indian country, which should be of such a formidable character as to completely counteract any encouragement the savages might have derived from their recent campaign. To this end it was provided that in case volunteers should not be forthcoming in sufficient numbers, a draft should be enforced, and that horses and

provisions should be impressed if necessary. The duty of organizing the force to be employed was assigned to Cols. Floyd and Logan. The troops of the interior were to rendezvous at Bryan's Station, from whence they should march to the mouth of the Licking, there to be joined by the body organized at Louisville.

No compulsory measures were necessary; men and officers offered their services with eagerness, and beef-cattle, horses and other supplies were freely granted by those who could not well be spared from the settlements. It was the last of September before the expedition was organized at the mouth of the Licking River. Here Clark took command, with Floyd and Logan as his lieutenants. The army, consisting of about 1,000 men, marched rapidly and undiscovered until it approached the first of the towns on Mad River. After arriving in this region, when about half a mile from the camp of the rear party of the savages who were engaged in the late raid, the whites were discovered by a straggling Indian, who hastily gave the alarm of "a mighty army on its march." The camp was quickly broken up; the towns with their surrounding fields of grain were abandoned, and the overwhelming force was compelled to satisfy its thirst for vengeance in the destruction of several towns, with their corn-fields, and Loramie's store, which had been rebuilt and restocked since the former invasion. Not more than six or seven Indians were found within range of a rifle, but these were instantly killed. With these rather meager results, the army returned and was disbanded.

However inglorious this campaign may seem, it sufficed to show the savages that their recent bloody victory had not affected the main question of possessing the debated hunting-grounds, and to restore the self-confidence of the settlers, which had been so rudely shaken by the events of the summer. The succeeding fall and winter were passed in unusual freedom from hostilities, and spring brought the welcome tidings of peace. A provisional treaty had been signed at Paris, between England and the colonies, on the 30th of November; on January 20, 1783, the forces of the belligerent powers had ceased active operations; and on the 19th of April following, peace was proclaimed to the American army. While this brought a cessation of hostilities in the East, Kentucky was still threatened with a continuation of the war. The Indians, loth to give up the struggle, were found on the border early in the spring, but at length, becoming convinced that they must prosecute their enterprise unaided by their former allies, they ceased their depredations for a time.

These hostilities obtain importance principally from the fact that they resulted in the death of Col. Floyd. That gallant officer was waylaid and shot by the Indians about three miles north of Shepherdsville, on the 12th of April. There had been some trouble with the Indians in the neighborhood of the Beargrass settlements, but the enemy was supposed to have retired across the Ohio, when the Colonel and his brother Charles, unsuspecting of danger, rode into an ambush. Col. Floyd was wearing his wedding coat of bright scarlet cloth at the time, and thus presented a conspicuous target to the savage marksman. He was mortally wounded at the first fire. Charles Floyd, observing the effect of the shot, abandoned his own horse, which had been struck, mounted behind his brother, steadied him with his arms, and seizing the reins escaped with him to the station, where the wounded man died a few hours later.

Col. John Floyd was born in Virginia about 1750. His father was of Welsh descent; his mother was of English and Indian parentage. Her mother, it is said, was the daughter of Powhatan's brother. Floyd received a good education for the time, which was enriched by the culture derived from unusual advantages of travel. He married at the age of eighteen, but was left a widower within a year afterward. Some ten years later he formed a second marriage with a lady, who, with three children, survived him. He made his advent into Kentucky as a surveyor in 1774, and from that time, with the exception of a little more than a year, he

devoted himself to the interests of the growing frontier settlements. In the fall of 1776 he went back to Virginia, fitted out a privateer, and cruised extensively upon the sea with considerable success. He was captured, however, and lay in a British prison for some time, when he made his escape through the assistance of the jailer's wife. Returning to Kentucky he became one of the leading actors during the stormy period of the revolution. He was with Clark in most of his expeditions, and was feared by the Indians and respected by the English. It is said that he was offered a large sum of money, and promised an English title by the British authorities at Detroit, if he would transfer his influence to their cause, an offer which he rejected with scorn. Col. Floyd was a man of fine military bearing, over six feet tall, of an attractive personal appearance and an agreeable manner. His whole character was marked by a calm, impressive confidence in himself, which gave him great influence, while his intelligence and energy made him one of the foremost men in Kentucky. Fortunately for the community, his loss fell at a time when circumstances rendered it less severe, but his memory will ever be cherished as one of the early heroes of the border.

But the era of peace had now dawned, and never was it hailed with more unfeigned joy, than by the Kentuckians in 1783, though the glory of its rising was still dimmed by the clouds that marked the passing storm. The success of the savages in the preceding year had filled the land with mourning, and the opening months of the new year gave no evidence that the expedition led by Gen. Clark had taught any salutary lesson to the indefatigable foe. And yet, while it was generally recognized that the treaty provided only for the civilized belligerents, the restored confidence of the borderers was such that they felt no fear in meeting the savages alone. A further expedition against the Indians, to bring them to terms, seems to have been contemplated, but this was eventually given up and affairs in Kentucky were reduced to a peace basis in the following letter from the governor of Virginia to Gen. Clark:

IN COUNCIL, JULY 2, 1783.

Sir: The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the State, with respect to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone I have come to a determination to give over all thought for the present of carrying on an offensive war against the Indians, which you will easily perceive will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will therefore consider yourself as out of command; but before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my Council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so greatly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the Executive.

I am, with respect, Sir, Yours, &c.,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The pacific influences of the time at length reached even the savages. Organized hostilities entirely ceased, military rank was lost in the common sovereignty of the citizen, and peace, the "gladness-giving queen," reigned supreme over the "dark and bloody ground."

CHAPTER IX.

THE PIONEER AND PIONEER DAYS.

THE peace of 1783 marks the close of the pioneer period in the history of Kentucky. For more than a decade, a few chosen spirits had suffered the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" with a patient fortitude unexcelled on any other page of history; but with the dawn of peace, a great tide of immigration set in toward the frontier, bringing new men and questions, and they who had laid the foundations of the State, amid the red billows of savage war, were, in the natural order of things, gradually supplanted. For a little time their influence is traced in the budding civilization which arose out of the crude frontier society, but art and time have at last left only the memory of their virtues to be cherished by an age which finds it difficult to realize that the pioneer was not a privileged character, who led a life of romantic adventure, absolved from the penalties of that primal transgression, which "brought death into the world and all our woe."

The pioneer was the peculiar product of the period in which he acted. The separating and classifying influences of an advanced civilization were not yet prominent, and, save in the tidewater valleys along the Atlantic coast, the homogeneous character of the people was undisturbed by the factitious distinctions of wealth and education. Worth made the man, the want of it the fellow, and comfortable surroundings affected the character of immigration only in restraining such as enjoyed them from giving up a certain good for the untried but flattering promises of the new land, though many well-to-do persons were found among the early settlers. Education played even a less important part than wealth in this matter. Popular education was at a low ebb everywhere, and few of the leading minds comprehended more of learning than the fundamental branches of "reading, writing and arithmetic," and had but a rudimentary acquaintance with these. Of general culture there were scarcely a half-dozen in Kentucky who may be said to have possessed any knowledge, and yet the community on the frontier did not compare unfavorably with that from which it was drawn.

These men and women were not a sordid folk, and in moving to the new country they were influenced scarcely less by the natural beauty of the region than by the opportunities it afforded to improve their fortunes. They were born or reared in a frontier community. They came of a race who sought a refuge in the New World to escape the oppression and bigotry of the old, and here, amid the influences of the boundless forest, had drawn in a spirit of freedom, self-reliance, and of a contented righteousness which characterized their new settlement. They were not saints, indeed, but the first settlers were generally characterized by a sobriety of habit and judgment that counted "the life more than meat." They were enlightened children of nature, and, in their simplicity, they entertained a deep affection for the primitive charms of this new land, as of a fostering mother. To the pioneer, nature was vocal with "a various language." The poet, only, can voice his creed:

The bubbling brook doth leap when I come by,
  Because my feet find measure with its call;
The birds know when the friend they love is nigh,
  For I am known to them, both great and small;
The flower that on the lonely hillside grows
  Expects me there when spring its bloom has given;
And many a tree or bush my wanderings know,
  And e'en the clouds and silent stars of heaven.

To such people the new country beyond the Big Sandy was an Eden, for the possession of which few trials or dangers were considered too great an exaction.

But in all this the pioneers were not visionaries. There can be no greater mistake than the popular error which confuses the character of the founders of this commonwealth with that of the heroes of modern sensational writings, the theatrical terrors of which harrow up the imaginations of the young and timid. The early Kentuckians were not generally adventurers simply in search of hazardous experiences; they were not "one eyed trappers," nor professional "Indian-slayers." On the contrary they were eminently practical men, who sought new homes where their growing families could reap the benefit of cheap lands, and where persevering labor might lead to competence. To this unique blending of sentiment and common sense, Kentucky appealed with captivating power. Its primitive fertility and beauty entranced every beholder, and description became rhapsody. It is somewhat in this strain that Imlay pictures the country in 1784:

"Everything here assumes a dignity and splendor I have never seen in any other part of the world. You ascend a considerable distance from the shore of the Ohio, and when you would suppose you had arrived at the summit of a mountain, you find yourself upon an extensive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant sun of latitude 39 degrees, piercing through the azure heavens, produces in this prolific soil an early maturity which is truly astonishing. Flowers, full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a florist, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms which colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the smiling groves. Soft zephyrs gently breathe sweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigor that seems to ravish the intoxicated senses. The sweet songsters of the forests appear to feel the influence of this genial clime, and, in more soft and modulated tones, warble their tender notes in unison with love and nature. Everything here gives delight, and in the mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for the elevation which our all bountiful Creator has bestowed on us. * * * *

"You must forgive what I know you will call a rhapsody, but what I really experienced in traveling across the Alleghany Mountains in March, when it was covered with snow, and after finding the country about Pittsburgh bare, and not recovered from the ravages of winter; there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen, everything looked dreary, and bore those marks of melancholy which the rude hand of frost produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in less than five days landed at Limestone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

"From Limestone to Licking Creek the country is immensely rich, and covered with cane, rye-grass, and the native clover. The cane is a reed which grows to the height frequently of fifteen or sixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and in thickness from the size of a goose quill, to that of two inches diameter; sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produced no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavor and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which are fed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of salt, otherwise this food is liable to heat and bind their bowels. The rye-grass, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three and a half, and the head and beard resemble the real rye, and sometimes produces a small grain, long and slender, not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the same perfection, I can form no idea; it is, however, certain that it is a very good and valuable grass. The clover is in no respect different from the clover

in Europe, but it is more coarse and luxuriant. There is a variety of grasses which are found in different places, but I have only mentioned the two former, they being esteemed the most valuable.

"In order to travel into the interior parts of the State, the route lies across the branches of Licking Creek. There are several of them which take their rise in the high hills of Great Sandy River, and the spurs of the Alleghany Mountains. They traverse a most delightful country, and form a junction a small distance below the lower Blue Lick. A salt spring is called a lick, from the earth about it being furrowed out in a most curious manner by the buffalo and deer, which lick the earth on account of the saline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the fork to the Ohio is considerably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of the Kentucky. * * * *

"After passing the Blue Lick the soil, if possible, increases in richness. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington is about midway, and is nearly central of the finest and most luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leesburg is about twenty miles; to Boonesburg it is about twenty; the upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This square, which is nearly fifty miles, comprehends entirely what is called first-rate land. Leesburg lies on the Kentucky about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken but rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of land. The Kentucky is bounded everywhere by high, rocky precipices, which are generally 200 feet and upward perpendicular, and which make its passage difficult.

"Few places on it have any bottom land, as the rock rises mostly contiguous to the bed of the river, which confinement, after the heavy rains, renders it very formidable from the impetuosity of its current. On ascending the banks of this river, the land on either side is equally good for a considerable distance above Boonesburg; but adjacent to the mountains, from which the river rises, the country becomes broken, sterile, and of little or no value. Boonesburg lies on the Kentucky, about sixty miles above its mouth by land, and about 130 by water. From Leesburg down the river on the south side, for about ten or twelve miles, the hills are considerably high and steep, but when you pass the waters of Drinnon's Lick Creek, you fall into a body of good champaign land, which extends with little variation to the Rapids of the Ohio. From Leesburg to Danville the country, for the first twenty miles, is of an inferior character of land for this country, but farther on you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the square of fifty miles.

"Large bodies of good land lie on every side of Danville for twenty miles and upward, but in the course from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt River (which takes its name from a salt spring called Bullitt's Lick that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river), the country is, in some places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids the country becomes more level, better watered, and the soil more fertile. The country of Beargrass is beautiful and rich, as indeed is the land on Goose and Harrod's Creeks. In the fork of the Ohio and Salt Rivers, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the country is flat and interspersed with small lakes or ponds, occasioned by the extreme lowness of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills these ponds periodically, or as often as those inundations happen, which are frequent from December until April.

"The Rapids of the Ohio lies about 700 miles below Pittsburgh; and about 400 above the confluence with the Mississippi. They are occasioned by a ledge of rocks which stretch across the bed of the river from one side to the other, in some places, projecting so much that they are visible when the water is not high, and in most places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more

than between four and five feet in the distance of a mile, so that boats of any burthen may pass with safety when there is a flood, but boats coming up the river must unload.

"The situation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide, and the fall of water, which is an eternal cascade, appears as if nature had designed it to show how inimitable and stupendous are her works. * * * The view up the river is terminated at the distance of four leagues, by an island in its center, which is contrasted by the plain on the opposite shore that extends a long way into the country, but the eye receding, finds new beauties and ample subjects for admiration in the rising hills of Silver Creek, which, stretching obliquely to the northwest, proudly rise higher and higher as they extend, until their summits are lost in air. * * * There lies a small island in the river, about 200 yards from the eastern shore, between which and the main there is a quarry of excellent stone for building, and which in great part is dry the latter part of summer. The banks of the river are never overflowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river.

* * * * *

"In leaving the Rapids in a southwesterly direction the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have described in the fork of the Ohio and Salt Rivers. After passing the main branch of the Salt River near Bullitt's Lick, ten miles distant, in the fork of the north and the south branches, the country becomes broken and hilly, but between which and the Cumberland Road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a considerable extent of fine land; but traveling a few leagues farther southward you arrive at extensive plains, which extend upwards of 150 miles in a southwest course, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obstructions to a boundless horizon. It is pleasant to behold the deer bounding over the scraggy shrubs which cover the earth. While the setting sun gilds those extensive plains, the mild breezes of a summer's eve playing upon the enraptured senses, soften the heart to love and friendship. Unperceived upon some eminence you may enjoy the sports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field. Heavens! What charms there are in liberty!

"We now have arrived on the waters of Green River. * * * The plains extend upon the head-waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina, but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther Creek. From the mouth of Green River up the Ohio to Salt River, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich; but leaving its banks you soon fall into the plain country, which is considered as little better than barren land,* * * * yet it is of superior quality to great part of the soil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well-known, never grows kindly in a poor soil.

"The native strawberry is found in these plains in the greatest abundance, as are likewise plums of different sorts; and if we can form any idea of the native grape that grows spontaneously here, what the same soil is capable of producing where they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or soil in the world is more congenial to the vine, for I have never tasted more delicious grapes; and it is the opinion of some judicious foreigners, who have visited these Arcadian regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleasant wine made here by the settlers, who know nothing of the use of vats, or the degree of fermentation necessary to the perfection of the art of wine-making. But I flatter myself some progress will be made in this business, as several foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.† The country between Green and Cumberland Rivers is, in general, rich and finely watered. There is in it a most valuable lead

*Appendix A, Note 16.
†Appendix A, Note 17.

mine, and several salt springs, and two of bitumen, which, when analyzed, is found to be amber. But so much do we stand in need of chemists and mineralists, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many fossils which have been discovered. * *

"Cumberland River rises among the mountains, considerably to the northeast, and after its several branches have joined it, runs a long way south, and enters the limits of North Carolina. After a course of half a degree within those limits it turns to the northwest, and empties into the Ohio, at some distance above its junction with the Mississippi. The Tenasee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland. The Tenasee is the most important of the southern branches of the Ohio. * *

"After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your course to the Tenasee, the country is somewhat broken, but mostly rich. Great part of the land lying between these rivers was in military grants, made by Virginia to their officers and soldiers, and is esteemed a valuable situation for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. Their grants extend as low on the Mississippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina, all of which is a beautiful country, and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevent it from overflowing, which is not the case lower down."*

This early survey of Kentucky has the rare merit of being generally confirmed by experience. But while this is true, and undoubtedly expressed the collated judgment of the early settlers, there were details unnoted which were of the first importance in deciding the pioneer's choice of a new home. A fertile soil was an important consideration, but not so important as others which have long since become obsolete. The demands of the pioneer grew out of the undeveloped condition of the whole country, and made him a hunter rather than a farmer. His resources, as well as inducement for the cultivation of the land, were of the most limited kind, and obliged him to depend upon nature far more than upon art for his subsistence. His education and experience prepared him to prefer this kind of existence, and while he sought a locality which was likely to invite immigration, and thus lead to the appreciation of his preemption, his only hope of an ultimate competence, his experience led him to seek a land where the meager demands for the support of his family could be most readily supplied. This implied an abundance of game, a good range for his few head of stock, convenient materials for the construction of his rude dwelling and limited fencing, and plenty of good water.

These conditions were all happily blended in the new land. Springs bubbled up in all parts of the very garden spot of Kentucky, tall forests crowned the uplands, while in the glades and on the river-bottoms flourished the luxuriant cane, rye-grass and clover. But what more excited the admiration of immigrants was the profusion of game, which everywhere abounded and included "beasts of every American kind." Elks were found in the broken country; deer moving in small companies, or herding together to the number of a hundred head, thronged the uplands and valleys, where bears and buffaloes in large numbers were also found, adding piquancy to the mingled duty and pleasure of the hunt. The latter, it is said, came in vast herds of a thousand head, making broad paths to the licks, which they frequented, and shaking the earth in their ponderous flight.

The buffalo was a new game to the pioneers. The oldest hunters often found themselves at fault in its pursuit, and Butler relates that, in 1781, a body of forty emigrants were discovered by Clark and two companions, "actually starving, from inexperience of the hunters in killing the buffalo." Clark's company soon killed fourteen of these animals for the famished party, as much to their astonishment as to their gratification. "It seems that skillful hunters can arrange themselves so as to run parallel

*"A Description of the Western Territory of North America," by G. Imlay; Dublin, 1793; pp. 39-52. This work consists of a series of letters by the author to a friend in England. The original edition was published at London, 1792. Several editions were subsequently published, that of 1797 being in two volumes, the second of which contained the work of Filson. A good copy of this edition is rare.

with a herd of buffalo, killing and loading as far as they can run. This conduct of our hunters struck the group of strangers with such astonishment, when they contrasted the success of the new hunters with the failure of their own men, themselves expert woodsmen with all other game, that they were ready to look upon Clark and his two coadjutors as something more than mortals in disguise. A party thus strangely rescued from starvation, in the midst of wild game, might well be disordered in their judgments at first."

The secret of the successful pursuit of this animal was soon learned by all, and it became the general object of the hunter's prowess, hundreds eventually being slaughtered simply for their tongues, which were considered a great delicacy. Such improvidence in the use of nature's bounties soon drove the buffalo beyond the Mississippi, and in 1784 only a few were to be found in Kentucky. Deer, turkeys, wolves, foxes and those woodland friends of man, the squirrel and raccoon, remained much later, the last two still being the sport of the younger hunters. The departure of the deer and turkey was in some part supplied by the quail and summer-duck, which early followed in the wake of the grain-fields, and still remain.

Into this earthly elysium, the older frontiers sent forth an eager throng ready to riot in its charms, and had not the Indian interposed his claim, nature's magic would have raised up in the Kentucky forests a state which could have been scarcely less turbulent than that which a quarter of a century later arose on the Pacific slope. Desperate as was the contest that ensued, society gained no slight recompense in the clarifying influences of danger. The sordid and vicious were largely deterred from coming, or were frightened into a hurried retreat to safer neighborhoods, where they remained until the frontier community became so far established as to hold disintegrating elements in control.

But with the limitations of an Indian war and an early attempt to plant an orderly colony, the growth of the early society in Kentucky was spontaneous, and exhibited in its evolution a show of regularity which is discoverable in the normal development of the average pioneer community. The first settlers, though not unacquainted with the formalities of government, lightly esteemed its functions, and were prepared to reject its sanctions in their new home. The early attempt to establish a formal government by the Transylvania colonists, though liberally devised, was rejected, primarily, as an innovation upon the inherent freedom of the frontier. The pioneer claimed, by virtue of the risk of his bold adventure, a certain absolution from legal responsibility which the necessities of the case obliged society at large to grant, and it was only when a different class of interests became prominent that the unwritten law of the community assumed something of regularity. With the increase of numbers democracy delegated its powers, and, by a single step farther, lost itself in the embryonic government of the commonwealth.

The order of this development cannot be clearly defined. It was the result of a succession of influences rather than the legislation of classes, and the character of society gradually changed, partly through a change of sentiment in those already on the border, and partly through the accession of others who entertained more advanced notions. The earliest dominant influence was exerted by the hunter or scout, whose presence on the frontier was due to the attractions of the abundant game and the adventures of an unrestrained life; then succeeded the pioneer, whose chief aim was to establish a home and provide for the future; and finally the man of affairs, the prototype of the modern politician, who prepared the way for a more stable order of society. No distinct line of division defined these classes, however. The one often merged into the other, and there were individuals who were successively eminent in each of them, though this was exceeding rare, Benjamin Logan alone affording a conspicuous example.

Of the first class of pioneers, Logston and

Kenton may be taken as types of the two extremes. Big Joe Logston, as he was called, was the son of somewhat remarkable parents, who lived in the region of the Alleghany Mountains. Old Joe Logston, as his father was known, was of extraordinary size, superior in athletic accomplishments, and possessed of great muscular strength. His wife, while not remarkably tall, was large of bone and coarse of fiber, and possessed the strength of three ordinary women. The son of such parents was predestined to excel in physical power, and in early manhood he exceeded his father in size, strength and activity. His size became proverbial, and "great as Big Joe Logston" was the most exalted standard of physical excellence in his neighborhood. He early became noted for his skill with the rifle and in athletic sports, and is said to have boasted, with an accuracy that none felt willing to contest, that he could "out-run, out-leap, out-jump, throw down, drag out and whip any man in the country."

Logston took to the woods as naturally as a bear's cub, and spent his early years in quest of such game as the mountain region afforded, resorting to the settlements only to exchange his peltries for powder and lead. As pioneer improvements encroached upon his solitude he grew restive, and when a cabin was erected within two miles of his accustomed haunts, he excepted the fact as a notice to leave, and in 1790 went to the Barren River, in Kentucky. Here he first met the hostile Indian, whom he considered as only a nobler kind of game. With them he had numerous adventures, which gave him distinction among friends and foes, and their recital afforded entertainment at many a frontier fireside. One of the most notorious of these exploits was a fight with two Indians, in which he succeeded in mortally wounding one, and in mauling the other to death with his fists. As the settlement increased in his neighborhood, and Indian hostilities ceased, he went to Illinois, where he was subsequently killed in a contest with a band of desperadoes.

The class of adventurers of which Logston is in some respects rather a mild type was not so conspicuous in numbers or prowess in Kentucky as elsewhere on the western border, but no part of the frontier was without its representatives. They seldom had families, made no pre-emption, or lightly abandoned it with the crude improvements they made, and preferred to live apart from their fellows. They were too often of a quarrelsome disposition, which developed into ferocity when the natives were concerned, and led them to defy law, the general weal, and every consideration of humanity, to satisfy their abnormal thirst for the blood of the savages. These characteristics, it will be observed, represent the least favorable development of a class of people generally designated as "first settlers," "a kind of men," to use the language of Michaux, "who are unable to stop on the soil which they have cleared, and, under pretense of finding better land, a more healthy country, or a greater abundance of beasts of chase, keep always moving farther, constantly direct their steps to the points most remote from every part of the American population, and establish themselves in the vicinity of the nations of the savages, whom they brave even in their own country."

Kenton, in contrast with Logston, while indubitably of the same class, was of a superior order. His endowments were intellectual rather than physical, and while possessed of great powers of endurance and a taste for hazardous exploits, he was endued with a sagacity which alone warrants the higher place accorded him in pioneer annals. The almost tragic event which cast him upon the frontier in the guise of an outlaw undoubtedly turned the course of his life to nobler purposes; and where he sought simply an asylum from outraged justice, he found a field of action in which he could employ his expanding powers and redeem the good name which the passion of undisciplined youth had forfeited. His advent upon the frontier has been noted in the preceding pages. From that time forward he was a prominent actor in Kentucky affairs, though occupying the position of scout until the expedition of 1782, in which he

commanded a company. Thus up to the peace, which was announced the following year, his powers found congenial employment in the warlike activities of the border, or during the interval when a temporary cessation of hostilities gave him leisure for peaceful pursuits, in aiding the surveyors as guide and hunter.

In the meantime Kenton had been known on the border as Simon Butler, having assumed his mother's family name to further avoid discovery of his identity; but some time in 1782 he met his brother, who relieved him of further necessity for disguise by the information that the victim of his assault had recovered had long since forgiven the injury. The supposed crime had long weighed on his heart, and his emancipation from the galling bonds of self-accusation opened a new prospect in life, and gave his activity a new direction. He had secured claims to large tracts of land, and was considered one of the wealthiest men in Kentucky. On the announcement of peace he repaired to his claim on Salt River, and began cultivating it. A considerable settlement gathered about him, and, having prepared a home for his parents, he set out in the late fall of 1783 to visit Virginia for the first time since his flight, nearly thirteen years before. His reception by his family, and even by his old-time rival, was of the most cordial character; old differences were forgotten, and the illustrious scout, whose exploits were the theme of every fireside discussion, became the hero of the hour.

The hardy pioneer spent little time in such seductive dalliance, and early in the spring, with the whole family, whom he had induced by his glowing description to emigrate, he reached Redstone. Here, while preparations were being made to continue the journey by water, his father died and was buried. The rest of the party subsequently proceeded to their destination. At this time the route followed by the great tide of immigration was by way of the river to Limestone (Maysville), and thence by the old trail to the interior. This travel made the site of Kenton's old camp and claim especially valuable, and in July, 1784, he repaired to this point with a party, intent upon establishing a station upon his land. A blockhouse was built, but the Indians, while not generally renewing active hostilities, were beginning to show their restlessness and dissatisfaction by sundry depredations which discouraged Kenton's companions from joining in his venturesome project, and the enterprise was for the time abandoned. In the fall, however, Kenton resolved to take advantage of the circumstances, which were likely to enhance the value of his property, and removed his family to this exposed region. A few of the more venturesome families joined him at once, and in the succeeding spring many newcomers swelled the new station into a strong frontier settlement. Here the distinguished hunter discharged the duties of captain and leader of the settlement with the same success that had crowned his efforts as scout and guide. About 1799,* after reaching the rank of major, and taking an active part in all the campaigns which followed the renewal of the Indian war, he went to the newer lands north of the Ohio, confounded by the subtleties of the land-laws, robbed by unprincipled speculators and beggared by land-suits.

Boone, also, in all his instincts, tastes and habits, was closely allied to this class of "first settlers." He had, at the same time, a prudent regard for the future, which led him to labor for an eventful competence for his family, and amid all the strange vicissitudes of the frontier he never neglected the cultivation of his plantation near Boonesborough. He was, in fact, one of those connecting links between the hunter and the farmer which blended the social product of the early adventurers into the more stable form of society which arose out of the influence of the pioneer husbandman. After the declaration of peace, his name loses significance in the annals of the border, and while at one time he occupied a prominent place in the county government, and once represented the frontier in the Virginia assembly, he was soon superseded in those functions, and wandered

*Appendix A, Note 18.

amid the scenes of an expanding civilization, a relic of a by-gone period, unappreciative and unappreciated.

In 1779 he accumulated a considerable sum in paper money, amounting to $20,000, it is said, and set out for Richmond, Va., to invest it in land warrants, but on his way he was unfortunately robbed of the whole of it. He subsequently made claims to considerable land, but eventually lost it all through the intricacies of the law. Rendered discontented by misfortunes, which his unfamiliarity with and distaste for legal niceties made him incapable of repairing or avoiding, he began to long for the untrammeled freedom of the forest. His family no longer needed his care, and about 1794, with his wife, he left Kentucky never again to find here his abode until the State brought his remains to be interred in the public cemetry at Frankfort.* Subsequently the commonwealth,

Slowly wise and meanly just,
To buried merit raised the tardy bust.

MONUMENT TO DANIEL BOONE.

These figures, whose outlines a happy chance has fixed upon the historic page, were not dissimilar to the throng which constituted the advance line of civilization on the border. Of the many, only here and there an exaggerated tale perpetuates the memory of their valor or their virtues, and of them it may be written, as it was of the Romans: "History has left a thousand of their more brilliant actions unrecorded, which would have done them great honor, but for want of eloquent historians." To the curious gaze of the foreigner, these people presented an object of peculiar interest, and a French traveler, who descended the Ohio in 1802, has left the following pen-picture of a common representative of the class:

Before we arrived at Marietta, we fell in with one of these *settlers*, an inhabitant of the neighborhood of Wheeling, who, like us, was descending the Ohio, and we kept together for two days. Alone, in a canoe of eighteen or twenty feet long, and twelve or fifteen inches wide, he was going to visit the banks of the Missouri, at 150 miles from its mouth. The excellent quality of the land, which is reported to be more fertile than the banks of the Ohio, and which the Spanish government at that time distributed *gratis*, the multitude of beavers, elks, and more particularly of bisons, were the motives which induced him to emigrate into these distant countries, from whence, when he had determined on a convenient spot to settle with his family, he had to return and seek them on the banks of the Ohio, which obliged him to make a voyage of 1,400 or 1,500 miles three times.

His dress, like that of all the American hunters, consisted of a round waist-coat with sleeves, a pair of pantaloons, and a broad woolen girdle of a red and yellow color. A carbine, a *tomahawk*, a small hatchet used by the Indians to cut wood and to complete the death of their enemies, two beaver traps and a large knife hanging to his girdle, composed his hunting equipage. One blanket was all his baggage. Every evening he encamped on the banks of the river, or passed the night by a fire, and when he judged the spot to be favorable to the chase, he penetrated into the woods for several days and, from the produce of his hunting, procured the means of subsistence, and obtained fresh supplies with the skins of the animals he had killed.

Such were the first inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee, of whom very few are now left. It was they who began to clear those fertile countries and wrested them from the savages, who obstinately disputed the possession of them; it was they who finally secured the property in them after five or six years of bloody war. But, long habituated to a wandering, unemployed life, they were unable to enjoy the fruits of their toil, or to benefit by the

*Appendix A, Note 19.

extraordinary value to which they had raised these lands in a short time; they have emigrated into more remote countries, where they are forming new establishments.*

These western nomads were not the precursors of the permanent population in every settlement. Like birds of passage their flight was "from zone to zone," and once the migration was begun they did not stay their course until they reached the remote locality to which rumor, or a kind of instinct, led them. It was a common occurrence for the head of a family to be moved by a sudden impulse to go "farther west." With the facility of the Arabs, the whole household would be on its way in a day or two, sometimes in as many hours, and, boldly plunging into the unmarked wilderness, travel hundreds of miles,

Lone, wandering, but not lost.

Occasionally, necessitated by the exigency of the way, a stop would be made long enough "to raise a crop," but, this secured, the journey was resumed and prosecuted to the end. This class of immigrants left slight impress of their personality upon permanent social institutions, but their service to the State was none the less real. Fitted by their tastes and experience to meet the rude shock of border life, they prepared the way for higher forms of society, and then passed off the stage of action almost unheeded.

The pioneer husbandman was a more prosaic figure, and while more permanent than his predecessor, he paved his way to obscurity by the unobtrusive diligence which alone insured his permanence. It will be observed that he was the successor of the "first settler" in wielding the dominant social influence rather than in the matter of immigration. He was among the earliest to reach the frontier, though doubtless in fewer numbers; and here amid the distractions and dangers of an Indian war he gradually extended the area of his clearings, furnished the sinews of war, and, in case of a general expedition, swelled the ranks of the invading army. Many of this class were men of some wealth, for the time, who "took up" large areas of land and on some favorable spot erected a station. Such places of protection were the welcome resort of the less provident class, who, in return for board or the use of certain lands, became the retainers of the founders of the station.

It is difficult to draw a typical figure of these pioneers. Like the men of average and general uniform characteristics of to-day, who constitute the "forgotten millions" of the world, they can be reckoned only in the mass, and indiscriminately designated as "the people" of that day. Among them, more distinguished than the many, may be mentioned the founder of the first settlement in Kentucky, James Harrod. Nothing is known of his early antecedents. He probably came from the Pennsylvania border of Virginia, and justly claimed the distinction of having erected the first cabin in Kentucky. He was tall, erect and commanding in appearance, bold, resolute, and energetic in action, and possessed qualities of a lofty and generous nature. He was unlearned in books, but deeply read in nature and human character. His mild and conciliating manners, his integrity and generous kindness, served to attract and hold in friendly allegiance the rudest characters with whom he came in contact, and made him a power, which neither the advantage of wealth nor prestige could withstand.

In the first years of the Kentucky settlements, when Indian hostilities made stations the only prudent form of habitation, and when the growth and stability of such stations depended upon the numbers that could be attracted to them, Harrod found no difficulty in establishing the most popular one on the frontier, the influence of which eventually proved the most stubborn obstacle to the success of the Transylvania colony, although supported by the reputation of Daniel Boone. Up to 1783, Harrodsburg, originally known as Harrod's Town, continued to be the largest settlement beyond the Big Sandy, and the center of frontier influence. But with the division of Kentucky into three counties, Harrod, whose public importance had some time before begun to wane, became one of the people.

*Michaux's Travels, pp. 136–138.

From the first, Harrod was diverted from the cultivation of his land only by the exigencies of the situation. He was an adept in the use of the rifle, and took keen pleasure in the excitement of the hunt, but in this pursuit he was eminently practical; he hunted for the necessary food which his skill enabled him to procure. He was a formidable adversary to the hostile Indians, and during the first three or four years was prominent as a partisan leader. In succeeding years, when the number of settlers had somewhat increased, he seemed to have left the performance of these duties to others to whom they were more congenial. The attempt of some writers to make him figure as an "Indian-slayer" appears entirely gratuitous. While incidents are related which show him to have possessed a spirit of great daring, his noted encounters with the savages were unsought, and occurred when alone in quest of game. His widow related an incident which is characteristic of the man:

> When in the fort, I dreamed one night that the Indians had attacked some of our men outside the fort; and that when my husband ran out to help them, I saw an Indian shoot him, and when he fell, stoop over and stab him. The very next day three men were chopping on a log on the creek alongside the old Harrod fort, close by, when we heard guns fire and saw the three men killed and the Indians scalping them. The Colonel started out with the others, but so forcibly now was my dream impressed upon me that I clung to him. He forcibly tore himself from me, and hurried out. I ran up to the highest point and looked out. The Indians were in turn fired upon, and I saw the Colonel shoot one and run him a short distance down the creek, and when the Indian fell, I plainly saw my husband stoop over (just the "contrary" of my dream) and stab him. When he came back, he did not exult, but seemed distressed, and said he wished never to kill another of the poor natives, who were defending their fatherland, and that this feeling was forced upon him by the rebound of his knife, when he plunged it into the heart of the fallen Indian, who looked up so piteously into his face. He shed a tear when telling me.*

Abundant testimony to his kindly spirit is found in all the books of border tales. New comers, whether prospectors, speculators or surveyors, found a cordial welcome at his station, the reputation of which found its way across the border. Inexperienced settlers found him, in many a case of need, a providential friend, who, without solicitation, provided a haunch of venison, restored a missing animal, or recovered a stolen implement, as though that was his sole business in the world. No case of distress appealed to him in vain, and there were few families in the central settlements to whom his disinterested kindness had not given special cause for gratitude. "In after times," says Gov. Morehead, "when peace and quiet ensued, and the range of the buffalo was filled up with a civilized and enterprising population, and he had become the father of an interesting family, the veteran pioneer would turn away from the scenes of domestic and social life, and plunge again into the wilderness to indulge himself in the cherished enjoyments of his earlier years. From one of these excursions into a distant part of the country he never returned."*

Of those who directed the larger movements of frontier society, the names of Trigg, Floyd, Todd, Clark and Logan were more prominent—names which have not lost their brightness even in the blaze of what it is common to call the civilization of the nineteenth century. In no period of the State's development has its destiny been shaped with greater fidelity or more conspicuous ability than it was by these noble-minded men during the first two decades of its history, but it is of "the people" that this chapter is designed to treat.

The settlement of Kentucky was made under conditions somewhat different from those met with elsewhere on the western border. Nowhere else was the Indian opposition urged with equal determination; nowhere else were the settlements so completely isolated and dependent upon their own unaided resources; and nowhere else were such meagre numbers so often called to defend their homes, not only from the assaults of overwhelming savage hordes, but of savages led by trained officers, re-enforced by white soldiers, and supplied with the most effective war material of the day. How this was accomplished, un-

*Dr. Christopher Graham in Collins, Vol. II, p. 615.

*Appendix A, Note 20.

aided, save by an unwavering fortitude and the rude defenses of the station, may be read in the thousand tales of daring exploits, of personal heroism, and of unselfish devotion which have their scenes in Kentucky.

At the same time, these tales are not to be relied upon as a complete portraiture of the people. They were not uncouth knights-errant, nor was woodcraft a species of witchcraft. Kentucky immigrants were drawn from the same classes as their contemporaries in other parts of the border, though circumstances already pointed out had a powerful influence in remolding their character as a whole. The approach to this famous "cane-land" was not made by the ordinary extension of the frontier, and a considerable extent of good land intervened between the old and the new settlements. The story of its attractions had reached far into the interior, and emigrants were drawn hither by its enchantments rather than urged by their necessities, and, once in possession, they adopted it as their native land, and defended it with the fervor of patriotism. The spirited opposition with which their advent was met had a salutary influence in driving out the faint-hearted, so that of those who remained each was a hero in the strife. Otherwise the Kentucky pioneer was not unlike his fellows elsewhere. He brought to his new home only the accomplishments of the woodsman. He was a good marksman, was well versed in the habits of familiar game, possessed a keen faculty of observation, and was teachable, patient, persevering. The rest he learned from his experience here.

Upon the character of men thus endowed, the stirring scenes of Kentucky, from 1775 to 1795, could not fail to leave a deep impress. New dangers and difficulties developed new powers to meet and overcome them. Men, whose early experience at most had only revealed the crude astronomy by which they traced their course in the unmarked wilderness, and the natural science which led them to discover the meaning of a mossy bark or the peculiar trail of the various animals, now learned to read a deep significance in a displaced leaf, the bending of a twig, a floating log, or the turning of a human foot-print. Instead of studying the habits of the savage beasts, the pioneer's attention was drawn to a grander quarry, and insensibly acquired many of the habits of the object they so persistently studied. In many respects, Campbell's picture of the Indian might well be applied to the pioneer:

> As monumental bronze unchanged his look:
> A soul that pity touched, but never shook;
> Train'd from his tree-rocked cradle to his bier,
> The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook;
> Impassive—fearing but the shame of fear—
> A stoic of the woods—a man without a tear.

A characteristic story is told of one of the prisoners captured by the Indians at the battle of Blue Lick. With two companions he was taken to Detroit, and in the route passed through several towns of the natives, at each of which he was compelled to run the gauntlet. On one occasion, taking advantage of the arrangement of the Indians, he ran so close to one of the ranks as to come out almost unhurt. Immediately running up to a young warrior, with equal strength and adroitness, he picked up the astonished Indian and hurled him violently to the ground. In another instant, thrusting his head between another Indian's legs, he threw him over his head; then, springing into the air, he knocked his feet rapidly together, and crowed like a victorious cock, finishing this remarkable performance by rallying the natives as a pack of cowards. Such dauntless behavior elicited the admiration of the savages, and one old warrior promptly adopted him as his son.

Such exhibitions were not rare among white captives, and are to be referred for their origin rather to the settler's adoption of the stoicism of the Indian than to a spirit of bravado. There was but little encouragement for the development of such a spirit where all were brave. One excelled another in woodcraft or experience, but all were to be relied upon in emergencies, and many a deed of daring, which is now thoughtlessly assigned to the adventurous class, was done by men in whose quiet career it formed the single notable exception, and was attempted

only after a cool calculation of the alternatives. Such a case is the incident related of Alexander McConnell by McClung.

McConnell was a resident of Lexington. He had been out on foot, in quest of deer, had killed one, and had returned to the station for his horse to bring in the game. In his absence, a party of five Indians had chanced upon the carcass, and correctly divining its meaning, they carefully hid near to await the hunter's return. Not suspecting danger, McConnell rode into the ambush; his horse was instantly killed, and while freeing himself from the fallen animal, he was pounced upon by the savages and borne off. His captors, who appear to have been in a peculiarly pleasant mood, permitted him to proceed unbound and to retain his accoutrements. These ill-assorted companions thus traveled harmoniously together for several days, the captive accepting his fate with the *sang froid* of the true borderer, and gaining favor with the savages by his dexterity in providing game for the party.

On approaching the banks of the Ohio, McConnell felt that his chances of escape would be greatly diminished by crossing the river, and he accordingly determined to make an earnest effort to get away at once. His captors had taken the precaution to bind him each night, though not with their accustomed care, but on this occasion he complained strenuously of the pain it caused him, and had the satisfaction of observing that the thong which bound him to the body of the Indian, was only loosely tied to his wrists. Waiting until his captors were asleep, he cast his eyes about for some suggestion, when he saw a knife blade glittering in the light of the camp-fire. This proved to be within reach of his feet, and grasping it with his toes he succeeded in drawing it near and getting it into his hand. In another instant his thongs were severed, and carefully withdrawing from the embrace of his sleeping guard, he was free to escape to the woods.

The success of such a course was very doubtful. His flight would soon be discovered, and a vigorous pursuit made. In that event, with so long a distance to travel, his recapture seemed certain, when death would undoubtedly seal his fate. The only alternative was to destroy his foes, which was a scarcely less hazardous undertaking. There was no opportunity of taking them off in detail; they were notoriously light sleepers, and what was done, must be done quietly and quickly.

After anxious reflections for a few minutes he formed his plan. The guns of the Indians were stacked near the fire, their knives and tomahawks were in sheaths by their sides. The latter he dared not touch for fear of awakening the owners, but the former he carefully removed with the exception of two, and hid them in the woods, where he knew the Indians would not readily find them. He then returned to the spot where the Indians were still sleeping, ignorant of the fate preparing for them, and taking a gun in each hand, he rested the muzzles upon a log within six feet of his victims, and having taken deliberate aim at the head of one and the heart of another, he pulled both triggers at the same moment.

Both shots were fatal. At the report of their guns, the others sprang to their feet, and stared wildly around them. McConnell, who had run instantly to the spot where the other rifles were hid, hastily seized one of them and fired at two of his enemies who happened to stand in a line with each other. The nearest fell dead, being shot through the center of the body; the second fell also, bellowing loudly, but recovering quickly, limped off into the woods as fast as possible. The fifth and only one who remained unhurt darted off like a deer with a yell which announced equal terror and astonishment. McConnell, not wishing to fight any more such battles, selected his own rifle from the stack and made the best of his way to Lexington, where he arrived safely within two days. (McClung.)

A similar development was silently wrought in the female character. Women who, in 1773, terror-stricken by the Indian attack near Cumberland Gap, demanded the retreat of the first emigrants to Kentucky, in later years stood unswerving amid the vicissitudes that made death, wounds, and captivity the almost daily fate of their sex. So accustomed did they become to the violent form of death that, as Judge Hall relates on one occasion, when a young man died the natural way, the woman of the station sat up all night, gazing at the remains as an object of beauty. The matrons of the frontier, in time, seemed to lose all womanish fears and weaknesses, and emulated the dexterity of their fathers, brothers and husbands in the use of the gun

and ax in defense of their homes and children. McClung relates an incident which occurred in the summer of 1787, when the cabin of John Merrill of Nelson County, Ky., was attacked by Indians and defended with singular address and good fortune.

Merrill was alarmed by the barking of a dog about midnight, and, upon opening the door in order to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, he received the fire of six or seven Indians, by which his arm and thigh were both broken. He instantly sank upon the floor and called upon his wife to close the door. This had scarcely been done when it was violently assailed by the tomahawks of the enemy, and a large breach soon effected. Mrs. Merrill, however, being a perfect Amazon, both in strength and courage, guarded it with an ax, and successively killed or badly wounded four of the enemy as they attempted to force their way into the cabin. The Indians then ascended the roof and attempted to enter by way of the chimney; but here again they were met by the same determined enemy. Mrs. Merrill seized the only feather bed the cabin afforded, and hastily ripping it open, poured its contents upon the fire. A furious blaze and stifling smoke instantly ascended the chimney and brought down two of the enemy, who lay for a few moments at the mercy of the woman. Seizing the ax she quickly dispatched them, and was instantly afterward summoned to the door, where the only remaining savage now appeared, endeavoring to effect an entrance while Mrs. Merrill was engaged at the chimney. He soon received a gash in the cheek, which compelled him, with a loud yell, to relinquish his purpose, and return hastily to Chillicothe, where, from the report of a prisoner, he gave an exaggerated account of the fierceness, strength and courage of the "long-knife" squaw.

All were not Amazons in strength, nor was it chiefly by their strength that the women achieved such prodigies of valor which everywhere adorn the pages of frontier history. In presence of mind they were not excelled by the acutest scout, and often outwitted the cunning savage by a bold face or a quickly conceived stratagem. One night, when a settler was forced to be away from his home on business, his wife learned by the snorting of a horse, feeding near by, that the Indians were prowling about. Putting on a bold front, she immediately built up a large blaze in the fire-place, which, sending its light far through the chinks, indicated to the savages the presence of a large company, whereupon they decamped without offering any molestation.

Similar address, under more trying circumstances, was exhibited by the wife of Samuel Daviess, in 1782. On going out of his cabin early one morning, Mr. Daviess was startled, on stepping a few paces from the door, to find an Indian with an upraised tomahawk, barring his return. Entirely unarmed it instantly occurred to him that by running around the cabin he could gain an entrance before his pursuers could overtake him. To think was to act, but on making the circuit he found the cabin occupied by four Indians, whom he had heretofore failed to observe. His pursuer was close upon him; there was no room for hesitation, and he at once plunged into a field of standing corn near by, where, with difficulty, he eluded his pursuer and finally set off for help to the nearest station, five miles away.

The unsuccessful savage, after carefully staining his hands and tomahawk with poke-berries, returned to the cabin and exhibited them to Mrs. Daviess to convince her that there was no hope of rescue. She readily detected the fraud without giving any signs of her discovery, and in response to signs indicated on her fingers that the nearest cabin was eight miles away. Thus lulling the immediate fears of the savages, she slowly arose from the bed and dressed herself and children, at their command. This done, she attracted the Indians by displaying various articles of clothing one after another, and in this way delayed their departure for several hours. Finally, when every resource for effecting delay was exhausted, she was forced to accompany her captors with her children, some of whom were too young to keep pace with the party. Observing this, and knowing the Indians would not hestitate

to murder them to save annoyance, she placed them on the backs of the older boys, and carrying an infant at her breast thus preserved their lives.

By her shrewd devices, the rescuing party was enabled to overtake the Indians about 9 o'clock in the morning. Noticing by the agitation of the savages that the pursuers were close at hand, she saved herself and infant by jumping into a sink-hole just as the whites attacked the band, and rescued the whole family. The elder boy, about eleven years of age, was struck down and scalped, but not killed, and his first utterance on rising was: "Curse that Indian, he has got my scalp."

Children of such parents and brought up in such surroundings could not fail to catch something of the heroic spirit of the times. Quieted in their infancy by suggesting the proximity of the Shawanese, supplied with tomahawk and bows and arrows for their earliest toys, they early displayed a precocity in those accomplishments upon which their safety often depended. It is sometimes said that infants of pioneers were less addicted to crying than those of a later period; but whether this be true or not, numerous well-attested incidents are related where nursing children have passed through the terrors of a midnight attack, and afterward lain quietly in hiding, when a single sound would have sealed the doom of mother and child. Children, at an age when parents are now loth to allow them out of their sight, were then found successfully eluding the savages, uninstructed, and carrying appeals for aid through miles of forest beset by Indians.

Boys were early instructed in the use of firearms, and a rifle or shotgun was usually their first piece of property. As a garrison for the station when the men were drawn off for some expedition, or as messengers and hunters, they performed conspicuous service, and greatly augmented the military strength of the frontier. During the winter of 1776–77, the settlements suffered much from the scarcity of food. The small stock of corn was soon exhausted, and, while the forest teemed with game, the Indians were so numerous and watchful that hunters were almost daily killed or wounded. In this predicament a lad only about seventeen years of age became Harrodsburg's sole dependence. This was James Ray, who was accustomed to mount an old but strong horse, the last of forty head belonging to his step-father, Maj. McGary, and starting off before day-break rode up the beds of streams to hide his trail. After gaining a safe distance from the fort, he spent the day in hunting, and returned by the same route after dark, bringing his game with him. Thus day after day and week after week he successfully eluded the enemy and supplied the fort. Older hunters tried his plan but were discovered, and finally resigned the perilous duty to the lad whose boldness and sagacity preserved him through all the peril which beset him.

A more striking incident is related of some lads from eleven to fourteen years of age. At Col. Pope's settlement, near Louisville, several lads were instructed by a tutor whom the Colonel had engaged for the education of his own sons. One Saturday, five of these boys—two sons of Col. Linn, Brashier, Wells, and a lad whose name is not remembered—taking advantage of a holiday, set off for a hunt. They encamped near the bank of the Ohio, some six miles southwest of Louisville, where a wide bottom and a large pond afforded abundance of game. It was February, and in the night a light snow had fallen, which made their trail perfectly plain. The lurking savages soon discovered it, and just as all had laid down their guns and were busy fastening a bear cub, which they had killed, on the back of the elder Linn, the Indians pounced down upon them.

Escape was impossible, and the lads were hurried over to the White River towns, where they showed such spirit in thrashing the Indian boys who molested them, that they were adopted into the tribes of their delighted captors. Wells was taken to a distant nation, with whom he grew to manhood, married a sister of Little Turtle, and subsequently became a noted and trusty

scout for Gen Wayne. The rest adapted themselves to their new surroundings, but bided their time for an opportunity to escape.

This came at last; several months after their capture, the four boys found themselves at some distance from the village, fishing in the company of an old man and woman. After some natural hesitation they determined to kill their guardians and escape. Their plans were put in execution, and, having dispatched the Indians at night, they took the nearest course for their homes, traveling by night and lying concealed by day. Their flight was soon discovered by the tribe and a vigorous pursuit made, but they fortunately escaped detection until they reached the Ohio opposite Louisville. Here they found themselves in the greatest danger. Firing their guns to attract their friends made no impression upon the whites, as they supposed it was done by the Indians, but their pursuers were thus guided to their vicinity. In this dilemma the boys marched up the river and, constructing a raft, put such as could not swim upon it, while the elder Linn swam and propelled it across the river. They had scarcely got beyond rifle range of the northern shore when the Indians appeared on the bank, but too late to intercept their flight.

In all this there is much material for romance, and it is in this form that pioneer life is too often presented. But it should not be forgotten that the actual experience was far from what such narratives make it. The dangers were real; the heroes, once dead, did not revive to bow before an enthusiastic audience; the "star" was also the "supe;" and the "acting" was done, without tinsel or false color, in the broad glare of everyday life. It was a play only as

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.

The pioneers had their exits and their entrances, and each one played many parts, but necessity and not applause was the motive power. Each year wrought its changes in the scene; increased numbers multiplied the isolated stations; added power changed the military character of the community for the garb of peace; and the unrestrained life of the forest gave place to the less romantic but more enduring forms of civilization.

The remarkable immigration of 1780 marks the turning point. Thenceforward the tide of population flowed across the border with persistent power; cabins sprang up singly or in settlements of two or three throughout the central region, and in 1783, "the settlement of Kentucky was considered as formed." It was no longer viewed as a hunter's paradise, but a place where a home could be readily planted and a competence easily achieved. It is related of Col. William Whitley that, soon after marrying and setting up an independent establishment, he said to his wife that he heard good reports of Kentucky, and believed that they could make a better living there with less hard work. "Then, Billy, if I was you, I would go and see," was her quick response, and acting upon this advice, they were both soon settled on the frontier. Such was the readiness with which so important a change was made, and such the inducement which subsequently led thousands of families to seek the new land.

The route followed by the greater number of these immigrants, and, indeed, from 1780 to the beginning of the present century by all travelers seeking any part of the West, was by the Ohio River. The principal point of embarkation was Redstone Old Fort—Brownsville, Penn.—a place equally accessible from Maryland, Virginia, and in a direct line from Philadelphia and the East. The emigrant from Virginia directed his course to Cumberland, and thence by Braddock's Road to his destination, some sixty miles northwest. Previous to 1783, and for several years later, the roads were impracticable for wheeled vehicles, and overland transportation was effected by means of packhorses. Even to this mode of transportation the paths across the mountains were difficult and often dangerous. In some places they were barely passable; at other points they ran along the brink of a precipice, where a single misstep involved great danger if not

destruction, or were overflown by streams, which it was necessary to ford.

Most of the early settlers had little to bring with them. Farming implements, a few cooking utensils, a small stock of supplies, and the women and children were all that the emigrant found it necessary to provide for. These were placed on the backs of horses, which with one or more cows and an occasional sheep or hog made up the cavalcade, which was led by the men and boys on foot. Horses which carried the younger children were furnished with a pack-saddle, to either side of which was hung a creel, fashioned from hickory withes in the form of a crate. In these were stowed the clothing and bedding, in the center of which a child or two was securely placed and guarded against accidents by strong lacings, which prevented their falling out. Occasionally a creel would break loose and roll with its precious freight along the ground, throwing the whole company into confusion and alarm. Not unfrequently, accidents and difficulties of the way would separate mothers from their children throughout the day, and the whole family assembled only at the evening meal, when the rear of the train reached the chosen stopping place long after the van. No friendly inn then opened its doors to the weary emigrant, nor could they have afforded to pay for its accommodations, had it existed. The meal was prepared in the open air, and the night was well advanced before the tired parents could seek repose in the protection of a blanket in a retired nook by the road-side.

Arrived at Redstone, the first care of the emigrant was to provide a Kentucky boat,* in which to transport his effects to Limestone, which now became the general landing place of emigrants bound for Kentucky. The building of these boats became, at a later date, quite an important business at this place, but the earlier voyagers, either from necessity or motives of economy, constructed their own vessels, which caused considerable delay. The journey was usually so timed that the party arrived early enough to accomplish this preparation before the end of the spring flood, which began about the middle of February and continued about three months. Considerable numbers were often thus brought together at this general rendezvous, and proved of mutual advantage, several families often occupying the same boat, and several boats frequently making the voyage in company. A familiar scene of that period is thus described by Michaux:

> I was alone on the banks of the Monongahela, when, for the first time, I observed five or six of these boats floating down the river. I could not conceive what these large square boxes were, which, abandoned to the current, presented by turns their ends, their sides and their corners. As they approached, I heard a confused noise, but the height of their sides prevented me from distinguishing anything. By getting on the bank of the river, I at length discovered several families in these boats, which also conveyed their horses, their cows, their poultry, their dismounted carriages, their plows, their harness, their beds, their agricultural tools, in fact everything which is required for furnishing a farm house, and cultivating the land. These people abandoned themselves in this manner for several hundred miles to the current of the river, probably without knowing the place where they might stop, and enjoy in tranquility the fruits of their industry, under one of the best governments existing in the world. (Travels Westward, etc., 1802.).

The mouth of Cabin Creek, about five and a half miles above Limestone, had long been the accustomed landing place of Indian war parties from north of the Ohio, and from this point two trails led to the Upper Blue Lick, the one known as the Upper War Road, and the other, sometimes called the Lower War Road, but generally the Buffalo Trace. The Upper Road was the one generally traveled by the whites and best known. War roads were distinctly characterized by their leading by the shortest practical route from one point to another, and by having their course blazed by tomahawk-chips in the trees. Buffalo trails were made by the travel of these animals; were much broader than the others, but were otherwise unmarked and wound along ridges and creeks. From the landing place a trail led to Washington, a settlement three or four miles in the interior, which was for years the only place in this part of the country for

*Appendix A, Note 21.

the accommodation of travelers. Although formally laid out in 1786, under an act of the Virginia assembly, it continued for some years completely hidden in the tall cane which grew upon its site. Here the newcomers gained information as to the lands open to settlers or of improvements for sale, and could procure a guide for the exploration of the country if they wished.

This region was permanently occupied in 1784 by Kenton. A vigorous settlement was planted, but its growth was retarded by the dangers incident to its exposed location until 1790, when it took a new start and increased rapidly. The early immigration, therefore, pushed its way to the interior, where good lands were secured and homes established at a cost scarcely exceeding the labor involved in building a cabin or clearing the ground. Before the general pacification of the Indians, in 1795, few single cabins were reared in localities remote from others. The newcomer would usually select land in the immediate vicinity of some settlement which afforded his family shelter, while he, "camping out" in the meantime, would prepare the new home. When sites at considerable distance from settlements were chosen, it was the custom for several families to join in the enterprise, and locate their lands in such a way as to allow the several cabins to be erected within "supporting" distance of each other.*

The earlier settlers generally brought their families to some strong station, and then, equipped with an ax, rifle, frying-pan and a small stock of salt and meal, the fathers would set out on a prospecting tour, to be gone, frequently, for several months. Before his return he often made the first necessary clearing, and erected a temporary hut to receive his family. Later, as cabins were more frequently found in the country, the immigrant manifested no hesitation in breaking up his home in a distant State, and with his family and household goods, on pack-animals or wagons, start out for a new home, influenced and guided solely by rumors and picked-up information on the road. Deciding upon a locality for his future residence, he found no difficulty in securing temporary shelter for his family in some cabin, already well filled by its owners, but which the simplicity of early manners and an unstinted hospitality rendered elastic enough to comfortably entertain the welcome addition to the community.

A new arrival of this nature was heralded with a cordial welcome for miles about, and a neighborhood, which scarcely knew limits, hastened to lend its friendly offices in rearing a cabin. A day was appointed, and no invitation was needed to draw together a company of willing, capable hands. To assist in raising a cabin for a new family was a duty, which the unwritten law of the community imperatively laid upon every able-bodied man, and to know of the occasion was a sufficient invitation. On gathering, one party was told off as choppers, whose business it was to fell the trees and cut the logs of proper dimensions; a man and team brought these logs to the site of the proposed building; others assorted, "saddled," and otherwise prepared the logs to form the structure, which was finished on one day and occupied the next. It was not unfrequently the case that the necessity of preparing the ground for the first crop obliged the settler to forego the floor, and even a permanent roof, until the planted crop granted the opportunity. In its best estate* it was a rude though not uncomfortable structure: a puncheon floor below, and a clap-board roof above, a small, square window without glass, and a chimney carried up with "cats and clay"—short pieces of small poles firmly imbedded in mud or mortar—to the height of the ridge-pole.

*Appendix A, Note 22.

*There were a few cabins which were quite pretentious, and one of these had the first shingle roof in the county. It belonged to Adams, who sold out to Kennedy in 1809, and is thus described by the latter: "Adams was a thrifty, industrious man, and said to my father, 'I gad, I thought I would build the best and finest house in all the country.' It was constructed of large, hewed white oak logs, twenty-four feet long by eighteen feet wide, covered with black walnut shingles rounded at the butt end, and every one put on with walnut pegs, bored through shingles and lath with a brace and bit. It was a good roof, and lasted about thirty years. Then the lower and upper floors were laid with poplar plank, sawed by hand with a whip-saw, nicely dressed, tongued and grooved, and put down with pegs. Three windows two feet square, with nice shutters, but not a pane of glass, nor a nail in all the house, save in the three doors. For these a few nails were made by a blacksmith, his brother, Andy Adams. The chimneys were of stone, the first in the country, and contained at least 150 loads of rock. The fire-places were six feet wide, with wooden mantel-pieces."—History of Todd County, Ky., published by F. A. Battey Publishing Co., Chicago, 1884.

There was little underwood in any part of the country, and in the more open lands it was only necessary to cut the cane and girdle the larger trees to prepare the ground for cultivation. In the more heavily timbered country the mattock, as well as the ax, was required to prepare the way for the plow and hoe, which were of the simplest construction, and were calculated more for strength and durability than to economize labor. Fortunately the fertility of the soil obviated the necessity of thorough tillage, as the roots, which ramified the soil, successfully defied the strongest plow. The first cultivation of the soil, therefore, was but a tickling of the surface, to which the prolific soil responded with a harvest of from fifty to eighty bushels of corn to the acre.

Maize was invariably the first crop, and until the beginning of the present century the only general crop cultivated in Kentucky. A small space was usually devoted to garden vegetables; a small patch of turnips was sown, the product of which in winter evenings afforded those who had enjoyed apples elsewhere a not unpleasant substitute; and occasionally a secluded spot in the center of the corn-field was devoted to water and musk-melons. It was several years before wheat could be grown on new lands, the weevil and its rank growth preventing its successful cultivation earlier. But even then its culture languished. Emigrants from Virginia and the Southern States brought with them a relish for corn, which is still a marked feature of the culinary predilections of the average Kentuckian; and wheat, save in the case of the emigrant from the Eastern States, or for "company" purposes, was for many years only raised for exportation. Other obstacles to its cultivation were undoubtedly the lack of the superior machinery which was required to prepare it for use, in the rather more exacting nature of its culture, and in the restricted uses to which it could be applied. The ground was prepared with a shovel-plow, and when sown was covered with a wooden-tooth harrow or the bushy limb of a tree. It was cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail, and there was little to relieve the tedium of these duties. The whisky-jug did add a touch of luxury to the work, but the result was rather to intoxicate the laborer than to mitigate the severity of the mid-summer sun, or to dispel the stifling dust.

Nothing could equal the Indian corn for the necessities of settlers in a new and isolated country. It furnished food for man and beast, it often supplied a roof as well as bed, and the harvest could be partially anticipated by several weeks, an availability which was not the least of its recommendations to public favor. Its earliest foes, the squirrel and crow, gave the boys a pleasurable occupation in defending the fields, which often afforded them the first opportunity of using a rifle or shot-gun. After the ear was formed and the grain half-grown, this contest, which had ceased for a time for want of a pretext, was renewed, for the squirrel seemed to recognize the era of "roasting ears" as quickly as the farmer. The tender corn shaved off and eaten in milk was a dish that is still highly praised, and, grated fine, in times of scarcity supplied a very palatable substitute for meal. As the ears ripened, the blades were pulled off and tied in bundles; the tops above the ear were cut off and shocked to cover the "fodder barn;" and finally the ear was pulled and stored to furnish the crowning occasion of the fall, the husking-bee.

Another and important source of wealth, or rather of comfort, which was the form in which frontier affluence expressed itself, was the stock, which immigrants took care to bring with them in unusual variety. Among these the cow obtained a prominence which the plainness of frontier fare exalted to the distinction of a public benefactor. As Dr. Drake expresses the fact—"old Brindle was then a veritable member of the family, and took her slop at the cabin door, while the children feasted on her warm milk within. The calf grew up in their companionship, and disputed with them for its portion of the delicious beverage which she distilled from the cane and luxuriant herbage in which she waded through the day."

Next to the cow, and scarcely second in the estimation of the early Kentuckians, was the horse, which acquired an importance unknown elsewhere on the western border. From the first these animals were used, to the almost entire exclusion of oxen, in all the labors of the frontier. This doubtless arose from the predilections of the people, who came largely from Virginia, where the passion for the horse had been fostered from an early date. The habit and necessity of traveling on horseback emphasized this tendency, and the demand for speed and endurance in the conflict with the Indians added an incentive to the cultivation of this animal, which produced a race-track before the Indians had yielded peaceable possession of the land. The first "track" was probably a straight-quarter-course in the neighborhood of Foxtown, Madison County, where, it is said, an enthusiastic horse-trainer was shot by an Indian from the cane-brake just as he was pulling up his steed at the end of the track.

Swine came quite as much a matter of course as of necessity. They had long occupied an important place in the domestic economy of the section which peopled this country, and later years have so far confirmed this early taste that their favorite meat and cereal, "hog and hominy," have almost become of sectional significance. Sheep were also brought to the new country, but in small numbers. Most families had one or two, which, in some cases, increased to flocks of twenty to forty head, but in more instances the few first brought fell early victims to the wolves. They were brought principally in obedience to the necessity for material from which to manufacture clothing, and sufficient survived for this purpose. They were little cared for as food, and save during the presence of harvest hands, or a large company on other special occasions, mutton seldom graced the farmer's board.

Stock found in this new land a free support, unrestrained in range or bounty. The first settlers found little necessity for giving their stock other care, the year round, than to provide a little salt at stated occasions. Bells were used on all but the hogs, which were marked by sundry slits and crops in the ear and allowed to run at large until wanted for food, when they were found in good condition, to which the abundant fall of nuts amply contributed. Horses were in regular use, and, as the farmer's crop increased, were fed more or less corn. Milch cows were fed the provender preserved from the corn crop, and pumpkins, which were raised for the purpose. In these the sheep sometimes shared, but it was not until the settlements considerably increased that even this was thought necessary. In a later day, when the store of provender ran short, and a peculiarly severe winter made it necessary to provide natural food, which the snow prevented the stock from procuring for themselves, recourse was had to "browsing." For this purpose the farmer drove his stock to the woodland, and, cutting down a red or white elm, or a white hickory, would leave it to the hungry animals, which needed no urging to attack the smaller and tender twigs, and even the bark stripped from the larger parts of the slippery elm. In the meantime the farmer and his boys prepared fuel for the evening fire, or, if not too pressed with care, would be drawn off by sundry tracks in pursuit of "coons" and rabbits.

Sheep were usually folded each night to guard them against the attacks of wolves. This protection consisted of a rude log pen near the cabin, and not unfrequently, when the configuration of the ground permitted, a space under the cabin was devoted to the purpose. As settlements extended, fences sufficient to guard the growing crops from the incursions of hogs and cattle were found necessary, and gradually restricted the home range. The stock was then frequently driven to some distance, where a good scope of unoccupied country and plenty of water afforded the desired range. Here a handful of salt laid on the ground established a rendezvous, which the stock never abandoned. Hunting the cows or horses was not then a trivial undertaking, and the "hunter" would often prosecute his search to such a distance from accustomed landmarks as to be obliged to depend upon the instinct of the animal to lead

him back. Failing to find the animal he was utterly lost, and not unfrequently within two or three miles of home. This service fell principally to the share of the younger members of the family, who early developed so acute and quick observation as to enable them to distinguish the peculiar tone of their own bells from that of their neighbors.*

But outdoor activities were only of secondary importance in solving the problem of pioneer life. These produced the crude materials, but their adaptation to the necessities of life, the development of new possibilities from meager resources,† and the ingenious ameliorations of an experience full of obdurate exactions, pertain to the mysteries of the cabin, the presiding genius of which was the wife and mother. Woman was something more than man's helpmate on the frontier, and after a lapse of nearly two centuries the opinion of the first deliberative assembly on this continent (1619)—that, "in a new plantation, it is not known whether the man or woman be the most necessary"—remained unchallenged.

The interior of the cabin was in harmony with the rude simplicity of its outward construction. Housekeeping conveniences were not yet contrived, and the "inside finish" consisted solely of some pegs driven into the wall for the accommodation of the few articles of spare clothing, and two larger ones, or a pair of buck horns over the fire place, for the rifle. "Moving in" was a trivial affair. The limited possessions of the pioneers and the more restricted mode of early transportation compelled the immigrant to bring only such necessary things as the frontier did not furnish material for making. The furniture consisted of a few articles roughly made on the spot. A split slab, smoothed with an ax and supported by four legs, did duty as a table; three-legged stools or long benches of the same material supplied the place of chairs; a log-trough cradled the baby, while the bed, if raised from the floor, rested upon a one-legged fixture in the corner of the cabin. The bed was often only a few bear and buffalo skins thrown upon the floor, but provident housewives generally took care to bring a bed-tick, which was filled with leaves until the first corn-crop supplied husks for the purpose; and this, covered with bear or buffalo skins, lent a touch of luxury to this necessary feature of cabin furniture.

A similar ingenuity provided kitchen and table utensils, which consisted principally of articles turned or "coopered" out of wood. These included noggins, trays, trenchers, bowls, spoons and ladles, besides the larger vessels, such as buckets, milk-pails, churns, tubs, etc., etc. A kettle and frying-pan or "Dutch-oven" were almost the only metal articles used in the cabin. A tin cup was an article of delicate luxury, almost as rare as an iron fork, and few knives were to be found save those which each man carried as a part of his equipment; at best, two or three sufficed for the use of the family. Another article, which was an important factor in the domestic economy of the cabin, was the grater. A piece of tin, eight or nine inches long, its surface closely set with the jagged results of rude perforations, was bent in semicircular form and fastened to a piece of wood. On this the unripe corn, too soft to pound or grind, was reduced to a sort of pulp, which could then be made into bread or otherwise prepared for food. It was often called the "blood-mill," from the frequent lacerations which befel the fingers of those who operated it. When the grain became harder, the "hominy-block," to be found about every cabin, was brought into requisition. This was a rude wooden mortar, the concavity of which was made by burning and scraping. The pestle was an iron wedge let into a wood

*The faculty of distinguishing the delicate differences in ordinary sounds was one of the prime essentials in successful woodcraft, and was possessed by all pioneers in a wonderful degree. An incident related by Judge Robertson in a public address, in 1843, illustrates this feature of the frontier education Among the captured whites at the battle of Blue Lick was an excellent husband and father. He fortunately escaped the fate of many of his comrades in captivity, but for a year his wife and friends knew only that he was reported certainly dead—killed on the field of battle. She, however, hoped against reason, and when wooed by another, postponed the nuptials, declaring her belief that her husband would return. "Her expostulating friends finally succeeding in their efforts to stifle her affectionate instinct, she reluctantly yielded, and the nuptial day was fixed. But just before it dawned, the crack of a rifle was heard near her lonely cabin. At the familiar sound she leaped out like a liberated fawn, ejaculating as she sprang, 'That's John's gun.' It was John's gun, sure enough; and in an instant she was once more in her lost husband's arms" (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 289)

†The wife of William Poague, who came to Harrodsburg in 1776, brought the first spinning wheel to Kentucky, and, her husband having contrived a rude loom by sinking the posts in the ground and piecing the beams and sleys to them, she made the first linen manufactured in the State from the lint of nettles, and the first linsey-woolsey from this lint and buffalo wool.

en handle, which was often attached to a spring-pole to aid the operation.

In this day of diversified industry, when one labor-saving invention crowds another off the stage in endless and rapid succession, one can scarcely comprehend the patient, persevering effort required of the pioneer housewife, even for the successful discharge of the ordinary duties of the cabin. The lack of costly furniture, unwholesome carpets, of fragile bric-a-brac and expensive hangings, did not lessen her care. She was both mistress and servant, matron and nursery-maid, housekeeper and charwoman, dairy-maid and cook. Neatness was not less demanded of her than of the modern housewife, and her split-broom and scrub-brush found ample service in keeping floor and furniture clean and white. Food was abundant and wholesome, but, like everything else that the pioneer possessed, it was to be derived only from the crude natural product. The richest milk, the choicest butter, and the finest meats, with wild fruit, nuts and honey, were to be had for the trouble of taking them from Nature's bountiful hand. Bread was most difficult to obtain, and its scarcity was often a great privation. At such times the corn-pone was esteemed a great luxury, but this would at length pall on the taste, and the settler would yearn for the "neat and abounding wheat-bread trays" of his earlier home.*

The labor involved in this was not unequally divided between the sexes. "The men hunted and brought in the meat; they planted, plowed and gathered the corn; grinding it into meal at a hand-mill, or pounding it into hominy in the mortar, was occasionally the work of either, or the joint labor of both." But with these offices women's labor was scarcely begun. Custom and necessity united to lay upon her the duty of providing for every household need that the rude agriculture of the period did not supply, and in all the multifarious activities which engaged her skill and energy, she labored unaided by labor-saving machinery. And so she milked the cows in all weather, while sturdy men and boys watched an operation too effeminate to enlist their service; churned the butter and pressed the cheese; carried the tubs to the spring or caught rain-water for the weekly "washing" from the eaves in troughs and barrels; made her own soft-soap; washed, picked, carded and dyed the wool; pulled, broke, hatcheled and bleached the hemp; spun the thread, and wove the cloth; contrived and made the garments; reared her children, nursed the sick, sympathized with the distressed and encouraged the disheartened laborer at her side. In all this, and above it all, woman was the tutelar saint of the frontier.

The dress of the women consisted of linen and linsey-woolsey—linen and wool combined. An over-shadowing sun-bonnet of linen, neatly washed and ironed, and a check apron made of the heavier material, with home-made stockings and a pair of heavy cowhide shoes, constituted the lady's outfit for the most important occasion. Deer skins were much used in men's wear, and both men and women so much resembled the savages in their general attire, that in the excitement of an attack they were often mistaken for Indians.*

The hunting-shirt was universally worn. This was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting-shirt itself. The bosom of this dress served as a wallet to hold a chunk of bread, cakes, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or warrior. The belt, which was always tied behind, answered several purposes beside that of holding the dress together. In cold weather the mittens, and sometimes the bullet-bag, occupied the

*Dr. Drake relates that when a little child he cried and begged for bread, which could not be had, until his parents were obliged to leave the table to hide their distress. Casseday (Hist. of Louisville, p. 31,) records "that when the first patch of wheat was raised about this place, after being ground in a rude and laborious hand-mill, it was sifted through a gauze neckerchief, as the best bolting cloth to be had. It was then shortened with raccoon fat, and the whole station invited to partake of a sumptuous feast upon flour cake."

*Numerous incidents illustrative of this fact are to be found throughout the tales of the border. In the rescue of the Callaway sisters and Jemima Boone, Elizabeth Callaway was found sitting against a tree with a red bandanna handkerchief on her head. One of the rescuers was about to bring the raised butt of his gun down upon her head with fatal force, when one who happened to recognize her warded off the blow. Coomes, who figured in an adventure near Harrodsburg, was subsequently out with a party getting corn at a distant crib, when the Indians made an attack, killing eight of the whites at the first fire. The blood of a comrade was spattered in Coomes' face, and so changed his appearance that a comrade leveled his rifle at him which the former observed barely in time to declare his identity. These incidents might be added to almost indefinitely.

front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping knife in its leathern sheath.*

The hunting-shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deer skins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers or breeches and leggins were the dress of thighs and legs, and a pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. These were made of dressed deer-skins. They were mostly made of a single piece, with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another from the bottom of the heel, without gathers, as high as the ankle joint or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the legs by thongs of deer skins, so that no dust, gravel or snow could get within the moccasin.

The moccasins in ordinary use cost but a few hours' labor to make them. This was done by an instrument denominated a moccasin-awl, which was made of the back spring of an old clasp knife. This awl, with its buck-horn handle, was an appendage of every shot-pouch strap, together with a roll of buck-skin for mending the moccasin. This was the labor of almost every evening. They were sewed together and patched with deer-skin thongs, or *whangs*, as they were commonly called. In cold weather the moccasins were well stuffed with deer's hair or dry leaves, so as to keep the feet comfortably warm; but in wet weather it was usually said that wearing them was a "decent way of going barefooted;" and such was the fact, owing to the spongy texture of the leather of which they were made.

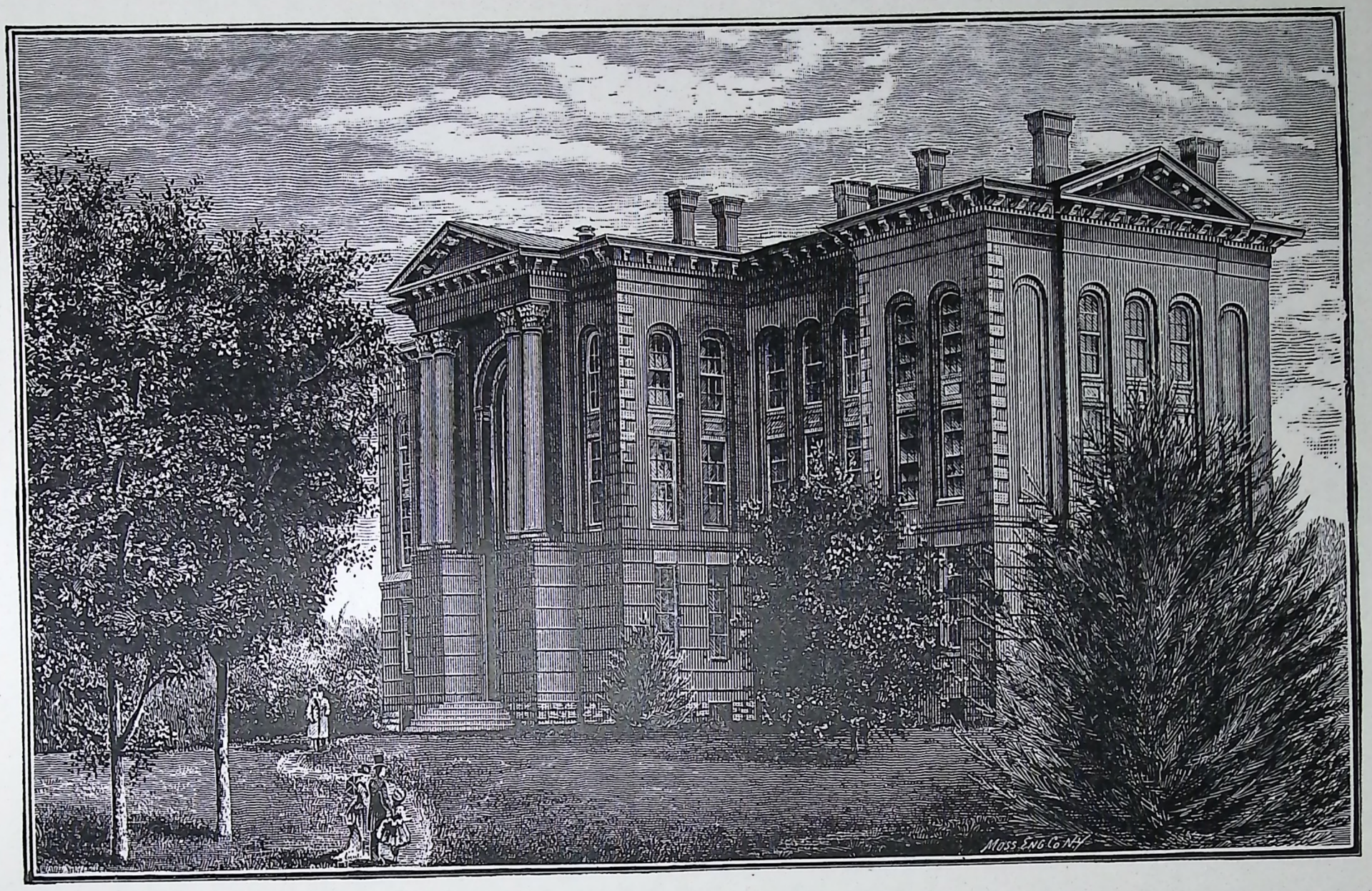
Owing to this defective covering of the feet, more than to any other circumstance, the greater number of our hunters and warriors were afflicted with rheumatism in their limbs. Of this disease they were all apprehensive in wet and cold weather, and therefore always slept with their feet to the fire to prevent or cure it as well as they could. This practice unquestionably had a very salutary effect, and prevented many of them from becoming confirmed cripples in early life.†

*An almost inseparable companion of the early Kentuckian was the rifle, a small bored, long, heavy barreled gun, with flint lock. It required only a small charge, and up to 150 yards, the ordinary limit of forest range, it was exceedingly accurate. Such was the prejudice in favor of the long barrel that no other gun was thought fit for a woodsman. It is related that when the first attempt to run the boundary line between Kentucky and Tennessee was made, one of the guard, which attended the surveying party, had a short rifled gun, which was an object of derision to the whole party. On one occasion Dr. Walker called up the owner of the despised weapon, and said: "We don't think much of your short gun, but here's a chance to test it—a target for you; hit it if you can." The object was a turkey's head, about 100 yards distant, upon a dead limb of a standing tree. More in a spirit of desperation than of confidence, the challenged marksman drew sight on the object, fired, and brought down the bird. His success was greeted with approving shouts of the company, and Walker said, if his father had risen from the dead, and told him he could kill that turkey with that thing, he would not have believed it. (See Appendix A, Note 23.)

†Doddridge's Notes, p. 114.

Early emigrants came principally from the "back settlements" of the Atlantic colonies. With few exceptions they came from the poorer farming classes, and possessed little of the refinement to be found in the older communities in the region from which they came. But where refinement did exist, a few months of isolation and an experience of the dependence of each family upon the friendly offices of every other served to do away with any fastidiousness which may have been cherished at first, and gradually molded the whole community into a homogeneous society. The average early settlement consisted of a cluster of clearings—from two to ten acres in extent and inclosed by a brush fence—separated by intervening forests, through which foot-trails, bridle-paths, and, finally, narrow wagon-ways wound their devious course amid stumps, pitfalls and other obstacles to travel. Thus, a dozen or more clearings were often situated within sound of a rifle or falling tree, but completely hidden in the forest, and only marked as the site of human habitation by a one-story round-log cabin, about which four or five ragged children pursued their noisy play. Neighborhoods were not limited to such narrow bounds, however, but several such settlements, situated miles apart, were closely linked together by social ties.

Social gatherings were frequent and were closely allied to useful occupations. Meetings to raise log-cabins, barns, etc., to roll up logs in a new clearing, or later for the opening of new roads, were occasions when the men, after a hard day's work, would spend the evening in the rough sports of the period. "Profanity, vulgarity and drinking" are described by Dr. Drake as the "most eminent characteristics" of these gatherings. "All drank, though not to excess, but all, of course, did not participate in other vices; yet I am bound to say that coarse jocularities were scarcely frowned upon by any. Some sort of physical amusements, including fights, in which biting and gouging were essential elements, with the beastly intoxication of several, would generally wind up these



CENTRE COLLEGE, MAIN BUILDING, DANVILLE.—SEE PAGE 504.

meetings."* Other gatherings in which the women took the leading part were quilting and spinning-bees. "Toward evening the younger men would assemble and amuse themselves by athletic exercises without, and talking to and 'plaguing the gaals' within the cabin. The quilt being removed, the supper table took its place, and after the ladies had risen from the cream of the feast, the gentlemen, who had whetted their appetites by drinking whisky and looking on, proceeded to glut themselves on the *reliquiæ*. Then came on plays of various kinds, interlarded with jokes and bursts of laughter till bed-time, when the dispersion took place."

Corn huskings engaged both sexes, and were popular sources of rude but absorbing amusement.

When the crop was gathered in, the ears were heaped into a long pile or rick, a night fixed on, and the neighborhood notified rather than invited, for it was an affair of mutual assistance. As they assembled at nightfall, the green-glass-quart-whisky-bottle, stopped with a cob, was handed to every one, man and boy, as they arrived, to take a drink. A sufficient number to constitute a sort of quorum having arrived, two men, or more commonly two boys, constituted themselves, or were by acclamation declared captains. They paced the rick and estimated its contractions and expansions with the eye, till they were able to fix on the spot on which the end of the dividing rail should be.

The choice depended on the tossing of a chip, one side of which had been spit upon; the first choice of men was decided in the same manner, and in a few minutes the rick was charged upon by the rival forces. As others arrived, as soon as the owner had given each the bottle, he fell in according to the end that he belonged to. The captains planted themselves on each side of the rail, sustained by their most active operatives. There at the beginning was the great contest, for it was lawful to cause the rail to slide or fall toward your own end, shortening it and lengthening the other. Corn might be thrown over unhusked, the rail might be pulled toward you by the hand dexterously applied underneath, your feet might push corn to the other side of the rail, your husked corn might be thrown so short a distance as to bury up the projecting base of the pile on the other side; if charged with any of these tricks, you of course denied it, and there the matter sometimes rested; at other times the charge was reaffirmed, then rebutted with "you're a liar," and then a fight, at the moment or at the end, settled the question of veracity.

The heap cut in two, the parties turned their backs upon each other, and making their hands keep time with a peculiar sort of tune, the chorus of voices on a still night might be heard a mile. The oft-replenished whisky bottle meanwhile circulated freely, and at the close the victorious captain, mounted on the shoulders of some of the stoutest men, with the bottle in one hand and his hat in the other, was carried in triumph around the vanquished party amidst shouts of victory, which rent the air. Then came the supper, on which the women had been busily employed, and which always included a "pot-pie." Either before or after eating the fighting took place, and by midnight, the sober were found assisting the drunken home. (Pioneer Life in Kentucky; pp. 54–56.)

Courtship and marriage were marked by the same rude zest. There was a little romance and less formality in frontier life, and marriage was viewed with far more practical concern then than now. There was little philandering; the character of pioneer recreations brought the young of both sexes frequently together, and marriages were made up with little previous formality. It was quite the thing, if the young man possessed the means, to escort one's lady-love to church on horse-back; the less fortunate swain met his sweetheart at the church and walked home with her. On such occasions it was no uncommon occurrence, after getting out of sight of the church, for the young lady to remove her morocco slippers and stockings—when stores finally brought such luxuries in reach—and walk home with her escort barefooted. If an old pioneer* may be trusted, "the general custom was to see your sweetheart at night, take your seat by her and embrace her in your arms, with many kisses sometimes reciprocated; take her in your lap, with your arms wound around each other in

*Drake's "Pioneer Life in Kentucky," p. 184: A meeting for road-making in 1797 is described in the autobiography of Rev. Jacob Young. The company consisted of about 100 men, each provided with an ax, three days' provisions and a knapsack for baggage, under the direction of a captain. The day was spent in hard work, and as it was in November, and the night promised to be cold, large fires were built. This done and supper eaten, hunting stories and "some pretty fine singing under the circumstances," were the order. "Thus far well, but a change began to take place. They became very rude and raised the war-whoop. Their shrill shrieks made me tremble. They chose two captains, divided the men into two companies, and commenced fighting with fire-brands—the log heaps being burned down. The only law for their government was that no man should throw a brand without fire on it, so that they might know how to dodge. They fought for two or three hours in perfect good nature till brands became scarce, and they began to violate the law. Some were severely wounded, blood began to flow freely, and they were in fair way of commencing a fight in earnest. At this moment the loud voice of the captain rang out above the din, ordering every man to retire to rest. They dropped their weapons of warfare, rekindled the fires and laid down to sleep." (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 734.)

*Hon. Urban E. Kennedy, for seventy years a resident of Todd County, Ky. (See History of Todd County; pp. 56 and 273.)

all innocence and virtue." In describing an instance, where with a friend he put this theory into practice, the same gentleman gives the following illustration of early courtship:

Well, Henry took his girl to one corner and I the other one in the remote opposite corner. We sat down as close as we could, and Henry laid off his fine beaver (which cost $12) carefully in the corner near the wall, and happened to set it very plumb in the skillet, in which they had fried meat for supper. It was quite dark in the house; the little fire had gone out, so we enjoyed ourselves until the small hours of the night. I proposed that we leave, and Henry, seizing his hat by the brim, raised with it the skillet and all. The gravy, a half inch deep, had cooled enough to stick tight. He soon discovered the situation, and the poor girls were greatly mortified. They got a little stump of a tallow dip, and with a case-knife we scraped off all we could. We were not in the habit of swearing, but Henry said that he could not do the subject justice without some profanity.

The early settlers generally married young, boys of eighteen and girls of sixteen entering into the marriage relation. There were no arbitrary social distinctions, a family establishment cost little more than labor to provide, and there were no prudential reasons to prevent the first impression of love being speedily followed by marriage. This was the usual order, and was a matter which enlisted the eager interest of the whole community. The wedding was a public occasion, and the only one in the social *regime* of the frontier that was not associated with a season of vigorous exertion. It was anticipated, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction, and was attended by a revel in which the wildest spirit of frolic ruled the hour.

The wedding commonly occurred in the daytime. In the morning of the appointed day the groom with his friends of both sexes set forth on horseback from the house of his father in time to reach their destination about noon. On reaching a point about a mile from the bride's residence, two young men of the party would elect to "run for the bottle," and starting at a given signal would rush their horses by the most direct practicable route to the cabin. The more difficult the way, the better the sport, and logs, brush, swail, hills and hollows were passed unheeded in their eager emulation for the victory. The one first at the door received from the bride's father a bottle of whisky, with which the victor returned to the approaching cavalcade, and, first presenting the trophy to the groom, it rapidly made its way to the mouth of man and maid throughout the company, when it was returned to the victor. The ceremony followed the arrival of the company; the dinner, made up of a great variety of substantial food and whisky, succeeded, after which dancing or games were begun and generally kept up until next morning.

About 9 or 10 o'clock, a deputation of the young ladies stole off with the bride and put her to bed in the loft; and this done, a delegation of young men took the groom and snugly placed him beside her. The merriment then went on, and if seats were scarce, as was generally the case in the frontier cabins, the young men, when not engaged upon the floor, were obliged to offer their laps as seats for the girls, an offer that was never rejected. In the zest of the wedding hilarity, the bride and groom were not forgotten. Late in the night some one would suggest that the new couple must be in need of refreshments, and "black Betty"—the whisky bottle—with a generous allowance of the fragments of the substantial dinner, would be sent up by a deputation, and bride and groom obliged to partake of a liberal portion of the fare provided. On the following day the "infare" would be held at the cabin of the groom's father, and thither the picturesque cavalcade, "headed by the bride and groom," would early wend its way. Here the scenes of the wedding occasion would be re-enacted "with such new accompaniments as new members of the company could suggest, or the inventions of a night of excited genius had brought forth."

Dancing was not a universal custom. Many of the early settlers were piously opposed to this form of amusement, but there were few settlements from which the exercise was entirely excluded. As described by Doddridge, "the figures of the dance were

three or four-handed reels, and square sets and jigs. The commencement was always a square four, which was followed by what was called jigging it off; that is, two of the four would single out for a jig, and were followed by the remaining couple. The jigs were often accompanied with what was called cutting out; that is, when either of the parties became tired of the dance, on intimation the place was supplied by some one of the company without any interruption of the dance. In this way the dance was often continued till the musician was heartily tired of his situation. Toward the latter part of the night, if any of the company, through weariness, attempted to conceal themselves for the purpose of sleeping, they were hunted up, paraded on the floor, and the fiddler ordered to play "Hang on till to-morrow morning."

The use of intoxicants was nearly universal. For a short time the first settlers were abstainers from the force of circumstances. The nearest point where whisky could be obtained was hundreds of miles away, and its importation as well as manufacture was rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the hostile activity of the savages. But it was hardly to be expected that a class of people who had been educated to use it as a regular beverage would be forced to settle down to the practice of total abstinence by a danger which they braved without hesitation for objects of a much less pressing nature. When its manufacture was first introduced into Kentucky has not been ascertained, but its sale in hotels was regulated as early as 1781, and it was certainly manufactured here as early as 1783, if not before. As has been indicated in the foregoing pages, it rapidly came into general use, and formed a part of not only every public entertaiment, but of every cabin's hospitality. For a friend to call and find the bottle empty occasioned the host a feeling of chagrin, and gave rise to a suspicion of stinginess in the mind of the caller. There were some, however, who were exceptions to the general rule. These were usually Methodists, whose discipline required abstinence, but it was a cause of reproach among members of other sects, and of no sect, who did not hesitate to suggest that they probably "drank behind the door."

Dissenting religionists were an important element of the early society of Kentucky. So long as the people remained cooped up in stations, religious activity was held somewhat in abeyance, but this restraint removed, the zeal fostered by the conflict in Virginia sprang into new life on the frontier. Probably the first preacher on the border was the Rev. John Lythe, "of the Church of England," who conducted divine service under the magnificent elm at Boonesborough, in 1775. But the old antagonisms were transferred from Virginia to Kentucky, and the Episcopal Church found no encouragement in the new settlements. It was known only as the Church of England, and was generally regarded as "an organized body of Arminians enlisted in the service of despotism."

All dissenting sects found the freedom of the newly settled region congenial to the propagation of their faith, and each was represented in the creeds of some of the first settlers. Of these, the Baptists were the first to plant their organization here. As early as 1776, William Hickman, Sr., began traveling among the stations confirming the Baptist membership in the faith. In 1780, Lewis Craig, one of the valiant champions of the dissenting cause who was carried singing to prison in Fredericksburg, led the most of his church from Spottsylvania County, Va., to Gilbert's Creek, in Garrard County. Here a church was organized in the following year. In 1782 others were planted in the region of Nelson and Hardin Counties, and in 1783 a fourth was established on South Elkhorn, five miles south of Lexington.

In the latter year (1783) the Rev. David Rice, a minister of the Presbyterian faith, came to Kentucky and gathered the scattered membership of this church into three congregations, at Danville, Cane Run and at the forks of Dick's River. Other ministers followed, established other churches, and in due course of time the Transylvania Presbytery was formed, which, in 1786, represented twelve congregations in more or less perfect state of organization.

In this year (1786), also, the name of Kentucky first appears in the general minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The whole area of the present State was then constituted a circuit, and James Haw and Benjamin Ogden appointed the first itinerants. A class had been established as early as 1783 in the region of Mercer County, but the first church was not organized until three years later. In 1788 the original circuit was divided under the names of Lexington and Danville, and in 1790 the first Methodist Church edifice, a log-cabin at Masterson's Station, five miles northwest of Lexington, was erected.

The first Catholic emigrants were William Coomes and Dr. Hart, who came to Harrodsburg in 1775. Ten years later, a colony of Catholics emigrated from Maryland and settled principally on Pottinger's Creek, in the region of Bardstown. In the next year a second colony followed, and settled in the same vicinity; and in 1787 another company came, settling on Rolling Fork, in the present county of Marion. The number of Catholic families in Kentucky was now estimated at fifty, and at their solicitation a priest was sent to minister to them. Other of the clergy followed, who proved indefatigable missionaries, but it was not until after 1793 that the denomination gained strength enough to organize the first church.

From such beginnings the various church organizations developed, until there was scarcely a settlement without its meeting-house, and at least one rudimentary church. Where more than one sect was represented, as was generally the case, the same building served the purposes of all by turns, the whole church-going community attending whenever there were services. When the attendance of ministers became somewhat regular, Sunday became an occasion of special interest. As Dr. Drake describes it:

> It was a day for dressing up; and none but those who labor through the week, in coarse dirty clothes, can estimate the cheering influence of a clean face and feet, a clean shirt and "boughten" clothes on a Sabbath morning. All preparation had to be finished at an early hour, for to reach the meeting-house was a work of time. At length we take our departure, mother in a calico dress, with her black silk bonnet covering a newly ironed cap, with the tabs tied beneath her chin with a piece of narrow ribbon; father with his shoes just greased, and blackened with fat and soot mixed together; in his shirt sleeves if the weather was hot, or in his Sunday coat if cool; a worn dress hat over his short smooth black hair; a bandanna handkerchief in his pocket for that day, and his walking-stick in his hand or the baby in his arms; myself in fustian jacket, with my hat brushed and set up, my feet clean, and a new rag on some luckless "stubbed" and festering toe; the younger children in their best Sunday clothes, and the whole of us slowly, yet cheerfully, playfully, moving onward through the cool and quiet woods to the house of God.
>
> The scene around this village temple can never fade from my memory and heart. Horses hitched along the fence, and men and women on foot or horseback arriving from all quarters; within the inclosure, neighbors shaking hands and inquiring after each other's families; a little group leaning against the fence in conversation; another seated on a bench "talking it over;" another little party strolling among the graves; and squads of children sitting or lying on the grass to rest themselves. The hour for worship arrived, the congregation were seated in and around the cabin-church on benches without backs, and there stood Deacon Morris, beneath the pulpit, giving out the hymns, while Old Hundred, by twice as many voices, was mingled with the notes of birds in the surrounding trees. It was the custom of those who came from a distance to bring with them some kind of food, and in the hour of intermission they might be seen in scattered groups engaged in lunching.

The early preachers were generally illiterate men, lacking in dignity and solemnity, but possessing considerable natural talents, and inspired by an indefatigable zeal. They were men who had grown up under the influences of the religious agitation which preceded and accompanied the Revolution, and, repelled by the apathy which followed the success of the dissenters, in their contest with the established church, sought fresher fields on the frontier. These circumstances brought to Kentucky a set of men who were well calculated to "turn the world upside down." Their lax system of morals, crude logic, and vigorous declamation met with great acceptation in a society where spirited action was much better understood than moral philosophy; and where religion meant the "belonging" to some church, the earnest opposition to the peculiar tenets of other sects, and the abstaining from certain capital

violations of the law-and-order sentiment of the community.

The camp-meeting was the mighty agency of pioneer propagandism. The lack of ministers as well as of commodious buildings led to frequent out-door meetings. To these a preacher who touched the popular fancy would draw large numbers, who gathered at the appointed time from miles around. The Methodists were the earliest to convert these services into a series of meetings held on successive days and nights, but the practice became general, and each denomination commonly held a series of camp-meetings each year. In such cases the people came prepared with provisions to remain several days, and even weeks on some occasions. In the meanwhile, when not in attendance upon the exercises, they found shelter in their wagons or in rudely constructed booths in the woods. The earliest of these religious gatherings occurred in Logan County, at the time of the great revival which originated under the preaching of the Rev. James McGready, taking form in 1799 and continuing for several years. Various denominations took part in the initial meeting, and, as the interest extended, camp-meetings multiplied, at some of which it was estimated that from 20,000 to 25,000 persons were in attendance.

A remarkable characteristic of these early camp-meetings was the bodily agitations which attended the excitement incident to the services. The manifestations, often bordering on the ridiculous, seem to baffle philosophical investigation. Men of rugged mind and physique and women and children alike succumbed to the "jerks," or rather the "exercises," as they were popularly termed.

The "jerks" were the most common form of this strange malady, and generally preceded the other forms of activity. An eye-witness thus describes these scenes:

> Many times I have seen them unexpectedly jerked flat on their backs, and the next instant jerked full length on their faces. Ladies, while sitting intently observant of the exercises, were jerked so violently that their bonnets, capes, handkerchiefs and loose apparel would be thrown clear away, and their long, beautiful hair, unrestrained by combs, fillets, etc., flowing down to their waists, would crack like an ox-whip with the violent vibrations of their heads and shoulders. Others would jump and run, like an antelope, perhaps for fifty or one hundred yards, and then fall prone upon the ground and lie apparently lifeless, sometimes for hours. Some would say it was the chastening work of an Almighty God, others, that it was the work of the devil. You might see the skeptical high-flyers stand on the outskirts of the assembly, winking and making sport of these manifestations, and often, in five minutes, they would be screaming and howling like madmen. Once two old church-members of great formality and incredulity visited a meeting of this kind to observe with their own eyes what they had heard and disbelieved of these manifestations: After critically scrutinizing the whole matter they pronounced it heterodox, and left the ground. However, before reaching home, they took the "jerks," and were thrown to the ground, giving utterance to piercing yells. After a time the ridiculing and unbelieving portion of the community became afraid to attend these meetings, lest they should feel this supernatural power, and stayed at home. But many, even here, in the midst of ridicule and philosophical speculation on the subject, would be taken with the jerks, and send for the minister and elders for instruction and relief. Most of those who were thus affected became members of some church, though quite a number, while they abated their skepticism in regard to the reality of the jerks, did not yield to its converting influence.* (History of Todd County, p. 87.)

A large part of the explanation of these manifestations may probably be found in the superstitious and credulous character of the early settlers. Respect for signs and omens constituted a conspicuous feature of their mental characteristics, and made them easily moved by shrewd interpretations of natural phenomena. A peculiar storm-cloud, with vivid flashes of lightning, made the threatenings of the sacred word more tangible, and, under certain circumstances, even raised a fear that the end of all things was at hand. The preachers of the time were not always proof against the temptation to use the power thus put in their hands, and numerous anecdotes are related which indicate that much of their remarkable power was due to a somewhat unscrupulous play upon the credulity of unsophisticated minds.

*It is said that the first camp-meeting held in Christendom was in 1800, at the Gasper River meeting-house, in Logan County. (See Collins, Vol. I, p. 434.) In the "Biography of Elder Warren Stone" (by Elder John Rogers, Cincinnati, 1847), p 39, is found another and more complete description of these bodily agitations. In the same work, pp. 348–404, is a somewhat elaborate review of the history and character of these manifestations.

The ignorance of the people was not confined to supernatural things, however, and it is difficult, at this day, to conceive that such a degree of simplicity could anywhere exist among the adults of an enlightened nation. Dr. Drake mentions instances of families cooking bohea tea with a ham of bacon as greens, and cooking a considerable quantity in a Dutch oven, from which the whole family made their breakfast, each dipping it up with a tin cup. In this matter the early society was not without its gradations, the Eastern emigrant being counted the most intelligent, the Virginian next, and the Marylanders third in the intellectual scale. Books were rare, and included sundry volumes of hymns, the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, and one or more almanacs. Even this limited supply was not found everywhere, and in the most favored families the variety was seldom enlarged by a volume of poems, and never by a romance.

Until the publication of a Kentucky almanac by Bradford, in 1788, these sybilline leaves were imported from Philadelphia, and were filled with anecdotes and *bon-mots*, "often profane, and oftener licentious in their character." "Poor Richard's Almanac" was a rare exception, and was used by the more refined. But it was the record of the moon's phases, which were held of most practical account. With the waxing and waning of this mysterious planet the whole tide of social affairs ebbed and flowed. Babies were weaned, grains and vegetables were planted, and hogs were killed with strict regard for the inconstant moon. This credulity was universal, and made the almanac as indispensable to the cabin as the newspaper in modern homes.

It is a creditable feature of this early society that with such training, and surrounded by the discouragements of poverty, lack of books and lack of school facilities and teachers, the people should have made such early efforts to secure the benefits of schools. The school teacher was early abroad in Kentucky. The first of these knights of the birchen rod was William Coomes. He was among the first settlers at Harrodsburg, and from 1775 until he moved to the Catholic settlements in Marion County, he plied his vocation at that station. But schools were not generally established until some time after the large immigration of 1788, and were thenceforward, for years, only the crudest attempts to organize for educational objects. The schoolhouse was the familiar log structure, with greased paper covered windows, puncheon benches and desks, and a

mammoth fire-place. Dillworth's Speller and the New Testament were the sole text books; geography and arithmetic were taught orally, the propositions of these perplexing sciences often being further complicated by being expressed in a doggerel verse. Writing was more akin to manual than mental exercise, and required the teacher to be expert in making pens as well as marks. There was little of the orderly progression of latter-day systems, and few pretended to go beyond "capitals" and "large joining hand."

The teachers were generally of Scotch or Irish extraction, with now and then a Yankee. Unhampered by text books each teacher gave full scope to his peculiar theories, which generally expressed his mental limitations and peculiarities of temperament and habits, and seldom failed to include a liberal use of the rod. The first quarter of the present century was marked by a rapid progress in the scholastic attainments of the teacher, and in central Kentucky were found not only such mathematical and classical instructors as Filson and his contemporaries, but the beginnings of that higher instruction which has since developed into such grand proportions. The ear-

ly common schools were of course supported by subscription, each patron bearing such a proportion of the general cost as his children bore to the whole number instructed. But the teacher, being a man of necessities similar to his patrons, made no difficulty in accepting his salary in pork, corn or whisky, and thus these grosser articles were transmuted into those faculties which charmed a senate or held the world in awe.

"Business" had little recognition in frontier society. The great occupation of the new settlers was clearing away the forest and cultivating the soil. They had access to no markets; produce had no commercial value at home; and accustomed to find all their necessities supplied through their own skill and industry from nature, they did not encourage a division of labor. Each man was his own blacksmith, carpenter, tanner, shoe and harness-maker, while the women supplied the place of weaver and tailor. The work of the turner and cooper was less readily accomplished, and when William Poague began the manufacture of tubs, churns, pails, noggins, etc., at Harrodsburg, the neighboring stations found it a great convenience to exchange their produce for these indispensable articles of cabin furniture.

Closely following this pioneer industry came the primitive inn. It was scarcely to be distinguished from the simple home of the private citizen, and differed from the ordinary cabin principally in that its hospitality was dispensed at a fixed price. Its patronage was derived from prospectors who thronged to the new land, the temporary character of whose stay rendered such an establishment a necessity. The earliest of this class of public purveyors was situated near "the Falls," and the regulation of its charges by the county court, in 1781, suggests the condition of things at that time. Whisky was provided at $15 per half pint; corn at $10 a gallon; "stablage" or pasturage one night at $4; "a diet" at $12, and "lodging in a feather bed" at $6. These prices represent the depreciation of the continental currency rather than the scarcity of food, but the cost of all provisions which involved the use of machinery in their manufacture was necessarily high for many years.

The first step toward the reduction of food prices was taken when the water-mill was introduced. The hominy-block and grater had, in many cases, been superseded by the hand mill, a small buhr propelled by hand, but this, while it improved the quality of the product, did not appreciably lessen the labor. The water-mill did both, but, dependent upon the inconstant streams, it proved only a partial substitute for the more laborious methods. Sawing facilities were soon added, and the pioneer began to rejoice in many conveniences which the ax had failed to supply. These, with an occasional tan-yard, comprised the public industries of pioneer days—enterprises which contributed much to the comfort of the early settlements, but failed alone to afford a support for those who employed their capital in them. There was, therefore, little inducement to "go into business," and those who did so still made farming their chief dependence for support and a future competency. Accordingly, the chief pursuit of the early settlers for more than a quarter of a century was the acquisition of land.

The public lands in Kentucky were acquired on easy terms. Before the "old French war," the commercial value of lands beyond the Alleghanies was very small, and the crown, anxious to build up a barrier of English settlements in the way of French pretensions, made liberal grants to corporations and individuals who would undertake to introduce immigration. Hostilities intervened, and these grants served rather to lay the foundation of land claims than of settlements. The five years which followed this war, before the purchase at Fort Stanwix, were characterized by great activity in multiplying these claims. It was provided that the land bounties of the Virginian troops should be located on the waters of the Ohio, but these with the earlier grants were suspended for a time, while their conflicting interests were examined by the English ministry. But in the meantime, regardless of royal proclamation or Indian threatenings, the individual prospector was pushing his explorations and marking his

claims farther and farther toward the west. The extinction of the Indian title and the adjudication of bounty claims removed the last barrier to the possession of the coveted region. Adventurous land hunters, under the provision of Virginia enactments, vied with the military claimants in securing "settlement rights." A few chips cut by a tomahawk from a tree, or a rude log pen without roof, door, or window, were sufficient with some show of cultivation to constitute a claim to certain adjacent lands, and "tomahawk" and "improver's" rights were well recognized property in that period. The latter class of claims became very numerous, the owners of which, who were in the habit of coming down the Ohio in the spring, doing a little work toward raising a crop of corn, and then returning to the older settlements, were generally known as "cabiners."

Thus up to 1779, land was acquired without money and practically without price, but at this time the public lands of Virginia assumed a new importance. The burdens of the war for independence were beginning to be seriously felt, and the eager demand for the western lands suggested their availability as a means of relief. Accordingly, the assembly enacted the famous land law, which, after providing for the various claims previously authorized, arranged for the sale of the remaining portion of the public lands for the benefit of the State treasury. The recognized claims may be classified as follows: First, those of the Ohio, Walpole and other companies, which had a title more or less perfect from the British government, though none of them were patented. Second, those founded on the military bounty warrants of 1763, some of which had been secured by patent. Third, Henderson's claim by purchase from the Indians at Watauga. Fourth, those based simply upon selection and occupancy. Fifth, those resting upon selection and survey without occupancy. Sixth, those of persons who had imported settlers, to whom an old law of Virginia allowed fifty acres for each settler thus imported. Seventh, those of persons who had paid money into the old colonial treasury for land. Eighth, those of the officers and soldiers of the Revolution, to whom Virginia was indebted.

The adjudication of these claims was committed to a special court consisting of William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour and Stephen Trigg, which, after hearing the evidence in support of claims, was authorized to render final judgment, though it was provided that such judgments should be held open for revision until December 1, 1780. The whole matter was an intricate and perplexing subject, and to facilitate the work of the commission the assembly laid down the following principles for its guidance:

First—When no patent existed, all *surveys* made before January 1, 1778, by any county surveyor commissioned by William and Mary College, and founded (*a*) upon charter; (*b*) upon importation rights duly proved; (*c*) upon treasury rights, *i. e.*, money paid into the colonial treasury; (*d*) upon entries not exceeding 400 acres, made before October 26, 1763; (*e*) upon acts of the Virginia Assembly resulting from orders in council, etc.; (*f*) upon any warrants from a colonial governor for military services, etc., were to be good; all other surveys were null and void.

Second—Where *no survey* had been made, claims made (*a*) under importation rights; (*b*) under treasury rights; (*c*) under warrants for military services, were to be admitted to survey and entry.

Third—Those who had actually settled or caused, at their cost, others to settle on unappropriated lands, *before January 1, 1778*, were to have 400 acres or less, as they pleased, for every family so settled, paying $2.25 for each *hundred* acres.

Fourth—Those who had settled in villages *before January 1, 1778*, were to receive for each family 400 acres adjacent to the village, at $2.25 per 100 acres, and the village property was to remain unsurveyed until the general assembly could examine the title to it, and do full justice.

Fifth—To all having settlement rights as above described was given also a right of pre-emption to 1,000 acres adjoining the settlement, at *40 cents* an acre.

Sixth—To those who had settled *since January 1, 1778*, was given a pre-emption right to 400 acres, adjoining and including the settlement made by them.

Seventh—All the region between the Green River, the Cumberland Mountains, Tenn., the river Tennessee, and the Ohio was reserved for military claims.

Eighth—The 200,000 acres granted Henderson & Co. was to remain thus appropriated.*

The commission began its work on the 13th of October, 1779, at St. Asaph's, and for the convenience of claimants held its sessions at various points in Kentucky until the 26th of April, 1780, when, having accomplished its mission, it adjourned without day. In this period about 3,000 claims were passed upon, the first of which, it is said, was a claim of Isaac Shelby to a settlement and pre-emption for having raised a crop of corn in 1776. The greater part of the claims thus adjusted required the survey and entry of the lands before a perfect title could be had, but such was the inadequate provision of Virginia, in these important matters, that few claims could be indisputably established. The radical and incurable defect of the law was the neglect of Virginia to provide for the general survey of the whole country at public expense. The plan of division by ranges and meridian lines had not then been suggested, but the Transylvania Company had conceived the idea of surveying "by the four cardinal points, except where rivers and mountains make it too inconvenient," and so far as this work proceeded it was superior to what followed. By the Virginia law each possessor of a warrant was allowed to locate the same where he pleased, and was required to survey it at his own cost; but his entry was required to be so exact that each subsequent locator might recognize the land already taken up. To make a good entry, therefore, required a precision and accuracy of description which was almost impossible. In the unskilled hands of the pioneers, entries, surveys and patents were filed upon each other, crossing each other's lines in inextricable confusion, the full fruition of which was not reached until the country became more thickly settled. All vague entries became null and void, but a good entry did not give an undisputed title. All entries were accepted for record, and when any of them were found to conflict the claimants were referred to the courts; thus countless unhappy, vexatious lawsuits followed, in which scant justice was secured to any one.*

The conclusion of the special commission's work was followed by an unfortunate scramble among the claimants to secure the survey and entry of their lands. George May opened his office in Harrodsburg in 1780, but was soon obliged to temporarily close it on account of Indian hostilities, and the offices at Lexington and Coxe's Station were not opened until the latter part of 1782. This delay occasioned a great clamor which was re-enforced by the speculators and immigrant purchasers, whom the ill-advised legislation of Virginia had brought to Kentucky in large numbers. After satisfying existing claims the assembly provided that the remaining public lands should be offered to the general public in unrestricted quantities at 40 cents an acre. The purchase money was paid into the treasury, from whence a warrant was issued to the purchaser for the specified quantity of land. This authorized the county surveyor to locate and enter the land where the purchaser was pleased to select it. It was also provided that land to the extent of 400 acres in any single case might be sold on credit, the surveyor's authorization in such case consisting of an order from the county court. Such terms had the effect to greatly multiply the demand for surveyors, and so keen was the anxiety to select lands that even the fear of the Indians failed to deter the adventurous land-hunters from pushing their explorations.

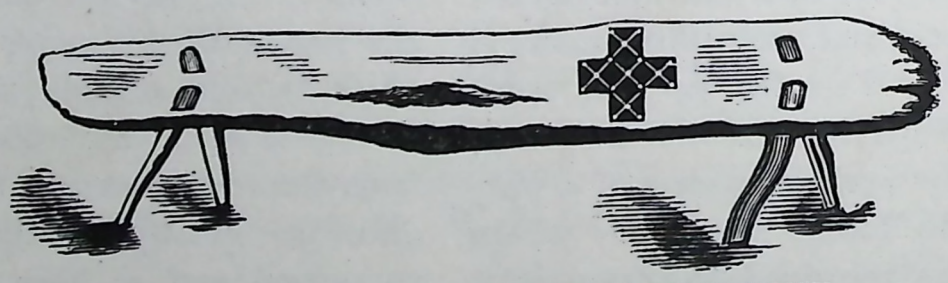
In the closing month of 1781, land speculation received an additional impulse from the questionable funding plan of Virginia. The paper issues of the State had shared the fate of the continental scrip, so that a hat was valued at £100, a coat and waistcoat

*See Annals of the West, pp. 218-220.

*Appendix A, Note 24.

at £250, and a bushel of salt at £240. The depreciation of the State currency had been legally recognized, and a silver dollar rated at $1.50 in paper, but trade had long since established a higher rate of exchange, and at this time the assembly sought to stem the current by additional legislation. It was accordingly provided that the early issue should be taken up by new certificates at the rate of $1,000 in paper for one in silver. This new issue was made a legal tender for taxes and in the purchase of public lands, and the price of land was fixed at a specie valuation, but such was the depreciation of the new currency that 100 acres brought less than the value of *50 cents* in silver.

The inevitable and immediate result was to flood the treasury with the discredited currency in exchange for Kentucky lands, and to involve all land titles in a ruinous state of insecurity. The discovery of flaws in these titles eventually became the object of regular pursuit by unscrupulous men, who immediately took advantage of any legal defect to enter such lands and eject the settler whose industry had reclaimed it from the original wild condition. The almost universal distress and discontent which followed, seriously reacted upon the general prosperity, and such remedial legislation as was possible was early applied. The ejector was compelled to pay for the improvements made, which under the circumstances were not lightly valued. It followed, therefore, that the ejector found the investment rather unprofitable, for after such outlay the danger of being ejected in his turn still remained. The statute of limitations eventually ended these vexatious litigations, and land-titles in Kentucky are now as generally secure as elsewhere, though business prudence leads large investors to take the necessary steps to secure the court's confirmation of their titles.



PUNCHEON SEAT OF PIONEER SCHOOLHOUSE.

CHAPTER X.

THE ERA OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

THE period of the Revolutionary war was an era of the most rapid and marvelous development in America. It abounded in new forms of virtue and greatness. "Fidelity to principle pervaded the masses; an unorganized people, of their own free will, suspended commerce by universal assent; poverty rejected bribes. Heroism, greater than that of chivalry, burst into action from lowly men; citizens with their families fled from their homes and wealth in towns, rather than yield to oppression. Battalions sprang up in a night from spontaneous patriotism; where eminent statesmen hesitated, the instinctive action of the multitude revealed the counsels of maganimity; youth and genius gave up life freely for the liberties of mankind. A nation without union, without magazines and without a treasury, without credit, without government, fought successfully against the whole strength and wealth of Great Britain; an army of veteran soldiers capitulated to insurgent husbandmen." (Bancroft.) Into this struggle the people had thrown themselves with a patriotic abandon which reserved no interest beyond the present, and when the victory was achieved and peace crowned the long and arduous contest, many found their occupation gone, the charm of old associations broken, and thousands, whose course of life was thus interrupted, discovered inclination not less than necessity suggesting the expediency of beginning life anew.

To people thus circumstanced, the availability of the western country was suggested in a hundred ways. The story of its beauty and fertility was well and widely known, and was further emphasized by the general discussion which preceded the cession of State public lands to the general government. Bounties granted to State and continental troops took the form of warrants for certain of these lands, and the liberal terms on which Virginia offered her Kentucky possessions, all served to attract thousands of the Revolutionary soldiery to the western settlements. But this interest was not confined to the rank and file of the army. Large numbers of bounty warrants found their way, through the improvidence or ignorance of the original grantees, into the hands of capitalists, while the suicidal policy of Virginia, in making her depreciated currency a legal tender for lands, increased the speculative mania and added thousands to the throng of emigrants who crowded into the Ohio Valley. The New England "Ohio Company," originally projected in 1785 and taking form two years later, added its influence to the general movement, and the great immigration which began immediately after the proclamation of peace continued with almost unabated force until after the opening of the present century.

In 1783, Kentucky alone received an addition of 8,000 to her population. In the succeeding year 10,000 more came, and each flood-tide of the Ohio bore striking evidence to the increasing rage for westward emigration. In 1786, an observer at the mouth of the Big Miami noted the passage of thirty-four boats in thirty-nine days; another at Pittsburgh, in 1787, reported the departure of fifty flat-boats from that point between the 1st of March and the middle of April; at Fort Harmar, the adjutant recorded the number of boats passing that post between October, 1786, and May, 1787, at 177, carrying 2,700 persons. In 1788, it was estimated

that not less than 10,000 emigrants went by Marietta, and in twelve months, comprising portions of the years of 1788 and 1789, the official register kept at Fort Harmar showed that 20,000 souls had descended the Ohio in 850 boats, containing also 600 wagons, 7,000 horses, 3,000 cows and 900 head of sheep.*

While the larger part of these emigrants found the end of their journey in Kentucky, another current came into this favored region by way of Cumberland Gap. This was the route followed by a considerable portion of the Virginia and all of the Carolina emigration. A block-house had been erected on the Holston, and here immigrants would collect until a sufficient number had rendezvoused to make it safe to pass the "wilderness," an uninhabited interval of 130 miles, which separated the Holston from Crab Orchard, the nearest settled point in Kentucky. In the broken country through which this path led, pack animals alone could be used for transportation, and a motley throng of horses, cows and oxen, all bearing packs, was a familiar sight on this route long after wagons were in common use elsewhere in the State.

The effect of this wonderful movement of the people was to increase the population of Kentucky with marvelous rapidity. In 1783 it was estimated at 12,000; in the spring of 1784 it was placed at 20,000; at the beginning of 1785 it was thought to have reached 30,000; and at the first regular census, in 1790, it was found to be 73,677. Of this number 61,103 were free whites, the remainder being chiefly slaves and free persons of color. About one-half of the white population and two-thirds of the slaves were drawn from Virginia; the balance came principally from Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, though there was a considerable representation of foreigners and of emigrants from Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York and the New England States.

But this vast in-flowing tide of humanity was not less remarkable in the character of its elements than in its great numbers. Kentucky was no longer regarded as simply a haven for the repair of desperate fortunes, but rather a land, the future prospects of which invited the investment of wealth by the promise of profit, and the employment of professional genius by the hope of preferment. This mighty immigration was therefore something more than a curious incident; it was "the chaos of a mighty world rounding into form,"

> The raw material of a State,
> Its [muscle and its mind].

Shelby and Brown had already come, and in the throng which followed into the frontier settlements of Kentucky could be discovered such leading characters as Innes, Bullitt, Marshall, Christian, Wilkinson, Muter, Nicholas, Daviess and the future "great commoner," Henry Clay.*

All forms of social life felt the invigorating impulse. Isolated clearings expanded into fruitful and contiguous plantations. Stations grew into villages; and towns developed into cities with a sustained rapidity scarcely equaled by the present progress of the Northwest. Agriculture began to flourish, new arts and manufactures sprang up; stores were opened and trade with distant points established; schools and churches multiplied, and society, re-enforced by wealth and culture, began to assume new airs of gentility.

Hitherto the adventurous population settled south of the Ohio had only been able to secure a precarious foothold in this contested region, and even this slight tenure was barely maintained by the greatest exertion. A few stations, principally confined to the upper valleys of the Kentucky, Salt and Green Rivers, and at the Falls of the Ohio constituted an isolated settlement on the verge of extinction. Five hundred miles away, through the "great woods" and over three mountain ranges, on the Atlantic slope, lay the seat of government at Richmond. Of the intervening country, the greater part was unmarked by human habitation. On the Kanawha, Greenbrier, Elk and Cheat Rivers, scattered at wide intervals, were feeble settlements which proved an induce-

* McMaster's "History of American People," Vol. I, p. 149, and Monette's "History of Valley of the Mississippi," Vol. II, p. 177.

* Came in 1797.

ment rather than a barrier to the incursions of the savages, while on the Ohio, Pittsburgh, with its hundred dwellings, Wheeling with half as many board and log-cabins, Point Pleasant, marked simply by a stockade, and later, Marietta, planted near the mouth of the Muskingum, served to mark the slender tie which bound Kentucky to the older centers of colonial life.

Since Braddock's time, a well-marked roadway had connected the upper Potomac with Pittsburgh, and a bridle path, leading from the Shenandoah Valley by way of the Holston and Cumberland Gap to Crab Orchard, was nearly as old and well traveled, but it was not until 1782 that a route was thus marked out eastward from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, the great national center of commercial and political life. In Kentucky at this time there was not a single wheelway. The trail from Limestone to Lexington had been widened at intervals along its upper extent, and in 1783, a resolute pioneer by the name of Smith had managed to take his wagon from one terminus to the other; but so remarkable was this feat, that it gave this pioneer wagoner a certain claim to distinction, which was popularly recognized in the name of "Smith's wagon-road," a name that for years was applied to this route. Impelled by the increased demand for more convenient modes of transportation, this line of travel was gradually improved by private enterprise, until about 1788 it began to be a scene of busy traffic, with lines of loaded wagons passing regularly between the termini. The earliest attempt to improve the public roads by special legislation was in 1795, when the Kentucky legislature provided for the widening, leveling and otherwise improving the trail from Cumberland Gap to Crab Orchard. This was originally blazed out in 1775 by Daniel Boone, but for which he wrote Gov. Shelby he had received no compensation. He wished to contract for the work proposed, but it was eventually let to others. Under the Virginia law county roads were laid out thirty feet wide, and from this date (1795) forward, considerable attention was paid to the construction of wheelways, but as late as 1840, bridle-paths and obscure wagon-trails greatly outnumbered the roads regularly laid out.

Under the changed circumstances, business instincts were quickened. The great increase of population created a brisk demand for every surplus product; money became fairly abundant, and the addition of a considerable number of wealthy settlers created new wants, to which those skilled in the various trades were not slow to cater. The tailor, weaver, hatter, cabinetmaker, workers in leather, the blacksmith and even the carpenter soon found well-paid employment. A few fields of wheat south of the Kentucky marked the improvement of agricultural pursuits, and several small distilleries gave promise of a home market for increased quantities of corn. Nor were trade activities long limited to domestic exchanges. Enterprising merchants, who had kept pace with the advancing line of settlements, had some time before opened their wares at Brownsville, and now felt the general impulse to move with the flowing tide. In 1783, therefore, Daniel Brodhead left the Monongahela and established a store at Louisville. In the succeeding year James Wilkinson, who had represented a New England trading company at the former place, also came to Kentucky and opened a store at Lexington.

From this beginning an important commerce sprang up between the thrifty settlements in Kentucky and Philadelphia and Nashville. This was soon very generally controlled by the merchants of Lexington, who brought their merchandise by wagon from Philadelphia or Baltimore to Pittsburgh, and thence by boat to Limestone, which early became the great *entrepot* for all the region south of the Ohio. Thirty-five or forty days were consumed in thus transporting goods to Lexington, including the two days and a half required to bring them from the landing place, the cost of carriage amounting to about $7 or $8 per hundred. The merchandise consisted of coarse and fine iron goods, cutlery, nails and tinware, dry goods, drugs, queensware and such groceries as tea, coffee and sugar, and were

in demand in about this order. From Lexington these commodities were distributed to the interior, the operations of the merchants extending to the growing settlements of Tennessee, to which goods were transported by land.

The scarcity of money which soon prevailed largely reduced business exchanges to a system of barter, which enabled the merchants to reap large profits. The local merchant was granted a year's credit by the importing houses of the East, and made a considerable part of his payment in such products of the country as would bear the expense of transportation. He was careful, nevertheless, to secure what money there was in circulation. In receiving produce in payment for goods, a difference of fifteen or twenty per cent in favor of the merchant was exacted. Certain goods were sold only for cash or exchanged for domestic, linen and hemp, articles which commanded a ready sale, and in this way the country was gradually drained of its circulating medium of exchange.

Coin was the only form of money in general use. United States bank notes, when issued, commanded a premium, but while these were accepted by the merchants without difficulty, the common people feared the skill of the counterfeiter, and generally refused to use them. The piaster, or Spanish dollar, was the current money of Virginia, and consequently of Kentucky and Tennessee, and was valued at six shillings sterling; but even when this coin was fairly abundant there was a great scarcity of fractional currency, which led to the evil practice of cutting the whole coin into quarters, eighths and sixteenths. This division was made by any one and every one, a custom which was promptly taken advantage of by unscrupulous persons to convert a portion of the metal to their own profit. "Sharp-shins," or cut coins, were, therefore, soon taken by the merchants only by weight, and even then at a discount on the whole coin. Still, under the rule of trade, the coin came in large quantities into the hands of the merchants, who packed it on horses and sent it to Philadelphia, as many as fifteen or twenty animals laden with this precious stuff at times setting out in company.

There was scarcely anything produced in Kentucky which would bear the high cost of transportation by way of Pittsburgh to the East. East-bound freight was carried cheaper than the goods coming west, from the fact, that otherwise the great number of wagons employed in this traffic would return empty; but even with this abatement merchants found little save the more valuable furs and ginseng* to export to their markets. When first discovered on this continent the latter was worth its weight in gold. It was subsequently found abounding in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, where it was secured by such of the inhabitants whose usual occupations allowed sufficient leisure to collect it. Hunters gathered a large proportion of the amount early exported from Kentucky, who, in addition to their usual accoutrements, carried a bag and a small pickaxe for the purpose. This found ready sale with the merchants at about a shilling a pound, and was sold in the seaports at 100 per cent advance.

The expanding settlements of Tennessee and the Spanish possessions soon afforded a market for the more bulky products of Kentucky, and, among these, salt became the earliest article of trade. The region south of the Ohio was richly furnished with salt springs, and the pioneers found many places where this necessary condiment could be manufactured for their own supply, but many of them subsequently proved unprofitable for the purposes of commerce. There were at least twelve important salt springs between the Big Sandy and the Cumberland, of which the leading ones were May's Lick and the Blue Licks, on the Licking, Big-Bone Lick, Drennon's Lick and Bullitt's Lick. The latter was situated on Salt River, about twenty miles from Louisville, and was the first that was extensively worked. It eventually became the property of the United States and was leased to various contractors, under whose management the business expanded to such proportions as to engage fifty furnaces and 500 men in the manufacture.

*Appendix A, Note 25.

The first attempts to produce salt were characterized by the rudest simplicity. The ordinary pots and kettles used in the cabins were hung over an open fire, to which was transferred the brine laboriously dipped from the spring. In this way twenty or thirty men were able to manufacture a few bushels of salt in a month. When the development of the country suggested the more methodical prosecution of the enterprise and gave protection to those engaged in the work, improvements were rapidly introduced. The brine was then collected in pits, some twenty feet deep, and transferred from thence to kettles designed for the purpose. These were of "yellow copper," had a capacity of "two hundred pints," and for some years were solely manufactured at "Probes' Furnace" in West Liberty, Penn. Ten or twelve of these kettles were arranged in a row upon a trench four feet in depth, and of a breadth suitable to afford a support for them. The interstices between the kettles were stopped with clay, forming a rude sort of furnace which was universally used in this region for many years. In both ends of this trench a wood fire was maintained night and day, but the cost of cutting and transporting the fuel, and the weakness of the brine, made the cost of the manufactured article reach $4 per hundred-weight at the furnace, which proved a fatal obstacle to its exportation.

These furnaces were subsequently enlarged so as to accommodate sixty kettles, and the supply of brine improved by boring to a considerable depth in the ground. From these wells, the brine was pumped by hand or horse-power, and conveyed by means of troughs directly to the kettles. With these improvements, a single furnace produced thirty-five or forty bushels a day. By increasing the number of furnaces to ten or fifteen, the annual product was raised to 150,000 bushels, and the proportional cost of labor was so reduced, that the manufactured product was sold at $1.40 per hundred-weight. At this price, this commodity became the leading article of export, and was shipped in large quantities to Nashville, where it was disposed of for money, furs, cotton, etc. The Kentucky works were not long without sharp competition. Salt springs were early discovered on the Kanawha, where the brine was found to be much richer. A large part of the product of these springs found a market in Pittsburgh, where it came in competition with the Onondaga salt, which, with improved shipping facilities, eventually monopolized the trade of all.

Fortunately, long before this event the fertile lands of Kentucky had developed new articles of commerce, for which the opening of the Mississippi provided a ready market. The isolated wheat-fields of 1783 rapidly expanded into a broad acreage, which, in 1802, furnished not less than 60,000 barrels of flour for the New Orleans market; tobacco, the cultivation of which, in 1802, had only recently been introduced, swelled the list with several thousand hogsheads, weighing from 1,000 to 1,200 pounds each; and the hemp-fields, beside supplying the busy hand-looms to be found in every cabin (in 1802) furnished 42,048 pounds of the raw staple, and 2,402 hundred-weight manufactured into cables and cordage, for export. To these should be added the rapidly expanding crops of corn, rye and oats, which, though not found in the list of exports, swelled the products of the soil to an immense aggregate. Almost the entire yield of rye was disposed of to the distilleries, while oats and corn found an equally good demand at home.

An increasing quantity of maize was each year consumed by the distilleries and fed to stock. This was especially true in the case of horses, the breeding of which was rapidly assuming a prominent place in the agricultural system of the new land. The number of horses was greatly augmented by the new immigration, and of the animals thus brought in, some were of breeds for which Virginia was then so justly celebrated. Many of the new comers were persons of wealth and luxurious habits, whose influence was such as to give a new impulse to the early predilections of the Kentuckians, and care in breeding this animal became well-nigh universal. Nearly ever plantation had a portion devoted to horses. They were never tied up. An "un-

chinked" log stable afforded some protection from the weather, when they chose to avail themselves of it, and here a manger was kept supplied with corn, which the animals ate at their pleasure. Popular taste inclined only to carriage and saddle-horses, which were characterized by "a delicate leg, a well proportioned head, and an elegant slender form." Such an animal was worth in Kentucky about $130 to $140. Farther south, and especially in the Carolinas, they were worth from 25 to 30 per cent more, and large numbers were annually taken there for sale. Strings of from fifteen to thirty animals were frequently seen setting off at the beginning of winter destined for Charleston, a distance of 700 miles, which they accomplished in eighteen or twenty days. Brood-mares found ready sale in Tennessee, and altogether, horses formed no inconsiderable part of the early commerce.

The growing prosperity of the planters was not less marked in the increase of other kinds of stock. The number of horned cattle rapidly redoubled, and many engaged in buying the surplus animals to drive to Virginia, where they were sold to the graziers on the banks of the Potomac to fatten for the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia. Cows, valued at $10 or $12 a head, were found everywhere in large numbers. Milk formed an important part of the food of the common people. Butter was made in considerable quantities, but not much used, and "barreled butter" formed a not insignificant item in the exports of the time. But of all stock, hogs formed the most important feature in the domestic economy of the region, both in the matter of numbers and income. They were allowed to run loose in the unfenced forests, where they rapidly multiplied and fattened for market with little attention from the owners. They afforded the staple food of the whole people, and were represented in the exports of the first six months of 1802 by 272,000 weight of smoked, and 24,085 barrels of salted pork.

AN OLD TIME "WAIN" OR WAGON.

Such commercial activity early wrought great changes in the modes of transportation. The long lines of pack-horses gave way to huge covered-wains drawn by four curiously caparisoned horses, the passing of which, during a large part of the year, was indicated by large clouds of dust like that produced by a moving army.*

*The Pittsburgh *Gazette* of November, 1814, contained an account of a gentleman living on "the great road," four miles from the city, to the effect that the number of these wagons

These wagoners in time became exceedingly arrogant and often refused to grant the rights of the road to others. They became overbearing to immigrant travel, and especially to any who showed evidence of wealth in their equipage. Travelers in carriages considered themselves fortunate if they were permitted to stand by the roadside with no greater inconvenience than being stifled with the dust of the passing train, and having their ears assailed by the gibes of the drivers. Cases where carriages were maliciously overturned or broken down were frequent and unredressed. A similar influence marked the development of the river traffic. The old Kentucky boat, with its ark-like capacity and heedless navigation, gradually gave place to the keel-boat and its professional crew.

Pittsburgh became more and more generally the point of embarkation for merchandise. Here, merchants found better storage for their goods while awaiting river transportation, and boats proceeded from this port with less difficulty at low stages of water than from any other. The Kentucky boat, built and navigated by the merchants, was employed by shippers for a time, but these boats were found to be carelessly made, and the dangers and difficulties of navigation so often resulted in serious loss to inexperienced mariners, that river transportation gradually fell into the hands of persons who made river freightage a regular business. Such persons were not slow to observe that the early modes of navigation were susceptible of easy improvements, and the keel-boat, with its lighter draught and better appliances, rapidly superseded the earlier vessel. These boats were commonly manned by from five to ten men, under the command of a "patroon," and carried from twenty to thirty tons of freight. After the opening of the Mississippi, the increased demands of trade gave rise to the barge, a vessel similar to the keel-boat, but of greater capacity, provided with oars, and carrying a crew sometimes reaching the number of fifty men. Both kinds of vessels were furnished with a mast, a square sail and coils of cordage known as cordelles. A horn was also a regular part of each boat's equipage. It was originally intended for making signals, but it became the custom of the boatmen, at intervals, to sound on it a sort of cadence, the mellow notes of which, floating land-ward, announced the passing boat in melodious tones, which have been celebrated in a touching poem by Gen. W. O. Butler.

The trip down the river in times of freshet was made without difficulty in thirty-five to fifty days, but to return was a very different undertaking, and the boat which left New Orleans on the 1st of March seldom reached Louisville before the middle of June or 1st of July, and sometimes not until October. The celebrated ornithologist, Audubon, has left the following graphic picture of the tedious journey up-stream:

> We will suppose one of these boats under way, and having passed Natchez, entering upon what were called the difficulties of their ascent. Wherever a point projected so as to render the course or bend below it of some magnitude, there was an eddy, the returning current of which was sometimes as strong as that of the middle of the great stream. The bargemen, therefore, rowed up pretty close under the bank, and had merely to keep watch in the bow least the boat should run against a planter or sawyer. But the boat has reached the point, and there the current is to all appearance of double strength and right against it. The men who have rested a few minutes are ordered to take their stations and lay hold of their oars, for the river must be crossed, it being seldom possible to double such a point and proceed along shore. The boat is crossing, its head slanting to the current, which is, however, too strong for the rowers, and when the other side of the river has been reached, it has drifted perhaps a quarter of mile. The men are by this time exhausted, and, as we will suppose it to be 12 o'clock, fasten the boat to a tree on the shore. A small glass of whisky is given to each, when they cook and eat their dinner, and after resting from their fatigue for an hour, recommence their labors. The boat is again seen slowly advancing against the stream. It has reached the lower end of a sand-bar, along the edge of which it is propelled by means of long poles, if the bottom be hard. Two men, called bowsmen, remain at the prow to assist, in concert with the steersman, in managing the boat and keeping its head right against the current. The rest place themselves on the land side of the footway of the vessel, put one end of their poles on the ground and the other against their shoulders, and push with all their

laden with merchandise which passed his farm for Pittsburgh, from the 1st of January, 1813, to the 1st of January, 1814, amounted to 4,055.

might. As each of the men reaches the stern, he crosses it to the other side, runs along it and comes again to the landward side of the bow, when he recommences operations. The barge, in the meantime, is ascending at a rate not exceeding one mile in the hour.

The bar is at length passed, and as the shore in sight is straight on both sides and the current uniformly strong, the poles are laid aside, and the men being equally divided, those on the river side take to their oars, while those on the land side lay hold of the branches of the willows or other trees, and thus slowly propel the boat. Here and there, however, the trunk of a fallen tree, partly lying on the bank and partly projecting beyond it, impedes their progress and requires to be doubled. This is performed by striking into it the iron points of the poles and gaff-hooks, and so pulling around it. The sun is now quite low, and the barge is again secured in the best harbor within reach for the night, after having accomplished her distance of perhaps fifteen miles. The next day the wind proves favorable, the sail is set, the boat takes all advantages, and meeting with no accidents, has ascended thirty miles, perhaps double that distance. The next day comes with a very different aspect. The wind is right ahead, the shores are without trees of any kind, and the canes one the bank are so thick and stout that not even the cordelles can be used. This occasions a halt. The time is not altogether lost, as most of the men, being provided with rifles, betake themselves to the woods and search for the deer, the bears or the turkeys that are generally abundant there. Three days may pass before the wind changes, and the advantages gained on the previous five days are forgotten. Again the boat proceeds, but in passing over a shallow place runs on a log, swings with the current, but hangs fast with her lee-side almost under water. Now for the poles! All hands are on deck, bustling and pushing. At length toward sunset the boat is once more afloat, and is again taken to the shore, where the wearied crew pass another night.

Such were some of the less serious difficulties of a river voyage. Until after the general pacification of the Indians, in 1795, the perils of the land were greater than those of the water, though these were not of a trivial character. Wrecks, more or less complete, were frequent, three-fourths of which were probably occasioned by the careless construction of the boats. The "broadhorns," as the Kentucky boats were popularly called, were especially distinguished in this way. A bad, knotty, or rotten plank in the bottom, a weak gunwale of tender wood, or the want of stoutness in the first or second row of planking above the gunwale, was frequently the causes of a total or partial loss of a valuable cargo. The character of the boatmen was another prolific source of trouble. Few of them had any experience as mariners, or observed anything like nautical discipline, and none, save the "patroon," seemed to feel any responsibility for the safe issue of the voyage. A boat often grounded or was staved in by obstructions, simply because the "patroon," being below, failed to give the necessary orders to avert the danger. Barges were sometimes overturned and lost by the ignorant handling of the sail, and sometimes by the willful abandonment of the crew.

Of the natural dangers to early navigation, ice was probably the most formidable. Eager to gain the utmost advantage of the flood-tide, shippers often ventured out with their frail craft before the river was fairly cleared, and, caught in a jam, the slender plank structure broke up like tinder-wood. In February, 1811, sixteen boats were thus caught in the ice at the mouth of the Tennessee, "three of which were sunk and lost; two stove and sunk but got afloat again and were repaired, five had their sides driven in, but were repaired before they sank, and the rest scarcely escaped from the general wreck." The passage of the falls at Louisville was dangerous, and many boats were lost in attempting it. This gave rise to a class of persons who offered their services to guide passing boats; but many of them proving incompetent, the danger was scarcely lessened, until 1798, when the office of pilot was established and a regular officer appointed, who was authorized to charge a fee of $2 for each boat.

Another source of danger was the "boat-wrecker," who infested the uninhabited region from old Fort Massac to the junction of the Mississippi River. These land pirates were accomplished in all the details of their nefarious business, and did not hesitate to boldly attack a boat's crew, or secretly scuttle the craft, whichever promised the easiest success. Their usual plan was to draw the crew into a game of cards, of which the boatmen were passionately fond, and then cheat them out of everything they possessed.

When this plan did not serve, they frequently offered their services as pilots, or by suggestions from the shore too often insured fatal injury to the boat. At other times they would creep into the boat when tied up for the night, and bore holes in the bottom, or dig out the caulking. As soon as the boat showed signs of sinking, these miscreants would swarm out from the shore in their skiffs, to assist in saving the cargo, which they conveyed to secret places along the smaller affluents of the river beyond the chance of discovery. If an owner was hardy enough to push his search so far as to promise discovery of the hidden goods, he generally met his death in some of the obscure recesses of the marsby river margin.

A certain Col. Fluger, known on the river as "Col. Plug," was the leader of a band, which operated near Cache Creek. He was one of the boldest of the "wreckers," and was believed to possess skeleton keys to all the warehouses between that point and Louisville. On one occasion, the crew of a "broadhorn," which had suffered from his band in the previous year, determined on their next trip to be revenged. Before reaching the vicinity of his rendezvous, several of the crew went ashore, and, making their way unobserved by land, secreted themselves near the usual landing of the boat. This with its reduced crew subsequently arrived; the men were hospitably received by the freebooters, and the usual game of cards begun. When well engaged in the game and with considerable money on the table, a sharp whistle suddenly gave the signal for an attack by those of the band who were secreted near by. The hidden boatmen heard it also, and understanding its import rushed to support their comrades. The struggle was short and sharp. Three of Plug's men were thrown into the river, when the rest fled, leaving their leader in the hands of the victorious boatmen. The freebooter was quickly stripped, compelled to embrace a good-sized tree, to which he was firmly bound, and then whipped with a "cowhide" so long as any of the crew had strength to wield it effectively. In this condition, Plug was left to be relieved by the chance return of his comrades. Not long after, this desperado met his death while digging the caulking out of a river boat. A sudden tempest tore the boat from its moorings, and dashing it into the raging river, wrecker and boat were both lost.

The life of the boatman was not calculated to invite the better class of men to enter the river service. A crew was engaged for the down trip only. The return trip was made overland or in the service of such returning boats as needed an increase of force for the upward voyage. The life was full of hazardous adventure, and none but the hardy, unsettled portion of frontier society could be induced to undergo the necessary privations and dangers incident to the service; but to this class there was an attraction in the unrestrained, irresponsible life, which kept the demand for hands fully supplied. The association of such characters brought on frequent collisions among themselves; and fighting, in which the most brutal practices were indulged, was of such common occurrence as to pass without particular comment, and gradually came to be looked upon almost as a pastime. Island No. 57, in the Ohio River, gained its name of Battle Island from an encounter which is described, in the barge captain's journal, as follows:

Two of my stoutest men having quarreled during the day while at the oars, and having clinched, had a small round under deck. Hearing the noise, I ran and parted them, and could appease them in no other way than by granting them permission to take it out on land. Accordingly at evening, as soon as we dropped anchor, the parties having chosen their stand-by friends, set out from the barge in the jolly-boat, and landed on Island No. 57, where, after it was agreed that it should be "rough and tumble," and the signal for parting should be "enough," the combatants stripped off their jackets —the weather being cold—and taking their distance, flew at each other most ferociously. Two rounds brought them fast clinched in each other's hug to the ground, when the undermost, finding the thumb of his antagonist removing his eye from its socket, hollowed out vociferously to the bystanders: "Take him off! take him off! he's gouging me!" This was done immediately, and the boys got on their feet again; and discovering there was not much harm done except a bite from the one and a gouge from the other, they returned good-naturedly to the

barge again, and as usual worked friendly together during the remainder of the voyage.*

Such encounters were not always so satisfactorily ended, nor were they confined to themselves. Bullies along the shore and at the principal ports, when opportunity offered, seldom failed to challenge the noted champions of the river, and the landing of a boat's crew was generally the signal for a drunken debauch, during which gambling and set fights were freely indulged. These rough champions adopted suggestive *noms de guerre*, such as "Half horse, half alligator," "Snapping-turtle," and the like, and the exaggerated reports which came to the peaceable portion of the community gave rise to the belief that these names were not inappropriately applied. Their unlawful and, too often, outrageous conduct on their return trip by land, made them the terror of such families as lived along their route of travel, and a rule "not to lodge Kentuckians on any account" was at length pretty generally adopted by such persons, to the distress of the innocent as well as guilty.

The exaggerated stories, in which the exploits of the boatman have been perpetuated, undoubtedly make him the "hero of fields his valor never won," but enough has been authenticated to give these tales a foundation in fact. Of these river heroes, none forms a more striking figure in early annals than Mike Fink. His early home was in Pittsburgh, where he distinguished himself as an Indian spy before he reached his majority; but while thus employed the wild, adventurous life of the boatman attracted his youthful fancy, and, lured away by the soft enchantment of the boat-horn, he engaged in the minor offices of the river service. Here he proved an apt scholar, and from this modest beginning became one of the most notorious of his class. When the river was low, Mike spent his time with his rifle and soon distanced his competitors in the use of this weapon. His skill was so universally acknowledged that whenever he made one in a shooting-match for beef, such as was then of common occurrence in Kentucky, he was always allowed the "fifth quarter"—the hide and tallow—without a shot. This was a perquisite of his skill; one which he always claimed, always obtained, and always sold for whisky with which to treat the assembled company. His capacity as a drinker was enormous; he could drink a gallon in twenty-four hours without its effect being perceptible in his language or demeanor. He was also something of a wag, and had an uncomfortable way of enforcing his jests. He used to say that he told his jokes to be laughed at, and no man should treat them lightly. The consequence was that when one refused to laugh, the offender received a sound drubbing as an admonition for the future, which usually proved effective.

His practical jokes, as he and his associates were accustomed to call their predations upon the inhabitants along the line of the river, were bold and ingenious. On a certain occasion, while passing down the river, Mike observed a flock of sheep grazing on shore, and hit upon a characteristic expedient to secure a supply of mutton without paying for it. As it was about dusk, he landed his boat in an eddy he had discovered, and having made all fast, he took some Scotch snuff, which formed a part of his cargo, and with it besmutted the faces of several of the animals. Returning to his boat, he sent one of his men to the owner to say that he would better come down and see what ailed his sheep. The startled sheep-owner found some of his flock bleating, rubbing themselves, and capering about in the strangest fashion, and sorely puzzled, turned to the plotter of the mischief for his opinion. With the gravest demeanor, Mike assured the man that the "black murrain" had attacked his sheep, and would probably destroy the whole flock if not promptly arrested. After exciting the farmer's fears to the highest pitch by an artfully concocted story, he convinced his victim that only the summary killing of the diseased animals could save him from total loss. Mike was at once deputed to shoot the infected sheep, which were then thrown into the river by the crew. After dark, the carcasses, which had been caught in the eddy, were

*"The Navigator," p. 306. Pittsburgh, 1814.

hauled on board, and by daylight the boat, with its fresh supply of mutton, was gliding down stream to its destination.

But many of these "jokes" were characterized by a wanton cruelty which indicated a malevolent disposition on the part of the perpetrator. A negro had come down to the river bank to see the passing boat. Mike's keen observation caught sight of the negro's heel, which was peculiar in its excessive length, and quick as thought the boatman raised his rifle and fired, the bullet instantly tearing away a part of the exposed member. For this piece of deviltry he was arraigned by the law officers at St. Louis, but there is no record showing that he was ever compelled to pay any penalty for his crime. The power of law was regularly defied by these audacious characters, and notwithstanding they were charged with the whole catalogue of infamous crimes, from murder down, the officers found themselves powerless to inflict punishment. Mike was finally outlawed, and a reward offered for his apprehension.

For a time the desperado evaded the clutches of the officers; but one day, when his boat was moored at Louisville, an old friend who had attained the dignity of a constable, came to him pleading the necessity of his family, and pointing out the fact that while his captor would secure the much-needed reward the captive would in all probability escape conviction, he persuaded Mike to permit himself to be taken. This compromise was effected only on one condition, which Casseday thus describes:

He felt at home nowhere but in his boat and among his men; let them take him and his men in the yawl and they would go. It was the only hope of procuring his appearance at court, and the constable consented. Accordingly a long coupled wagon was procured, and, with oxen attached, went down the hill, at Third Street, for Mike's yawl. The road, for it was not then a street, was very steep and very muddy at this point. Regardless of this, however, the boat was set upon the wagon, and Mike and his men, with their long poles ready, as if for an aquatic excursion, were put aboard, Mike in the stern. By dint of laborious dragging, the wagon had attained half the height of the hill, when out shouted the stentorian voice of Mike, calling to his men: "Set poles!" and the end of every long pole was set firmly in the thick mud. "Back her!" roared Mike, and down the hill again went wagon, yawl, men and oxen. Mike had been revolving the matter in his mind, and had concluded that it was best not to go; and well knowing that each of his men was equal to a moderately strong ox, he had at once conceived and executed this retrograde movement. Once at the bottom, another parley was held and Mike was again overpowered. This time they had almost reached the top of the hill, when "Set poles!" "Back her!" was again ordered and again executed. A third attempt was successful, and Mike reached the court house in safety, and, as his friend, the constable, had endeavored to induce him to believe, he was acquitted for lack of sufficient evidence. Other indictments, however, were found against him, but Mike preferred not to wait to hear them tried, so at a given signal he and his men boarded their craft again, and stood ready to weigh anchor. The dread of the long poles in the hands of Mike's men prevented the *posse* from urging any serious remonstrance against their departure. And off they started with poles "tossed." As they left the court house yard Mike waved his red bandanna, which he fixed on one of the poles, and promising to "call again" was borne back to his element, and launched once more upon the waters.*

Mike's end formed a fitting close to an infamous career. With the introduction of steam navigation his career as a boatman ended, but, unwilling to abandon his wild life, with two or three companions he turned his attention to trapping on the upper Missouri. Here he quarreled with a comrade, whom he cowardly murdered, only to meet a similar fate at the hands of the murdered man's friend. The latter assassin met his death a few months later, while attempting to swim across the river. Thus perished the last of the boatmen.

With all this laborious effort and risk, a barge could bring up the river only a few bags of coffee, and at best 100 hogsheads of sugar. A regular line of these boats was established at Cincinnati, which plied to and from New Orleans, each carrying in its downward trip a crew of nine men, which was re-enforced to twenty-five or thirty men on the return voyage. A similar line was established at Louisville and Pittsburgh, but as late as 1808, the whole number of barges engaged on the river did not exceed

*"History of Louisville," p. 78. Much of the foregoing sketch of Mike Fink is compiled from this work, which is indebted for its data principally to sketches which appeared in the *Western Souvenir* for 1829, and in the *Western Review* for 1830.

twenty-five or thirty, the largest of which scarcely reached 100 tons burthen. Then succeeded the sailing vessel. It is said the inhabitants of Marietta first conceived the idea of exporting native products directly to the West Indies, a vessel being constructed at that place and sent to Jamaica. The success which attended this venture inspired a strong emulation among boat-builders and shippers on the Ohio, and Pittsburgh and Louisville at once engaged in similar enterprises, the vessels going to the West Indies or to New York and Philadelphia. From 1802 to 1805, there were built at Pittsburgh the ships "Pittsburgh," "Louisiana," "Gen. Butler" and "Western Trader;" the brigs "Nanina," "Dean" and "Black Walnut;" and the schooners "Amity," "Alleghany" and "Conquest." The "Monongahela Farmer" and the brig "Ann Jean" were built at Elizabethtown, besides others at Marietta and Louisville, of which the record has been lost. The misfortunes which attended many of these later vessels, arising from bad management in their course down the river, served to dampen the ardor of ship-builders, and the business had greatly declined, when the first steamboat, in 1811–12, was constructed.

But commercial circles were not alone in profiting from the invigorating impulse of the great immigration. Evidences of wealth and prosperity were everywhere multiplying among planters. The increasing number of stores brought in new articles of luxury, which the improved market for the products of the plantations enabled the owners to purchase to a considerable extent. This change was principally observable in the increase of home comforts. There was little of ostentation displayed. Log-houses, constructed, it is true, with greater care, continued the ordinary residence of all classes, though here and there plank and brick formed a more substantial as well as sightly material for this purpose. Orchards were multiplied, the peach forming the favorite fruit of the people, though apples were scarcely second in the public esteem. These were propagated from seed, and such was the favorable character of the climate that the peach tree bore abundantly in three or four years from the planting. So general was this prosperity that, in 1802, Michaux found nowhere in Kentucky "a single family without milk, butter, smoked or salted meat and maize for their food; the poorest man has always one or more horses, and it is very seldom that a planter goes on foot to see his neighbors." Improved table furniture was gradually introduced; knives and forks of metal in limited numbers took the place of the earlier substitutes; tinware displaced the noggin and bowl; pewter plates, succeeding the wooden-platters, gave a touch of brightness to the somber interior of the cabin; and the tinker, with his small pony, nearly covered by a huge pair of saddle-bags, filled with the molds and soldering irons with which he turned old pewter dishes into new and by sundry patches prolonged the usefulness of dilapidated tinware, becomes a regular visitant of the scattered plantations.

There were growing signs of a more luxurious living among the wealthy. The habits of the "old dominion" society were gradually transplanted into the new land. Slaves rapidly increased; silver plate began to adorn their tables; imported wines cheered their guests; and a growing disposition, on the part of a certain class of the Virginians, to arrogate something of superiority to those of their neighbors, who could lay no claims to the mystic virtue expressed in the title of "F. F. V.," began to be manifested. With the progress of political development this tendency became confirmed. Public offices were filled for the period of "good behavior," and, once supplied, there was no rotation in office to act as a stimulant to the people to qualify themselves for places of honor and trust. It accordingly became very generally accepted that some were born to rule, and that the many were born to be ruled, and both parties came to view this division as natural and desirable. This was the starting point of that harmless form of caste which has dubbed every man of parts with a title.

With the increase of prosperity this society began to show some effort to supersede the

primitive style of clothing, and calico and broadcloth began to be seen more frequently. Little by little the old colonial magnificence appeared at official receptions and other important public occasions. At such times the representative part of the community appeared in a fine cloth or velvet coat, cut "round-breasted," with long or swallow tail, large gilt buttons on both sides, set from collar to waist; the vest, if for winter, was of swan's down; if for summer, white marseilles with small gilt buttons; the lower limbs were clothed in "breeches," made for winter of cloth or velvet, or corduroy, and of nankeen or linen for summer. These reached down from the waist to the knee, where a cloth band, reaching just below that joint, fitted close to the leg, and was ornamented by a silver buckle on the outside seam. A long stocking of worsted for winter, or of silk or home-knit fleece for summer, and held in place by the knee-band instead of a garter, clothed the calf of the leg, while low shoes with silver buckles on the outer slope of the instep clothed the feet. A white and black stock with silver buckle supplied the place of a cravat. The hat was black, of fur or mixture of lamb's wool and fur, with very large brim, and if worn by a person of distinction the brim was cocked with a silver boss. Pantaloons, then called "overalls," were sometimes worn. Boots were equally rare, but when worn they extended to the knee and had a scallop in front, from the center of which a silk tassel some three inches long was suspended. These were known as "fair-tops," being made of a nice piece of fair leather. Nearly all who could wore a queue. The back hair was suffered to grow long; this was bound round with blue or pink ribbon with a double bow-knot; and if the hair was not long enough, false hair was nicely spliced to the stub, which was thus sometimes extended to the waist. The dress of the ladies in the same social circle was somewhat less elaborate. A few silk gowns, or of bombazet or gingham, the latter often homespun, with what was then called a "spencer," constituted the indoor dress. Ladies' hats or bonnets were of straw or silk, moderately trimmed. The gown was worn short, below which a neat pair of morocco shoes with buckles and fine silk or thread stockings were revealed. In Louisville, it was said, "There is a circle, small 'tis true, but within whose magic round abounds every pleasure that wealth regulated by taste can bestow. There the 'red-heel' of Versailles may imagine himself in the very emporium of fashion, and, whilst leading beauty through the mazes of the dance, forget that he is in the wilds of America."

The influence of this change upon the common people was very marked. Respectful deference to elders or those in official station became a notable feature of family and school-training, though generally unmixed with anything of servility. "Honor" became a prominent word in the early vocabulary, and the habit of attaching an exaggerated importance to insult, a strong and universal custom. In close correlation with these features was a marked courtesy in ordinary intercourse that approached the verge of gallantry. Friendships were warm and constant; resentments were bitter and revengeful. Unbounded hospitality, which freely offered entertainment to neighbor or stranger, prevailed. Neighborhoods lived, worked, feasted or suffered together in cordial harmony; families intermarried so that every one was the natural ally of each one, ready to espouse his cause in danger, or to congratulate him in success. The limits of neighborhoods extended over a wide area, and a ride of several miles on horseback to pay a friendly visit was an unnoted and frequent occurrence. Nor was this social duty devolved solely upon the women, as in the Northwest. The habits and agricultural system of the new land gave the man a large amount of leisure, which was employed principally in masculine gossip. On coming together, men disposed of each other's business projects and prospects with short shrift and fell to discussing genealogies and politics. The pipe was invariably an "unobtrusive third," the mild influence of which served to keep political talk well within friendly bounds. Short visits were neither desired nor made. The guest for the time

was put in full possession of the resources of his host, whose domestic habits experienced scarcely a ripple of interruption by the temporary addition to his household. The entertainment was without ostentation, and the table, though rudely spread with substantial food, was large in its bounty.

At the same time "smart signs of wickedness" began to appear in the popular amusements. A passion for gaming and spirituous liquors seemed to prevail; the taverns became the places of general resort, where drinking bouts commonly ended in the most sanguinary encounters. Horse-racing, dog and cock-fighting, raffling and shooting-matches were the favorite sports whenever the people came together. For many years it was the custom on each Saturday for the justices of the peace in the country around to repair to the nearest village to hold their courts. This brought together a large concourse of litigants, their friends and witnesses, besides those who came simply to see the sports. On this day, work was generally suspended in the country, and in the town the afternoon was usually observed as a holiday by the shop-keepers. The cases before the courts attracted little attention from any, save those directly affected by their decision, and were quickly disposed of, when all joined the throng and engaged in the real business of the hour. The drinking began early in the day, and by afternoon the fun grew fast and furious. The horse-racing and a cock or dog-fight were followed by various athletic contests. By this time the day was far spent, and the disappointed ambitions of the crowd were sufficiently inflamed by the constant drinking to bring on a number of disgraceful fights, which were always a part of the day's excitement. As night fell the crowd dispersed, some dangerously reeling on their horses, and all shouting and yelling like savages. Many were too drunk to get away and might be seen on Sunday seeking their homes after a night's drunken sleep in some secluded corner of the town. These scenes followed in a weekly round, each Saturday providing a programme for the succeeding one. The regular muster of the militia was another occasion on which the whole people gave loose rein to their propensities. Not only the enrolled members, but the whole population attended, when pony-racing, foot-racing, wrestling, fighting and drunkenness were engaged in far more than military movements. It was the favorite resort also of the candidate for political honors, who delighted his half-drunken audience with a speech, of which the most remarkable feature was its ribaldry.

But there was another side to the picture thus presented. While the arts of peace were rapidly removing the rude evidences of frontier life, war still hovered on the border. The provisions of the treaties made between England and the colonies did not include the savages, who still pressed their claims to the Ohio Valley with a pertinacity which even defeat could not abate. But the successful issue of the revolutionary movement none the less powerfully affected the interests of the savages. The re-enforced frontier settlements no longer thought solely of defense, but began to meditate revenge, and instead of a few despairing pioneers the Indians found themselves confronted by the strength which had humbled their more powerful allies.

On the conclusion of peace with the English, the national government set about measures for the pacification of the natives, and as early as May, 1783, congress instructed the secretary of war to take steps to notify the savages of the results of the recent contest, and to bring about a general cessation of hostilities. On October 15, following, the secretary reported the result of his efforts, and expressed the belief "that although the hostile tribes of the Indians in the northern and middle departments are seriously disposed to a pacification, yet they are not in a temper to relinquish their territorial claims without a further struggle." Congress nevertheless determined to hold formal conventions with the various tribes in the hope that by establishing territorial boundaries between the two races "all occasion for future animosities, disquiet and contention" might be avoided. While doubtless sincere in the

avowal of this sentiment, this unwieldy body found itself greatly hampered in its action by its limited executive power, as well as by the almost entire absence of anything like national spirit among its members. Though generally agreed upon the object to be achieved, there was no end to the difficulties raised in effecting its accomplishment, and it was not until October, 1784, therefore, that the first of these conferences was held. This occurred with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, where, on the 27th instant a treaty was entered into by which the old indefinite claim of this confederacy to the West was finally extinguished. On January 21, 1785, a treaty was made with the warriors of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations at Fort McIntosh, by which the southern half of the present state of Ohio was ceded to the whites. In the following November, a treaty of peace and friendship was negotiated with the Cherokees at Hopewell, on the Keowee, in Georgia; with the Choctaws on January 3, 1786; and with the Chickasaws on the 10th of the same month. In the meantime, while congress debated the matter of a convention with the "Pottawatama, Twightwee, Piankeshaw and other western nations" at Vincennes, prompt steps were taken to secure the ceded lands on the Ohio, and in the fall of 1785 Maj. Doughty descended the river and erected Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum.

Various circumstances concurred to change the original time and place set for the last-named convention, which eventually was held on January 31, 1786, at the mouth of the Big Miami, where Fort Finney, a temporary defense, was erected. A growing spirit of hostility was manifested by the savages. The Wabash tribes refused to attend, influenced by the Shawanese, who subsequently so far reconsidered their own determination as to meet the commissioners. They came in no very amicable spirit, however, and it was probably due to the sagacity of the congressional representatives that so favorable an issue of the convention was reached.

The Indians came into the apartment exhibiting marks of disrespect for the whites. The commissioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace-pipe, and after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Gen. Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and an easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanese; that the president had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and if the red men desired peace, they could have it on reasonable terms. "If such be the will of the Shawanese," he concluded, "let some of their wise men speak."

A chief arose, drew his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the commissioners and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum of different colors—the war and the peace belt. "We come here," he exclaimed, "to offer you two pieces of wampum; they are of different colors; you know what they mean; you can take which you like," and, turning upon his heel, he resumed his seat.

The chiefs drew themselves up in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They had offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long Knives, to which they knew it would be hard to submit, while they did not suppose he dare resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside. Those fierce wild men gazed intently at Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it, and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed, and apparently careless, until the chief, who had thrown the belts upon the table, had taken his seat; then with a small cane, which he held in his hand he reached, as if playfully, toward the war-belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it toward him, and then with a switch of the cane threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in the council, of each party, sprang to his feet, the savages with a loud exclamation of astonishment, "Hugh!" the Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon. Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness, and his eye flashed, but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him, as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him whenever one

bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him and sway them at his will.

Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke, and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him—none that could return the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm and waving his hand toward the door, he exclaimed, "Dogs! You may go!" The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council room.*

The savages subsequently returned and sued for peace, when the Shawanese, with certain of the Wyandots and Delawares, united in a treaty of peace and friendship. The good results of such treaties were not likely to prove long-lived. None of the parties interested, save the general government, seemed to desire peace. "The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced, are all opposed to a treaty," wrote Parsons, "and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have convincing proofs of its reality." It happened, therefore, that while the "plenipotentiaries" of congress and the various Indian nations on the borders of Kentucky were negotiating treaties of "peace and friendship," the region south of the Ohio was the scene of predatory incursions and reprisals, scarcely less active, though attended with less serious results than before the close of the revolutionary war.

After the close of hostilities in 1783, the savages seem to have observed a kind of armed neutrality. Surveyors in the uninhabited region north of the Licking found "fresh sign" of Indians, and realizing the unsettled state of affairs prudently withdrew. In other sections similar indications of the presence of savages were found, and now and then small straggling bands were met. On such occasions, the natives were found sometimes rude and predatory in their behavior, at other times only suspicious, but at all times sullen and distrustful, though offering no violence. The whites were in scarcely better temper, though many, desiring to avoid a renewal of the bloody experience of an Indian war, exerted themselves to cultivate friendly relations with these roving foresters. Mainly through such efforts, the natives were led to frequent the settlements and engage in an interchange of good offices, which promised to solve the perplexing problem of Indian affairs. Unhappily at this juncture a visiting native was lured into the forest and murdered by a vindictive settler. Some attempt was made to prosecute the murderer, but so powerful was the public prejudice that the attempt utterly failed.

The effect upon the savages was widespread and instantaneous. Their worst suspicions seemed confirmed, and the fact that the British had not yielded possession of the northern posts gave rise to a belief that the Americans had deceived them as to the actual issue of the war, a belief that was fortified by the representations of the traders and agents of the English. All friendly intercourse between the races was summarily ended, and old-time depredations were renewed. The southern tribes were the first to proceed to hostilities, and in the spring of 1784 emphasized the changed relations by stealing horses from the settlers in Lincoln County. Several encounters occurred in the course of the year, in which a number of the savages were killed, and in the fall such were the alarming rumors in regard to the Cherokees that Col. Logan called a convention of the leading people to concert measures, to avert the danger. The rumor proved greatly exaggerated, and no action was taken by the assembled whites.

These minor depredations were continued, but in March, 1785, they were unpleasantly varied by an attack upon a new settlement at the mouth of the Kentucky by the Shawanese; Elliot was killed and scalped, his cabin burned and his family dispersed. Other evidences of the more determined character of the hostilities to be expected were observed from time to time, but no further murders are noted until October, when some of the

*"Wilderness and War-path" by Judge Hall, in Wiley and Putnam's Library. By some writers, the leading role in this transaction is assigned to Gen. Richard Butler, who, with R. H. Parsons, was associated with Clark as commissioner. The intensely dramatic character of the interview is considered by others to be largely the product of Mr. Hall's fertile imagination. (See Annals of the West, note p. 278.)

southern warriors appeared on the Wilderness Road, and attacked emigrants on their way to Kentucky settlements. McClure's company was assaulted one night while in camp near the head of Scagg's Creek; six were killed and scalped, and the rest dispersed. Mrs. McClure gained the underbrush with her four children, and would have escaped with three of them, had she been willing to abandon the fourth, an infant in her arms. This one by its cries discovered her retreat, and the savages coming upon her cruelly murdered the three children, and took mother and babe captives.

The news of the outrage was quickly brought to Whitley's Station, but the captain being absent, his wife promptly dispatched a messenger for him, and in the meantime summoned his company of twenty-one men. Hastily returning, Whitley found his men fully equipped for an expedition, awaiting him. Believing the savages would at once take the war-road toward their villages, the rescuing party directed their course to intercept the enemy's retreat. Fortunately for the success of this plan, the Indians delayed to divide their plunder, and the whites had just time enough to form an ambuscade, when the war-party came up. Two of the warriors were instantly killed and two wounded. The rest dispersed, leaving Mrs. McClure, her child, a negro woman and the six scalps in the hands of the rescuers. Ten days later, a Mr. Moore and his party of emigrants were attacked near Raccoon Creek, on the same road, when nine of the company were killed and the rest scattered. Whitley was again notified, who, after five days' scout, came upon the hostile band, and inflicted a severe punishment on them. Three of them were killed, and a rich booty, consisting of twenty-eight horses, £50 in coin, and a quantity of household goods, was taken. In November two men were killed on Rolling Fork, of Salt River.

The inconclusive result which attended the meeting of the convention called by Col. Logan, in 1784, was occasioned more by the discovery that it lacked the authority to organize an expedition than by the conviction that such a measure was unnecessary. Here it dawned upon the frontiersmen, who had hitherto known no law save that of necessity, that the issue of the war had changed their relations to the natives, and that what had been permitted when the whole nation was engaged in a doubtful struggle for existence, in justice to the general weal, could no longer be allowed. Indian affairs had now become the care of the general government alone, by which the tribes were considered as independent nations with whom peace or war could be concluded only by its authority. Thus, with national independence came its responsibilities, and instead of prompt reprisal the Kentuckians found themselves obliged to employ official circumlocution—to prefer their complaints to the governor, by whom they were referred to congress for redress. This obviously did not prevent a defense of their homes and property, or the infliction of such punishment as was possible without an invasion of the territory secured by treaty to the several tribes, but the experience of former years had demonstrated that the only practicable defense of the frontier lay in such an invasion, and it was, therefore, with the greatest reluctance that the hardy woodsmen acquiesced in the new order of things.

As the depredations increased, the forbearance of the settlers diminished, and in the spring of 1786, after suffering repeated losses by the Indians, the inhabitants on the Blue Grass determined to undertake their own redress. In April, the savages made a successful raid after horses, and as usual effected their escape across the river. A party of settlers was immediately organized under the command of Col. William Christian, who had settled here in the previous year, and the thieves rapidly followed. A part of the predatory band was overtaken some twenty miles within the limits of their territory, and when brought to bay made a stubborn resistance. In numbers each party suffered an equal loss, two falling on either side; but one of the whites was Col. Chris-

tian, a man that the growing State could ill afford to lose.*

Such action was undoubtedly without legal sanction, and can be justified only by a consideration of the undisciplined state of society, and the great provocation offered by the savages. At the same time the settlers did not fail to make urgent complaint to the governor, who promptly presented their case to the general government, but in the nature of the circumstances these complaints assigned the authorship of these troubles with such indefiniteness that congress, slow to move at best, found it difficult to act intelligently. A communication of the governor on May 16, 1786, however, elicited the prompt action of the government. Two companies of troops were sent to Louisville, and on June 30, the organization of the Kentucky militia for an expedition into the country of the mischief-makers, under the command of the leading government officer, was authorized. The expedition thus suggested does not seem to have been ordered by the national authorities, but while congress delayed, the governor appears to have given some general instructions to the Kentucky officials "to adopt the necessary means of defense." Under such authority, the county-lieutenants were convened, and the question whether the act of congress referred to empowered them to impress men and materials for an expedition, was submitted to the legal officers of the district.

On the receipt of a favorable reply, the assembled officers promptly decided upon a campaign against the tribes on the Wabash. Gen. Clark was chosen for the chief command, and such was the general enthusiasm, that 1,000 men were quickly equipped and assembled at Louisville. Vincennes was selected as the base of operations, and thither the supplies for the army were shipped in nine keel-boats. The troops proceeded by land, and reached their destination some time in September, but the provisions and ammunition being delayed by the low water in the Wabash, it was decided, much against Clark's wish, to await the arrival of the boats. Nine days were thus consumed in inactivity, and with the most disastrous consequences. The scanty supplies at hand had daily diminished; the troops began to manifest a restless, discontented spirit; and a rumor prevailed that a messenger dispatched by the general to offer peace or war to the savages had cut off the last hope of surprising the enemy. To these disheartening conditions was added a lamentable want of harmony among the officers, and a growing lack of confidence in the commanding general. In his retirement after the revolutionary war, Clark had contracted a serious habit of intoxication, and, overruled in his desire for prompt action by the majority of his subordinate officers, he sought relief from his vexation in drinking, and even appeared in camp completely under the influence of whisky. Seizing upon this fact, some of his lieutenants, acting, it is charged, from motives of jealousy, encouraged the growing feeling of general discontent.

It was under such circumstances that the troops were at length put in motion to achieve the design of the campaign. Each hour rendered the disintegrating influences more potent, and when only about two days' march from the Indian town, 300 men refused to proceed further, and, turning their backs upon their comrades, took up their march homeward. The most earnest entrea-

*William Christian was born in Augusta County, Va.; was educated at Staunton; and when a young man, commanded a company in Col. Bird's regiment, which served on the southwestern frontier in the early part of the French and Indian war. In this service he proved a brave and skillful partisan, and on the return of peace, retired to his private pursuits with a widespread reputation for ability. He subsequently married a sister of Patrick Henry, and settled in Botetourt County, where he was made colonel of militia. In the Dunmore war he again took the field at the head of 300 men, reaching Point Pleasant on the day following the great battle which was fought here on October 10, 1774.

In the following year he was a member of the general State convention, and in 1776 was appointed second in command of the First Virginia Regiment. The resignation of the colonel in the same year occasioned the promotion of Mr. Christian to the first place, when he was ordered with a force of 1,200 men to quell the Cherokee outbreak. This he achieved with singular ability and good fortune, and returned to find ample demand for his services in counteracting the machinations of the tories. For this purpose he resigned his commission in the line, and served in command of the militia of his county. He was thus engaged during the war and rendered signal service to the patriotic cause, exhibiting the highest executive ability and good judgment in dealing with the difficult questions which the complicated state of society presented. He subsequently represented his county in the State assembly for several years, when, in 1785, he cast in his fortunes with those of Kentucky. His reputation had preceded him here, and he was at once advanced to the place in public esteem left vacant by the death of Col. Floyd. As the discussion of a separation from Virginia progressed, Col. Christian's ability made him a conspicuous candidate in the hearts of the people for the first governor of the projected State, but all such anticipations were summarily ended by his sudden death, which was learned with universal regret.

ties failed to shake their purpose, and after a somewhat disorderly council, and notwithstanding that sufficient remained to promise the success of the enterprise, the whole force was ordered to follow. On reaching Vincennes the greater part of the troops broke into small parties, each of which sought its own course homeward, ending the campaign in disgrace, for which none were wholly free from responsibility. The public censure, however, fell with greatest severity upon the commanding officer, of whom it was written at this time with too much truth: "The sun of Gen. Clark's military glory has set, never more to rise."

Logan set out with his expedition, but in crossing the river it was decided in council that he should return to Kentucky and organize a new force to be directed against the Shawanese, whose attention, it was thought, would be drawn toward the earlier movement, and would, therefore, be unprepared for nearer hostilities. This Col. Logan promptly accomplished. Seven hundred men were enlisted and rendezvoused at Washington, from whence the second expedition, commanded by Logan and guided by Kenton, at the head of his own company of scouts, proceeded by a rapid and direct march to the Mackacheek and Pickaway towns. The Indians were completely surprised, and the country east and west for 100 miles visited with terrible destruction. Four towns, with all their standing crops, were destroyed; about twenty warriors were killed, and a number of women and children taken prisoners, at a total loss to the whites of only ten men killed or wounded. But while the whites were thus exerting their power against the northern and western tribes, the savages still harried the southern border. Here, in October, 1786, the Indians made a night attack on McKnitt's company of emigrants, as they lay encamped between the Big and Little Laurel Rivers, killing twenty-one, and dispersing or taking the rest prisoners. In December, they made another night attack upon a party of whites at the mouth of Buck Creek, on the Cumberland, killing one man and putting the rest to flight. Thus the year, which was marked in its opening months by the successful negotiation of treaties with the various Indian tribes, closed amid the discordant cries and angry clash of the embattled races.

The year of 1787 witnessed the renewal of warlike activities on all sides, with all their old-time barbarities. The invasion of the Shawanese country served only to exasperate that fierce and vindictive nation, and during the succeeding winter and spring they engaged in such active hostilities as to keep the whole country bordering on the Ohio, in a constant state of alarm. In the counties of Mason and Bourbon the settlers were again compelled to resort to stations for protection; labor in the fields and intercourse between settlements were interrupted or carried on under a strong guard, and the system of scouts and rangers, adopted only in times of great danger, was again established. The great increase in the number of settlers forbade the savages to hope for success in a bold attack upon the forts, and their vigilance rendered it impossible for large bands to safely penetrate far into the interior. The hostility of the natives, therefore, found expression chiefly in predatory raids, though attacks were not wanting, which evinced their prowess, and inspired the frontier with terror. Unwary settlers were everywhere picked off by the keen-sighted enemy, and on one occasion the savages descended upon the well-traveled road from Limestone to Lexington, capturing a wagon and teamster. In December a small detached station at Drennon's Lick was captured, and two men killed, but with these exceptions the great complaint was the loss of horses. In stealing these animals, the savages displayed a dexterity which threatened to exhaust the whole supply on the border.

At first it was the custom for one or two Indians to secretly make their way into a settlement at night, secure a horse for each one, and retire to their villages unobserved; but as they became more proficient in their operations, they improved upon the original plan. The parties were then increased from six to a dozen warriors, who selected some retired rendezvous on the south side of the

river, to which they brought their booty. Leaving their first captures in care of a guard, the rest would again disperse to bring other animals until fifteen or twenty were collected, when they would secretly take them across the Ohio, and thence to their towns. In this way it was no unusual thing for each savage to bring a horse to the rendezvous every night. It consequently often happened that a predatory party would set out from their villages, traverse the more than 100 miles to the settlements, and return in fifteen or twenty days with as many horses, while, such was the extent of these depredations, a single county in Kentucky often lost 100 of these animals in a single month.

Such wholesale depredations were calculated to exasperate the settlers and lead them to ignore the formalities imposed by existing treaties. Reprisals promptly followed. Early in the year Luttrell was killed on Fishing Creek by the Indians. Logan at once collected a party of settlers, repaired to the scene of murder, fell on a trail and pursued it across the Cumberland, where he came upon an Indian band. He attacked them without parley, killed several, and dispersed the rest, returning in triumph with the furs and skins found in the camp. A little later Kenton, who had been active in waylaying the marauders from the north, solicited the aid of Col. Robert Todd, of Fayette County, in making an expedition into the Paint Creek country. This appeal called forth a prompt response, and a formidable force penetrated the Indian territory to Chillicothe, burning the town and ravaging the country for miles around. The enemy made no resistance, and suffered a loss of three killed and seven taken prisoners, who were so carelessly guarded, however, that they made their escape before the expedition recrossed the river. In June Maj. Oldham crossed the Ohio River with a scouting party, and made his way to the Wabash, but without meeting any of the enemy.

These expeditions served little better purpose than to infuriate the Indians, and the depredations of the succeeding year (1788) were marked by greater frequency and audacity. The progress of the settlements north of the river contributed to the same result. The different States claiming territory in the region northwest of the Ohio having relinquished their pretensions, congress, on July 13, 1787, formulated an ordinance for its government; on the 27th instant Dr. Cutler and his associates had secured a grant of 3,500,000 acres on the Ohio and Scioto, extending eastward; in October St. Clair had been appointed governor, and 700 troops* ordered for the defense of the region, and to prevent the unauthorized intrusion of the whites. In the succeeding winter the Ohio Company's surveyors and pioneers had reached the Youghiogheny, and on the 7th of April reached the mouth of the Muskingum, where the foundation of Marietta was laid. Here subsequent arrivals were more rapid than convenient covering could be provided, though houses were being constantly erected, and by the middle of December fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as were to be seen in the older States, graced the first ball.

Such progress in the settlements of the whites might well challenge the attention of the savages, who, notwithstanding the recent treaties, still claimed the region north of the Ohio. Alarmed by the danger which thus threatened all alike, and exasperated by inconclusive expeditions, the tribes generally united to resist the new encroachments. While the northern Indians were thus harassing the border settlements with redoubled effort, the southern tribes maintained their hostilities with unabated vigor, and scarcely a month passed without its list of brutal murders and exasperating thefts. "In Kentucky," wrote Symmes, "a man a week falls by their hands," while on the river the increasing travel felt their vindictive power with scarcely less effect. An incautious landing was almost certain destruction, while skillful decoys, narrow passages and accidents of navigation all served the murderous purpose of the relentless enemy. Emigrants soon learned to make the voyage in fleets, and were thus comparatively secure, but single boats, or the

*These troops were stationed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, on the Muskingum, on the Miami, at Vincennes and Louisville.

unshielded person of a passenger seldom escaped some permanent memorial of the sleepless enmity of the savages.

Despite these hostilities the settlements on both sides of the river continued to increase. Late in the fall, and in the succeeding winter, Symmes having secured his grant on the Miamis, the settlements of Columbia and Losantiville were established, which, contrary to expectation, were allowed by the savages, not only without molestation, but with expressions of good will and friendship. This change of sentiment did not extend to the settlements south of the river, however.

The hostile incursions into the Kentucky settlements in 1789 commenced early in March, and were continued occasionally until May, when they became frequent and alarming. These parties consisted chiefly of warriors from the towns upon the sources of the Little Miami and of branches flowing into the Scioto and Great Miami, and the field of their operations was the whole range of settlements near the Ohio, from Fort Harmar to the mouth of Salt River.

From the first of May to the first of August, there had been thirteen persons killed and ten wounded by the Indians in the county of Jefferson, beside twenty horses stolen. In the county of Nelson, two persons had been killed and two wounded, beside twenty horses stolen. In Lincoln County, two persons had been killed and two wounded, and twenty-five horses stolen. In Madison County, one person had been killed and three wounded, and ten horses stolen. In Bourbon County, two persons had been wounded, and fifteen horses stolen. In Mason County, two persons had been killed and forty-one horses stolen. In Woodford County, one boy had been killed, and several horses stolen. Many other harassing depredations of less note had been perpetrated by lurking parties of savages, so that the whole frontier region within thirty miles of the Ohio was kept in a state of continual alarm and apprehension. Parties of Indians often penetrated unperceived into the heart of Kentucky, at least fifty or sixty miles from the Ohio. In Woodford County, on the 10th of August, two men were fired upon by a party of Indians, but escaped with the loss of one horse, saddle and bridle. On the night succeeding, the same party stole eleven horses in that vicinity. A party of men set out next day in pursuit of the Indians, and, having overtaken them, killed two of them, and recovered most of the horses. On the 16th of August, a party of Indians in ambuscade captured six negroes. Having retreated half a mile with the captives, and fearing pursuit, they tomahawked four of them, and the other two escaped. Two of these, who were left for dead, finally recovered. The same party on the following night stole a number of horses, with which they fled across the Ohio. Next day a party of forty men, under Lieut. Robert Johnson, set out in pursuit and followed them to the Ohio River, about twenty-five miles below the mouth of the Great Miami. Here part of the company returned, but twenty-six of them volunteered to cross the river, and continue the pursuit. Having followed their trail about twelve miles further, they came upon the Indians, encamped at a salt lick. By a vigorous and unexpected attack, in two divisions, the Indians were at length routed, and forty horses recovered. Lieut. Johnson lost two men killed and three wounded. Other parties of Indians had penetrated the settlements, and served to keep up alarm and apprehension among the frontier people; and occasional murders and depredations were continued, with but little intermission, until checked by the severity of winter. In December the Indians killed three men within twelve miles of Danville, at "Carpenter's Station," and five others on Russell's Creek, besides some who were wounded and escaped.*

Early in January, 1789, new treaties were negotiated by the general government with the Iroquois, confirming the treaty of 1784 at Fort Stanwix; and with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh, but these still left the cause of hostilities unsettled. So far as the Iroquois, Wyandots, Delawares and Shawanese were concerned, the transfers of territory thus effected were not disputed. But some time previous to 1787, a confederation of the other tribes of the northwest had been formed, which resolutely refused to acknowledge the act of certain of their tribes that were represented in the last named treaty. Of this fact they informed St. Clair, and demanded that the Ohio River be made the perpetual boundary between the white and red man. In spite of these representations, however, the settlements increased on the northern bank of the Ohio, and in June, 1789, Maj. Doughty, with 140 men, came to the site of Cincinnati and began the construction of Fort Washington, which, in the following December was further strengthened by the arrival of Gen. Harmar with 300 more troops.

Notwithstanding this show of power, the

*History of Mississippi Valley, by John W. Monette, New York, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 158, 159.

hostile tribes continued their hostilities with the results noted, and opened the succeeding year (1790) with even more vigorous and extended effort to beat back the invaders than before. Again the vast numbers on the river attracted the vindictive rage of the savages, which fell with cruel effect upon inexperienced men, women and children, who were hastening to the inviting regions of the Ohio Valley. In January a boat containing ten persons was captured within sixteen miles of Limestone, and all murdered, save one woman, who was taken captive. In March a band of fifty Shawanese and Cherokees gathered at the mouth of the Scioto, and for several weeks almost blockaded the river. With white prisoners, whom they compelled to decoy boats to their relief, they deceived and captured a number of vessels, the crews of which fell an easy prey. Such as escaped this device suffered more or less from the rifles discharged from the banks. On the 20th of March they decoyed the boat of John May to the shore and captured it, killing May and a young woman, and taking the rest prisoners. On the following day an open pirogue with six men was fired upon and every one on board killed. In the latter part of the month a party of Wabash Indians captured a boat ladened with salt, at the mouth of Salt River, and killed the three men in charge.

Nor were the settlements forgotten. In March, Indians captured and carried off three persons from Brashear's Creek, near Louisville, and a few days later killed two men working in a field in the same vicinity. Earlier in the month two men were killed, and a woman and five children taken captive in Kennedy's Bottom, twenty-five miles above Limestone.

The month of April was signalized by the remarkable audacity and success of Indian attacks. On the 2d instant several family boats were attacked near Kennedy's Bottom. One man was killed, and the rest of the company, abandoning one boat and its contents to the enemy, united their force, and after a chase of two hours, succeeded in effecting their escape with the others. On the 4th, after failing in their attempts to decoy three family boats, the savages manned a captured barge with thirty warriors, and set out in vigorous pursuit. To preserve the lives of the non-combatants, two boats were abandoned and their crews transferred to the other barge, which, with oars double-manned, succeeded in escaping, after a vigorous pursuit of fifteen miles. The boats lost in this encounter contained twenty-eight horses, and dry goods, besides household furniture, to the value of nearly $5,000. On Sunday, the 18th, a company of defenseless women and children, returning from church service at Hartford to a station on Rough Creek, were attacked by Indians, a boy and girl killed and scalped, an old woman tomahawed and scalped alive, and her daughter carried off captive.

On the 11th of May, a barge, containing a company of sixteen persons, including an officer and eight soldiers of the regular service, was captured by twenty warriors. Five of the captives were barbarously murdered, three escaped, and the rest were carried away. Soon after two boys out hunting near Loudon Station, on the head-waters of Drennon's Lick Creek, were captured. On the 23d a collection of men, women and children, returning home from a sermon on Beargrass Creek, were fired on by the savages, one man killed and a woman made captive. On being pursued, soon after, the captors tomahawked the woman and escaped unpunished. In June, of two spies, sent to reconnoiter toward the Ohio, one was killed near the Big Bone Lick. On the 19th, one man was killed and scalped, and another wounded, at Baker's Station. On the 26th, at Morgan's Station, nine men were attacked and three of them wounded, one of them mortally. On the same day, a family boat, guarded by three men, was attacked near Three Islands, in the Ohio. There were sixteen of the Indians in four bark canoes. These approached the whites, boarded the boat in spite of their resistance, and took all on board prisoners.

Such effective hostilities on the part of the savages could not fail to call forth the most vigorous reprisals on the part of the Kentuckians, and, notwithstanding the peace policy

of the general government greatly hampered their movements, volunteer expeditions, carried on by individual enterprise and at individual expense, were constantly in motion along all the borders of Kentucky. Detachments were occasionally sent out from Forts Harmar and Washington to break up hostile camps in their near vicinity, but all these efforts did little more than to incite the unsubdued savages to more energetic action. In April, Gen. Scott, who had settled in Kentucky in 1786, led a body of 230 volunteers across the river at Limestone to chastise the marauders, who carried on their depredations from the mouth of the Scioto, but the expedition found the Indian camp abandoned, and effected nothing more serious than the killing of four of the enemy. This force was re-enforced by 100 regulars from Fort Harmar, but, in the main, in spite of this openly hostile attitude of the savages, the general government persisted in its policy of ignoring the state of war which actually existed, and from 1783 to 1790, exerted its influence to secure a peaceful solution of the trouble through treaties.

On the failure of the Wabash campaign in 1786, Clark had taken position at Vincennes with such troops as he could induce to remain, and, upon his own authority, attempted to negotiate with the neighboring tribes. This action was disallowed by the Virginian authorities, who recommended congress to appoint commissioners to conduct the negotiations. The suggestion reached congress too late for action in this matter, but in October (1787) action was taken to secure a conference with the savages early in 1788, and Gov. St. Clair was instructed accordingly. It was not until January 9, 1789, however, that anything was accomplished, when the futile treaties at Fort Harmar were negotiated. In pursuance of the general policy, and in order to reduce the exasperating conflicts between the Indians and Kentuckians, the president directed the governor of Virginia to discharge the scouts and rangers heretofore employed in the counties of Kentucky at public expense. This order was received (July, 1789,) by the settlers on the exposed frontier with earnest protests from the leading men, and with practical refusal to obey it from the people.

There was little difference of opinion as to the character and necessities of the situation among those who were in a position to know the facts, and their oft-repeated representations gradually led the general government to adopt a less forbearing policy. As early as September 29, 1789, congress had empowered the president to call out the militia and he, on October 6, had authorized the territorial governor to draw 1,500 men from the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia, if absolutely necessary, but added instructions which required delay and further parley. Late in the same month, the Virginia legislature recognized the good intentions of the president, called his attention to the continued hostilities, and urged the adoption of aggressive measures. The Kentuckians supported this action of the legislature by numerous addresses, to one of which the president replied, on December 15, that measures for the defense of the frontier would certainly be taken, and a few days later, brought to the attention of congress a letter of Gov. St. Clair, in which he represented the nature of the Indian depredations;* that the Kentuckians constantly traversed his territory in pursuit of the enemy, whom he was enabled to chastise; and recommending active measures against the savages. Accordingly, while the last means to avoid a war were being employed, the secretary of war wrote (April 13, 1790,) Judge Innes, that the president wished to extend to Kentucky the benefits of certain regulations adopted for the defense of the frontier, and empowered him to authorize the county lieutenants to call out the scouts in cases of emergency.

On the 1st or 2d of January, 1790, Gov. St. Clair reached Losantiville, the name of which he changed to Cincinnati, in honor of the military society bearing that name, and

*The results of the partisan war, which had prevailed since 1783, were indeed startling, when summed up. In a calm presentation of the subject, it was stated upon personal knowledge that in the period referred to—1783 to 1790—1,500 persons had been killed or captured in Kentucky; 20,000 horses had been taken from immigrants or settlements, and household goods and other property stolen or destroyed to the value of $50,000. (See American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 88.)

on the 8th instant reached Fort Steuben, on the site of Jeffersonville, from whence he set off for Kaskaskia. On the 5th of April, under instructions of the governor, the commandant at Vincennes sent Anthony Gamelin on a mission to the hostile Indians to learn their real sentiments. He first approached the Wabash tribes, the Piankeshaws, the Kickapoos and Weas, by whom he was severally referred to their elder brethren, the Miamis. Accordingly the envoy proceeded to the villages of the Miamis, who were closely associated with the Shawanese and Delawares. This point was reached on the 23d of the month, and on the following day negotiations were opened with the representatives of the three nations. Several days were consumed in inconclusive talks, the Indians wishing to confer with the neighboring and lake tribes, as well as the English commandant at Detroit, before rendering a final answer. This the instructions of the envoy did not permit, but on the 29th instant, the sentiment of the Indians was conveyed to him in a private manner, of which he makes record in his journal as follows:

In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Shawanese nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, so called, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fires, and sent away their young men, being a hunting without a mouthful of meat; also, had taken away their women; wherefore, many of them would with a great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away, by degrees, their lands; and would serve them as they did before; a certain proof that they intended to encroach on our lands, is their new settlement on the Ohio. If they don't keep this side (of the Ohio) clear, it will never be a proper reconcilement with the nations Shawanese, Iroquois, Wyandots, and perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamis, asked me, in private discourse, what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Muskingum (Fort Harmar). I answered him that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago; but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty; they are only young men, who, without authority and instructions from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to the treaty clandestinely, and they intend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.*

With this Gamelin was forced to be satisfied, and on the 8th of May, returned to Vincennes. Three days later, traders from the Upper Wabash arrived at the same place, bringing the news that the northern Indians had joined the Wabash tribes, and that three days after Gamelin's departure, an American captive had been burned in their village. War was thus seen to be inevitable, and St. Clair hastened to return to Fort Washington, in order to concert offensive measures with Gen. Harmar. The governor reached his destination on the 13th of July, and two days later called upon Virginia for 1,000 men, and on Pennsylvania for 500 more. A double campaign was planned, one movement to be conducted against the Wabash tribes, for which 300 of the militia were ordered to repair to Fort Steuben, to act in concert with the troops from Fort Knox, at Vincennes. The other was to be directed against the villages at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph Rivers, for which 700 of the militia were to gather at Fort Washington, and 500 just below Wheeling, to act in conjunction with a body of regulars, under Harmar, from Fort Washington.

Under the call for troops, the quota for that portion of the district of Kentucky included within the counties of Nelson, Lincoln and Jefferson was fixed at 300 men, to rendezvous at Fort Steuben on the 12th of September, and of that within the counties of Madison, Mercer, Fayette, Bourbon, Woodford and Mason, the quota was fixed at 700 men, to rendezvous at Fort Washington, on the 15th of September. There was a strong and widespread aversion, on the part of the frontier militia, to serve with the regulars, or under the command of their officers, and the troops which responded to the call of St. Clair, were totally unlike those who had hitherto afforded such exalted evidence of the prowess of the frontiersmen.

They were ill-equipped, being almost destitute of camp-kettles and axes; nor could a supply of these essential articles be procured. Their arms were generally very bad, and unfit for service; as I was

*American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 93.

the commanding officer of the artillery, they came under my inspection, in making what repairs the time would permit; and as a specimen of their badness, I would inform the court, that a rifle was brought to be repaired without a lock, and another without a stock. I often asked the owners what induced them to think that those guns could be repaired at that time? And they gave me for an answer that they were told in Kentucky that all repairs would be made at Fort Washington. Many of the officers told me that they had no idea of there being half the number of bad arms in the whole district of Kentucky as were then in the hands of their men. As soon as the principal part of the Kentucky militia arrived, the general began to organize them; in this he had many difficulties to encounter. Col. Trotter aspired to the command although Col. Hardin was the eldest officer, and in this he was encouraged both by men and officers, who openly declared unless Col. Trotter commanded them they would return home. After two or three days the business was settled, and they (*i. e.* the Kentucky men) were formed into three battalions under the command of Col. Trotter, and Col. Harden had the command of all the militia (both Pennsylvania and Virginia). As soon as they were arranged, they were mustered, crossed the Ohio, and on the twenty-sixth marched and encamped about ten miles from Fort Washington. The last of the Pennsylvania militia arrived on the twenty-fifth of September. They were equipped nearly as the Kentucky, but were worse armed; several were without any. The general ordered all the arms in store to be delivered to those who had none and those whose guns could not be repaired. Amongst the militia were a great many hardly able to bear arms, such as old, infirm men, and young boys; they were not such as might be expected from a frontier country, viz.: the smart active woodsmen, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connections. No, there were a great number of them substitutes, who probably had never fired a gun. Maj. Paul, of Pennsylvania, told me, that many of his men were so awkward, that they could not take their gun-locks off to oil them and put them on again, nor could they put in their flints, so as to be useful; and even of such material, the numbers came far short of what was ordered, as may be seen by the returns.*

Thus constituted and organized, the expedition set forth on the 4th of October. The route followed was the "old war-path," which led across the head-waters of the Little Miami and Mad Rivers to Piqua, and thence in a westerly direction to a few miles below the mouth of Loramie's Creek. From this point the line of march lay a little west of north on the west side of the creek for about thirty miles, when, crossing the head-waters of the St. Mary's, it led up to its junction with the St. Joseph's, where were located the principal villages of the Miamis. At Loramie's Creek, the first Indians were seen, three warriors, who were evidently watching the movements of the army. They were instantly pursued and one of them captured. From information thus derived, it was determined on the 13th of October, when about thirty-five miles from the village, to send a strong detachment forward to hold the savages in their defenses until the rest of the army with the artillery could be brought up. Accordingly, Col. Hardin and Maj. Paul were detailed in command of 600 men for this duty. On the 14th, the detachment set forward, and about 3 o'clock on the next day reached the villages, which they found deserted. Here the advance remained inactive until the approach of the main army on the 17th, when the work of destruction was begun. In four days the main village and four others and 20,000 bushels of corn were destroyed.

Gen. Harmar's instructions provided that, in case of success at this point, the expedition should be directed against the Indian villages on the Wabash, and on finding the enemy gone, it was the General's intention to proceed westward at once. This movement was protracted, however, by the carelessness of the militia, who, regardless of the success of the movement, allowed the savages to easily capture the pack-horses, for which the owners,

*Maj. Ferguson's evidence before court of inquiry. See American State Papers, Vol. XII, p. 20. In the same volume, page 24, is found an account of the organization and advance of the army as follows: "The Kentuckians composed three battalions, under Majs. Hall, McMullen and Ray, with Lieut.-Col. Commandant Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvanians were formed into one battalion, under Lieut.-Col. Trubly and Maj. Paul, the whole to be commanded by Col. John Hardin, subject to the orders of Gen. Harmar. The 30th, the General having got forward all the supplies that he expected, moved out with the Federal troops, formed into two small battalions, under the immediate command of Maj. Wyllys and Maj. Doughty, together with Capt. Ferguson's company of artillery and three pieces of ordnance. On the 3d of October, Gen. Harmar joined the advance troops early in the morning; the remaining part of the day was spent in forming the line of march, the order of encampment and battle, and explaining the same to the militia field officers. Gen. Harmar's orders will show the several formations. On the 4th, the army took up the order of march as is described in the orders: On the 5th, a re-enforcement of horsemen and mounted infantry joined from Kentucky. The dragoons were formed into two troops; the mounted riflemen made a company, and this small battalion of light troops was put under command of Maj. Fontaine. The whole of Gen. Harmar's command may be stated thus:

3 battalions of Kentucky militia	1133
1 battalion Pennsylvania militia 1 battalion light troops mounted militia 2 battalions Federal troops	320
Total	1453

after demanding pay for their use, promptly asked reimbursement for their loss. The proposed attack upon the Wabash villages was therefore given up, and the traces of women and children having been discovered, Col. Trotter was dispatched with 300 men, on the 18th, to develop the hiding-place of the enemy. The conduct of this officer was very unsatisfactory. A small force of the enemy was found, but such was the lack of discipline and soldierly bearing of both officers and men, that nothing was accomplished. Dissatisfied with the inconclusive result, Hardin assumed the command on the following day, and at an early hour came upon a determined detachment of the enemy. Here the unsoldierly conduct of Hardin precipitated a sad defeat. When informed of the evidence which betokened the presence of a watchful enemy, he declared they would not fight, and failed to adopt any military precautions. He was, therefore, riding in front of his troops when the Indians opened a sharp fire upon the troops, forcing him to make a quick retreat, in which he was followed by most of his followers. Nine of the militia and twenty-four of the regulars stood fast, and were instantly killed. Armstrong, who was in command of the detachment thus immolated, threw himself into a thicket, where for "three hours in daylight" he remained, according to Marshall, sunk in a swamp, "up to his neck in mud and water within 100 yards of the horrid scene." He subsequently escaped, and gave the following opinion of the causes of the defeat. "During that time," he says, "I had an opportunity of seeing the enemy pass and repass, and conceived their numbers did not amount to 100 men; some were mounted, others armed with rifles, and the advance, with tomahawks only. I am of opinion that had Col. Trotter proceeded, on the 18th, agreeably to his orders, having killed the enemy's sentinels, he would have surprised their camp and with ease defeated them; or had Col. Hardin arranged his troops, or made any military disposition, on the 19th, that he would have gained a victory. Our defeat I therefore ascribe to two causes: the unofficer-like conduct of Col. Hardin (who I believe was a brave man) and the cowardly behavior of the militia; many of them threw down their arms loaded, and I believe that none except the party under my command fired a gun.*

With an army on the verge of insubordination, its councils distracted by the jealous rivalry of officers, and the whole organization utterly lacking in discipline and equipment, such a defeat was calculated to hurry the retreat of the most determined general, and on the 21st instant the expedition began its retrograde movement toward Fort Washington. But Hardin, uneasy under his defeat, strongly urged Harmar to permit him to return that night to the destroyed villages and inflict punishment upon the savages, who were likely to return to their old sites on the retreat of the army. To this the general reluctantly assented, and a detachment of 340 militia, forty of whom were mounted and sixty regular troops, were sent under the command of Hardin and Maj. Wyllys to effect the object proposed by Col. Hardin. Unfortunate delays occurred, but notwithstanding these, had there been no wanton disobedience of orders, the plan would probably have succeeded. As it was, the attack fell soon after sunrise, and the Indians, giving way with precipitation, were suddenly followed by the militia, leaving the small body of regulars alone to hold the line of battle. The savages had not been so demoralized as at first appeared, and rallying their main body they fell upon the unsupported regulars in overwhelming numbers, and utterly destroyed them. The militia, in the meantime, found they had only been led away by a clever strategem, and after a pursuit of two miles sought to return. It was then that they found the real enemy. The line of their retreat was a continuous ambuscade, the savages safely pouring a destructive fire from elevated ground into the ranks of the returning militia. But eight of the regulars survived, and of the militia, 100 privates and ten officers were killed, besides the wounded.

On rejoining the main body, Hardin urged the general to send another party, or lead back the whole army to the scene of the de-

*American State Papers, Vol. XII, p. 26.

feat. This Harmar refused to do, and, according to Col. Hardin's statement, but one other man in the whole army could be found to support his proposition. The retreat was now steadily continued, until the remains of the expedition was once more within the defenses from which it set forth, and here the militia was discharged to spread the jealous discontent, which had narrowly escaped expression in general mutiny on the homeward march. Hardin and Harmar rapidly became exceedingly unpopular in Kentucky; and such was the general censure of their conduct in this campaign, that each sought a negative sort of defense against public opinion in an acquittal before a court of inquiry. In official circles, however, the campaign obtained more credit. Harmar and St. Clair considered it highly successful; the whites had inflicted a loss upon the Indians of fifty warriors slain, a large quantity of corn destroyed, and five or six villages burned, the largest of which contained 250 cabins. The invaders had lost, besides considerable material, 183 men killed, and about forty wounded. The list of casualties was undoubtedly large in proportion to the achievements of the army, but the general offset of this consideration with the fact that the whites were "able to lose ten men to their one," and that, notwithstanding the retreat seemed forced, the great object of the campaign, "the destruction of the Miami towns," had been accomplished.

In respect to its achievements, the campaigns of other leaders on the frontier had scarcely accomplished more, but it could not be disguised that the expedition had signally failed in the main purpose for which all aggressive movements were primarily planned, that of intimidating the savages. On the contrary, the Indians looked upon the campaign as a failure and followed the retreating whites almost to the river, and were especially active in their depredations during the succeeding fall and winter. In the spring, their war parties continued their incursions against the unprotected settlements on the Ohio from Fort Pitt to Louisville with unabated ardor, achieving in this time some of their most noted successes. The general government recognized the necessity for decisive action, and early adopted measures for subduing the exultant savages. A threefold plan was accordingly resorted to. It was decided to first send to the western tribes a messenger, supported, if possible, by the presence of influential Iroquois chiefs, with offers of peace. At the same time provisions were made to organize a volunteer expedition to be directed against the Wea, Miami and Shawanese towns in case the negotiations should fail, and to follow this movement by an overwhelming federal force which should invade the hostile region, and plant and garrison a fort in the midst of the unfriendly tribes. In the meantime, to guard the exposed stations from immediate attack, certain posts on the frontier were indicated which were to be regularly garrisoned by the militia.*

Col. Thomas Proctor, the chosen messenger of peace, set out from Philadelphia March 12, 1791, and it was hoped that he would be able to reach Fort Washington with a report of his mission by the 5th of May. In the preceding December, the Kentuckians had petitioned congress to be permitted to fight the Indians in their own way, and accordingly in March, Brig.-Gen. Charles Scott was authorized, in conjunction with Innes, Brown, Logan and Shelby, to organize an expedition of mounted men against the Wabash tribes, which should start on the 10th of May, provided it was not delayed by the order of St. Clair, to whom such authority was given.

The failure of Proctor to reach, or send news to, Fort Washington, did effect the delay of the expedition until the 23d instant, when, despairing of favorable news from the north, St. Clair gave orders for the force to proceed.

Gen. Scott's command consisted of some 800 light troops and mounted riflemen. Wilkinson had joined as a volunteer, but was at once elected second in command, with

*The stations in Kentucky, and their garrisons, were as follows: At Three Islands, 20 men; at Locust Creek, 18; the "Iron Works," 17; forks of the Licking, 12; Big Bone Lick, 18; Tanner's Station, 5; Drenon's Lick, 10; mouth of Kentucky, 9; Patton's Creek, 10; mouth of Salt River, 19; Hardin's settlement, 12; Russell's Creek, 15; Severn's Valley, 10; Widow Wilson's, 5; Estill's Station, 10; Stephenson's, 18; Knob Lick, 9.

the title of lieutenant-colonel commandant. Col. Hardin, burning to redeem his military reputation, had also joined the expedition as a volunteer, and was placed in command of the advance guard and the guides. The little army rapidly pursued the course of Harmar's expedition until it crossed the St. Mary's, when suddenly taking a westward course it came upon the Wabash and Eel River towns. The former were sighted on the 1st of June, and found situated on the low ground bordering the river. Col. Hardin was immediately detached with a force to attack them on the left, while the main body moved forward by the direct approach. On turning a point of woods, the main body discovered a cabin situated considerably in advance of the village. This was promptly stormed by Capt. Price with forty men, and two warriors killed. On gaining the summit of an eminence, which overlooked the villages, the enemy was observed in great confusion, endeavoring to escape across the river in canoes. Wilkinson was ordered forward with the first battalion, which reached the brink of the river just as the last of the enemy left the shore, and notwithstanding a brisk discharge of guns from the Kickapoo town on the other side, the troops opened fire on the retreating Indians with such effect as to "destroy all the savages with which five canoes were crowded."

Immediate steps were taken to dislodge the enemy, who had taken position in the Kickapoo town, but, the river proving unfordable, there was some delay, though a considerable force, by swimming or in canoes, got on the other side unobserved. About this time word came to Gen. Scott that Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and that having discovered a stronger village, hitherto unobserved and farther to the left, he was about to attack it. Troops were at once detached for his support, but the village being some six miles distant, all was over before the supports came up. A little before sunset, Hardin returned with fifty-two prisoners, besides inflicting a loss of six warriors killed. The Kickapoo town having been abandoned as soon as the movement to that side was discovered, the troops rested until next morning, when it was proposed to dispatch Wilkinson with 500 men to destroy an important town at the mouth of the Wild Cat Creek, eighteen miles distant. On parading the troops they were found in such an exhausted condition, that only 360 were believed capable of performing the service, but with this reduced force the march was begun on foot at "half after five in the evening." The vicinity of the town was reached about 11 o'clock that night, when the troops went to rest upon their arms until morning. At half-past four the towns were attacked on all sides, and the Indians, completely surprised, instantly took refuge in flight. After burning the town, consisting of some seventy cabins, and destroying the growing crops, peltries and other belongings, the detachment returned, having been gone only about twelve hours.

The expedition now turned homeward, and on the 14th of June reached Louisville. The result of the campaign had done much to justify the hesitation which the Kentuckians manifested in joining the regulars in such expeditions. In three weeks they had traveled more than 300 miles; had engaged in numerous skirmishes with the enemy; had burned several large towns and adjacent villages; destroyed immense quantities of growing crops; killed thirty-two Indians, "chiefly warriors of size and figure;" and taken fifty-eight prisoners. All this had been accomplished without the loss of a single man killed, and of only five wounded among the whites. Such success could not fail of recognition, and the general government, not yet ready to exert its power, authorized a second expedition by the Kentuckians to be directed against the Eel River towns. Wilkinson was appointed to organize and command the next expedition, who, with Hardin and Caldwell as majors, soon raised a force of 530 mounted men.

On the 1st of August, these troops set forth from Fort Washington, and rapidly following the course toward the Miama towns, as before, turned again toward the west, and on the 7th of August came suddenly upon the towns upon the Eel and Tippecanoe

branches of the Wabash. The former were found "scattered along Eel River for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazel and black jacks." The Indians, expecting a second expedition, had prepared for it by packing and burying their goods; the warriors were generally absent watching the paths leading up from the Ohio, or procuring ammunition, and so sudden and determined was the onset that few in the town escaped. Eight warriors were killed and one wounded. After burning the cabins, and cutting up the corn, which was "scarcely in the milk," the troops set out for the Kickapoo town in the prairie, but such was the state of the country and the sore condition of the horses, that this enterprise had to be given up, and the expedition, after ravaging much of the Wabash and Weatonon country, and traveling some 450 miles, returned to Fort Washington, where it arrived on the 23d of August.

In the meantime, while Wilkinson was floundering up to his armpits in the boggy Wabash country, and Proctor was making his ineffectual attempts to gain an audience with the disaffected tribes, the government was gradually perfecting arrangements to carry out the third part of the proposed programme—"to establish a strong military post at the Miami Village," to be supported by a chain of similar posts connecting it with Fort Washington. St. Clair had been selected for the chief command.

At the close of April he was in Pittsburgh, toward which point troops from all quarters, horses, stores and ammunition were going forward. The forces, it was thought, would be assembled by the last of July or the first of August. By the middle of July, however, it was clear that the early part of September would be as soon as the expedition could get under way; but the commander was urged to press everything, and act with the utmost promptness and decision. But this was more easily urged than accomplished. On the 15th of May, St. Clair had reached Fort Washington, and at that time, the United States' troops in the West amounted to but 264 non-commissioned officers and privates fit for duty;* on the 15th of July, this number was more than doubled, however, as the first regiment, containing 299 men, on that day reached Fort Washington. Gen. Butler, who had been appointed second in command, was employed through part of April and May in obtaining recruits; but when obtained, there was no money to pay them, nor to provide stores for them. In the quartermaster's department, meantime, everything went on slowly and badly; tents, pack-saddles, kettles, knapsacks and cartridge-boxes were all "deficient in quantity and quality." Worse than this, the powder was poor or injured, the arms and accoutrements out of repair, and not even proper tools to mend them. And as the troops gathered slowly at Fort Washington, after some wearisome detentions at Pittsburgh and upon the river, a new source of trouble arose in the habits of intemperance indulged in and acquired by the idlers. To withdraw them from temptation, St. Clair was forced to remove his men, now numbering 2,000, to Ludlow's Station, about six miles from the fort; by which, however, he more than doubled his cost of providing for the troops. Here the army continued until September 17, when, being 2,300 strong, exclusive of militia, it moved forward to a point upon the Great Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built, the first in the proposed chain of fortresses. This being completed the troops moved on forty-four miles farther, and on the 12th of October commenced Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of the town of Greenville, Darke County. On the 24th, the toilsome march through the wilderness began again. At this time the commander-in-chief, whose duties through the summer had been very severe, was suffering from an indisposition, which was by turns in his stomach, lungs and limbs; provisions were scarce; the roads wet and heavy; the troops going with "much difficulty," seven miles a day; the militia deserting sixty at a time. Thus toiling along, the army—rapidly lessening by desertion, sickness and troops sent to arrest deserters—on the 3d of November, reached a stream twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be the St. Mary of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash, just south of the head-waters of the stream for which the commander mistook it. Upon the banks of this creek, the army, now about 1,400 strong, encamped in two lines.*

The right wing, composed of Butler's, Clark's and Patterson's battalions, and commanded by Gen. Butler, constituted the first line; and seventy yards in the rear, which was all the space the situation would allow, was the second line, formed by the left wing of Col. Darke, and composed of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the Second Regiment. Across the creek, about a quarter of a mile in advance of the main body, the

*Forty-five at Fort Harmar, seventy-five at Fort Washington, sixty-one at Fort Stueben, and eighty-three at Fort Knox (Vincennes).

*Annals of the West, pp. 358, 359.

militia was encamped in similar order. It was proposed on the following day to inclose the main camp before proceeding toward the Miami towns, and plans of the intended fortification were agreed upon between the engineer officer and St. Clair that night. But these plans were destined to remain unaccomplished. The Indians had been gathering to dispute the passage of the army, and several had been observed near the creek who had precipitately fled on the approach of the troops. Orders had been given to Lieut.-Col. Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by his scouts, while Capt. Slough, with a volunteer troop of regulars, reconnoitered still farther in advance. Slough in the night discovered so strong a body of the enemy, a mile beyond the foremost camp, that he prudently fell back and reported the fact to Gen. Butler. Oldham also detected the presence of the savages in significant numbers, and reported the fact to the same officer, but for some unexplained reason this important information did not reach St. Clair, nor induce Butler or Oldham to make any new disposition to meet the imminent danger thus discovered.

Thus the night passed, and in the morning, considerably before daylight, as was the constant practice, the troops were paraded under arms. About half an hour before sunrise, however, just as the troops had been dismissed, the savages opened a fierce attack upon the militia. They soon gave way in a disorderly scramble for the rear, and rushing through the first line, with the Indians at their heels, threw it into considerable disorder, which was never altogether remedied. The fire of this line, however, checked the victorious pursuit for the moment, but the enemy returned to the attack with renewed vigor, and with the second line it was immediately involved in a desperate struggle with the intrepid assailants. The weight of the attack was directed against the center, where the artillery was placed, and such was the effect of the concentrated fire that the troops were repeatedly driven back at this point with great slaughter, and the cannon silenced, the artillerymen being all killed or driven off. A charge by Col. Darke afforded temporary relief, but the savages soon gained the interior of the camp by a flank movement, and wrested the only line of retreat from the sorely beset troops. Confusion was rapidly spreading among the whites, in spite of the gallant efforts of the officers, and retreat was the only course left open to the commander. To effect this movement with moderate success the road must be regained, and a charge was accordingly ordered. Fortunately, it proved successful, and along the route thus opened the militia hastened, followed by the regulars, Maj. Darke with his battalion covering the rear. In his official report to the secretary of war St. Clair said:

> The retreat, in those circumstances, was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward either to halt at the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Maj.-Gen. Butler, Lieut.-Col. Oldham, of the militia, Maj. Ferguson, Maj. Hart and Maj. Clarke are among the former; Col. Sargent, my adjutant-general, Lieut.-Col. Darke, Lieut.-Col. Gibson, Maj. Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as aid-de-camp, are among the latter; and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

At Fort Jefferson a garrison was left in charge of the defenses and the wounded, while the demoralized army pressed on to Fort Washington, where it arrived in broken detachments on the 8th of November. The troops had suffered a terrible loss. In the one disastrous battle 38 commissioned officers were killed, and 600 non-commissioned officers and privates were either killed or missing. Among the wounded were 21 commis-

sioned officers, and 242 non-commissioned officers and privates. The loss of the Indians in killed was placed at 56. But disheartening as was this comparison, scarcely anything can be reckoned more permanently serious, among the disasters of this unfortunate campaign, than the utter demoralization of the troops. So overcome with terror were the men that it was with difficulty that the sentinels at Fort Jefferson were prevented from systematically deserting, and the militia, dispersing to their homes, spread the consternation throughout the border.*

The odium of this campaign fell heaviest upon St. Clair, though a congressional committee soon after the event, and history, much later, have exonerated him from blame. The unfortunate commander, "a veteran of the Revolution, possessed of both talent and experience, but old and infirm," was an unhappy selection, but the more prominent causes which contributed to the disaster are to be sought elsewhere. The leading causes of the disaster were the surprise of the enemy and the unsteadiness of the militia. What good reasons could be assigned for the neglect of Butler and Oldham to adopt precautions in face of a well ascertained danger, and for their failure to acquaint St. Clair with the facts, can never be known, as both of the delinquent officers lost their lives upon the field of battle, but they may be held principally responsible for the unexpected character of the attack.

The militia was similar to that which served with Harmar. The contrast drawn between the campaigns of Scott and Wilkinson and that of the former general did not tend to remove the general prejudice existing among the Kentuckians against serving with regulars. To this was added a growing preference for the mounted service, and when the government called for volunteers, no general officer could be found who would accept command, and none of the best fighting force who would offer their service. Resort was, therefore, had to a draft, and the command of the troops thus raised assigned to Lieut.-Col. Oldham. This militia served with great reluctance, and sought every opportunity to desert, a body of sixty men turning back on October 31st, in spite of their officers. It was such depletions and the absence of troops sent to bring them back that reduced St. Clair's effective force at the time of battle. Probably not more than 500 of these half-hearted troops were present when the Indians attacked, and having no relish for the work, nor any cohesive power as a collective body, they easily gave way under the effect of the surprise and a vigorous assault. In their headlong stampede they were scarcely less effective than the enemy in demoralizing the army.

Whatever may be said of the causes, the effect was not in doubt. The savages, emboldened by their success, renewed their attacks upon all the frontier settlements, and Kentucky, which, in 1791, had "enjoyed more repose, and sustaind less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain," was one more harassed by hostilities which for nearly twenty years had kept the people upon the verge of despair. The counties of Mason, Bourbon, Nelson and Jefferson were the chief sufferers. In this exposed region the settlers maintained patrolling parties of volunteers, which scoured the country in all directions with such effect as to greatly limit the success of their incursions, but, in spite of these precautions, the settlers suffered the most cruel losses.

An incident related of the heroic defense of a cabin in Innis Bottom, on the Elkhorn, illustrates the common experience of the period. Six families had settled here in the latter part of 1791, and in the succeeding spring the various cabins were simultaneously

*One of many petitions sent to the governor or president will suffice to illustrate the state of public feeling in Kentucky. "From the representatives of the county of Ohio to the governor of Virginia—*Sir:* The alarming intelligence lately received, of the defeat of the army in the western country, fills our mind with dreadful fears and apprehensions, concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the county we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make. In the course of last year upward of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians in our defense. The success of the Indians in their late engagement with Gen. St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenseless inhabitants; (those adjoining the county of Harrison, extending a hundred miles; covering the county of Monongalia; and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request this assistance." (American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 222).

assaulted by upward of 100 savages. Jesse and Hosea Cook, with their families, occupied one of the cabins, and at the time of the attack the men were shearing their sheep in front of the cabin door. The first fire killed one of the brothers, and mortally wounded the other, who had just enough strength left to gain the interior before he expired. The women immediately closed and barred the door, which, being unusually heavy, repelled the bullets fired into it by the Indians as well as the assaults of their tomahawks.

In the meantime the women searched in vain for means to defend their log citadel. No bullets could be found for a time, and the assailants, believing there was nothing to fear from the inmates, carelessly exposed themselves in front. Fortunately a single bullet was at length discovered, which one of the women, with nervous strength, bit in two. A rifle was hastily charged with one part, and observing a savage sitting astride a log a few feet from the door, the courageous woman discharged the gun and instantly killed him. This deed turned the fury of the assailants upon the cabin, and, mounting upon the roof they fired the clapboards. Not a moment was lost in confronting the new danger. One woman mounted to the loft, while the other handed up water that was found within. This sufficed to check, but not extinguish the fire. The water exhausted, a quantity of eggs was crushed and applied to the burning roof. Still the fire was unsubdued, and recourse was had to the dead man's coat saturated with his blood. These expedients still left enough life in the fire to endanger their lives, when the contents of a "chamber bucket," relieved them from this danger, and eventually proved their salvation, as the savages soon afterward hastily decamped.

Such incidents called forth numerous reprisals, of which none were more bold and effective than those conducted by Kenton. Situated near the direct route of the war parties from the North, his watchfulness generally obtained the earliest information of their presence in Kentucky. His promptness to act usually brought him upon the heels of the retreating marauders, who seldom escaped with all their booty, and generally paid the penalty of their temerity with the lives of some of their number. In this year (1792) he came in contact with a band under the command of the famous chieftain, Tecumseh. The depredations by Indians on the Little Miami aroused the settlers to concert measures for revenge, and an expedition was organized with Kenton in command. The little party of rangers cautiously advanced across the Ohio, and up the course of the former river to near the present site of Williamsburg, before they discovered any fresh "signs." Here a single Indian on horseback, hunting with bell open, was waylaid and killed. A few hundred yards farther on brought the party in sight of a considerable encampment of Indians. Their linen tents and markees indicated that they had shared the spoils of St. Clair's defeat, and that their number was greatly superior to that of the whites. Relying upon the effect of its audacity and surprise, Kenton determined to make a night attack. The day closed in dark and drizzly, and having separated into four divisions, a simultaneous attack was made at the appointed time. Each rifle did execution upon a warrior at the first fire, when the rangers charged with terrific yells upon the tents. The first alarm and confusion having subsided, under the influence of their able leader, the Indians were led to observe the small number of the assailants, and to return to the fight. Kenton, equally quick to note the change and its import, gave orders to retreat, which was effected in safety. The band subsequently proved to be a party of 200 warriors under Tecumseh. Thirty were killed outright, and others wounded; the whites lost one killed and one captured, who was executed by the savages on the following morning.

In June, 1793, the Indians had attacked and captured Morgan's Station, and then retired to a village on Paint Creek. This again called out Kenton, who with thirty men hastily took the trail, hoping to intercept their retreat near the Scioto. On reach-

ing Reeve's Crossing on Paint Creek, "fresh signs" were discovered, and a reconnoisance developed the fact that the Indians had encamped some distance down the creek with three fires. The savages, utterly unsuspicious of danger, were giving vent to their satisfaction in singing and carousal, and the whites, after inspecting the camp, deferred the attack until just before daylight the next morning. Kenton divided his party into three equal divisions, which, at a given signal, made a furious attack from three different directions. The Indians were put to flight in the greatest consternation, leaving four of their number dead upon the ground. The whites lost one man killed.

Again, in August of the same year, the scouts brought to Kenton the information that a party of savages had crossed the river. Promptly sending the news to the militia officers of Bourbon County, Kenton prepared to waylay the Indians upon their retreat. With a party of seven chosen spirits he crossed the river at Limestone and proceeded down to the mouth of Holt's Creek. After waiting nearly four days, three Indians were observed to approach with six horses. The animals were driven into the river, and, raising a canoe which they had previously sunk, the savages followed. As the canoe approached the shore, one of its occupants was discovered to be a white man and he was spared, but the Indians fell victims to the unerring marksmanship of the rangers. The white man, however, proved so thoroughly Indianized that Kenton's party was obliged to shoot him in self defense. Four hours later, two more Indians and a white man with five horses approached in a similar manner, and met a similar fate.

In the night the main body came up with thirty horses, and began to signal their comrades by imitating the hooting of owls. Receiving no response the wary savages became suspicious, and after a cautious reconnoisance, one of their number quietly swam across the river. He soon discovered the fate of his friends, and quickly gaining the hills in the rear of the whites signaled the waiting savages south of the river with three loud and long yells, which were followed by a warning of the lurking danger in their native tongue. This warning was quickly acted upon by the Indians, who instantly fled, leaving their booty to fall into the hands of the militia, which came up in hot haste an hour later. This is believed to have been the last incursion of the Indians into Kentucky.

In the meantime, the government had not been unmindful of the necessities of the situation. A disastrous battle was fought on the 4th of November; on the 8th, the broken fragments of the army reached Fort Washington; on the 9th, St. Clair wrote his report; on December 12th, the information was laid before congress; and on the 26th of the same month, the secretary of war, Gen. Knox, submitted to the president the outlines of new measures to be undertaken against the hostile tribes. Before this date, however, it was generally agreed among the responsible heads of the government that a new campaign, with a competent army, would be required, but it was the wish, chiefly of Washington, that the last possible effort to prevent further bloodshed should first be exhausted. This disposition gained a wider support because it was generally feared that the effect of St. Clair's defeat had been such as to shake the loyalty of the hitherto friendly nations, and that premature action might precipitate the tribes all along the border into a general war.

Accordingly, the greatest activity was displayed in dispatching envoys bearing messages of peace to the various Indian nations. In January, 1792, two agents were sent from Philadelphia, *via* Niagara, to the Miami and Wabash tribes. In February, the efforts of the commandants at Forts Washington and Knox were enlisted, and on April 7th Freeman was dispatched from the former post on a peace mission; on the 13th instant, William May followed his trail and "deserted" to the enemy to aid or learn of Freeman. On May 22d, Capt. Trueman was sent on an embassy to the Miami village; and on the same day, Col. Hardin set out for Sandusky. With the exception of May,

none of the envoys thus sent out from Fort Washington escaped death at the hands of the treacherous savages.

In the East, affairs with the Iroquois seemed to progress with a better show of success. In March, fifty of their chiefs visited Philadelphia, and returned to use their good offices in behalf of peace at the council of the northwest Indians, to be held at the mouth of the Auglaize. At this grand convocation, beside the western, New York and Canadian Indians, there were twenty-seven other nations present, but no decisive action was taken. The matter of peace and war was referred to another council, to be held in the spring, but the prevailing sentiment of the assembled natives was that the Ohio must be made the boundary between the races, and the treaties of Forts Harmar and McIntosh annulled. To such an impotent conclusion did the year's negotiations come.

An unimportant exception to this list of failures occurred in the West. On June 26 Rufus Putnam set out from Marietta for the Miami towns, but learning at Fort Washington of the probable fate of his predecessors, and the hostilities of the savages, he determined to go to Vincennes to detach the Wabash tribes from the general league, if possible. He set forth from Cincinnati on the 17th of August, with presents and certain Indian prisoners to be given to their friends. Safely reaching his destination, Putnam opened negotiations with such address that on the 27th of September he concluded a treaty with ten of the leading tribes, but as the senate refused to ratify it, it also must be added to the list of failures.

The sterner argument of force, however, had not been entirely lost sight of amid all this futile negotiation. In January, 1792, St. Clair had proceeded to Philadelphia to demand a court of inquiry, leaving Wilkinson, appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment, in command at Fort Washington. The posts erected in the previous year were still held by garrisons of regulars and detachments of militia, to keep the savages, who lurked about them, in awe. Soon after St. Clair's departure the new commandant led a body of regulars and 170 militia, under Maj. Gano, to relieve the garrison at Fort Jefferson, and from that point advanced to the scene of the late battle, where he collected more than 200 muskets and brought them to the fort, with three of eight gun-carriages, from which the cannon had been taken. As spring advanced the number of lurking savages increased, attacking supply trains and relieving detachments, with the hope of forcing the abandonment of these detached posts.

The most serious of these attacks occurred on the 6th of November. Capt. John Adair, with 100 mounted Kentuckians, had been called out to escort a "brigade of pack horses" to Fort Jefferson. The trip out and back to Cincinnati took six days, the train camping each night near one of the forts for protection. It happened about the same time that a body of 250 savages had concerted an attack on one of the Miami settlements, and in passing Fort Hamilton had captured some wood-choppers from the fort. These prisoners informed their captors that, the day previous, a train had gone forward with supplies for the other posts. The Indians at once changed their plans and laid an ambuscade in which to entrap the returning convoy. Reaching Fort Jefferson on Saturday, Adair allowed the men and horses to rest over Sunday, and reached Fort St. Clair on Monday night. Learning of this through their scouts, the Indians left their hiding-place, and about day-break on Tuesday made a spirited attack on three sides of the camp. The militia retired in good order "beyond the shine of their fires, on the side next to the fort," and when the enemy became engaged in plundering the abandoned camp, made a spirited attack on both flanks and forced them to give way. It was not done, however, without stubborn fighting, in which the tomahawk and war club were freely employed. The savages retreated in good order, repeatedly turning upon the whites and driving them back. On returning to their camp the militia found 140 horses killed or stolen, with all their camp equipage, six of their number wounded

and an equal number killed. The loss of the savages is said to have been only six killed.

Notwithstanding such striking evidences of determined hostilities on the part of the Indians, and the failure which had attended every employment of peaceful measures during the previous year, the government still proposed one further effort to negotiate a peace, and on the 1st of March, 1793, secured the services of three commissioners to attend a meeting of the hostile tribes "at the rapids of the Miami (Maumee) when the leaves were fully out." Sandusky was finally selected as the place of meeting, and the commissioners set out for that place by way of Niagara. Here they were delayed by one cause or another until the 15th of July, when fifty natives, headed by the tory Butler and the half-breed Brant, arrived from the Maumee. These envoys from the savages claimed to represent sixteen of the leading Indian nations, but did nothing more than demand the meaning of the war-like preparations on the Miami. The commissioners subsequently crossed the lake to the mouth of the Detroit River, where, on the 21st of July, they took up their residence in the house of the notorious English agent, Matthew Elliott. They took immediate steps to hasten the proposed meeting at Sandusky, but on the 29th instant twenty Indians came from the Maumee, and on the 31st the plenipotentiaries of the two races met in council, with Simon Girty as interpreter. Negotiations were prolonged until the 16th of August, when the tribes submitted their *ultimatum*, which may be gathered from the closing paragraph of their final message:

Brothers:—At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio, and we determined not to meet you until you gave us satisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants, and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.*

This closed all hope of preventing a contest of arms. The commissioners immediately set out on their return, reaching Fort Erie, near Niagara, on the 23d instant, whence they dispatched to Gen. Wayne a report of the issue of their negotiations by three different channels. These reached the general at "Hobson's Choice," near Cincinnati, when that energetic officer was struggling to overcome the unwillingness of the Kentuckians to volunteer, and against those even more intractable forces, "the fever, influenza and desertion."

Washington had early persuaded congress to authorize the increase of the army by the addition of three regiments of infantry, and a full squadron of 2,000 horsemen, to be enlisted for three years, or until a settled peace had been effected. St. Clair having resigned, the choice of a new commander devolved upon the president, who, from a number of excellent officers suggested, appointed Gen. Anthony Wayne, not, however, without the strong opposition of leading men and the "extreme disgust" of the Virginians. Through the summer of 1792, the enlistment and discipline of the new levies were not neglected, and in December they were rendezvoused at a point twenty-two miles below Pittsburgh, which took the name of Legionville from the title adopted by the new army—the legion of the United States. Here the new troops passed the winter, sparing neither powder nor lead in perfecting their marksmanship. In April they descended the river and encamped near Fort Washington, where drilling and other preparations were continued until October, 1793. On the 5th instant Wayne estimated the effective force which he could lead beyond Fort Jefferson at 2,600 regulars, 360 mounted volunteers, and thirty-six guides and spies. Though this was far short of what he had hoped for, he was by no means discouraged, and, proposing a defensive

*The nations joining in this reply were the Wyandots, Seven Nations of Canada, Pottawatomies, Senecas of the Glaize, Shawanese, Cherokees, Miamis, Ottawas, Messasagoes, Chippewas, Munsees, Mohicans, Connoys, Delawares, Nantakokies and Creeks. (See American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 306.)

campaign, argued from the unorganized character of Indian warfare the probability of a successful issue.

On the 7th instant the army began its advance, and six days later took up a strong position in advance of Fort Jefferson. On the 17th, although no opposition had hitherto been met with, the watchfulness of the enemy was evinced by a fierce attack upon a supply train, about twenty miles beyond Fort St. Clair. The troops, consisting of ninety regulars under command of two commissioned officers, were forced to retreat to the fort, leaving seventy horses and the stores in twenty-one wagons, beside both officers and thirteen men, to the mercy of the savages. The wagons and a large part of their contents were subsequently recovered. On the 24th instant, Gen. Scott joined the army with 1,000 mounted Kentuckians. In raising these troops, the same obstacle which had so powerfully obstructed the previous campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair had been encountered. The best men obstinately refused to volunteer, and on the 28th of September a draft had been enforced by the governor, which, with Gen. Wayne's personal efforts, had achieved the result mentioned. The militia was retained but a short time, however, when it was dismissed until spring, the general in command having decided to fortify his position and remain there through the winter.

Fort Greenville was according built on the site of the present county seat of Darke County, which takes its name from the fort. This completed, a force was sent to erect a military post on the site of St. Clair's defeat. The troops reached their destination Christmas day, and at night found the ground so thickly strewn with human bones that they had to be removed from the tents before the beds could be made. On the following day, these sad mementos of the fatal engagement were buried in trenches dug for the purpose. Fort Recovery was thus erected, twenty-three miles northwest of Greenville, on a branch of the Wabash, and garrisoned by a company of artillery and one of riflemen under the command of Capt. Alexander Gibson.

Thus the winter passed unmarked by any serious hostilities, though Wayne's scouts, under the command of Kenton, brought intelligence which indicated the concentration of a formidable force on the Maumee. Nor were the Indians alone to be feared. The treacherous English had not only early supplied the savages with powder and lead, in large quantities, but in the fall of 1793 they had advanced with three companies of troops and erected a military post at the Maumee Rapids, ostensibly to guard the approach to Detroit against the advance of the hostile American army. Indubitable evidence was gained, also, that the British had given the savages good reason to believe that they would receive assistance from the troops in time of battle.

Undisturbed by these warlike preparations, Wayne matured his plans for an advance which he proposed should be irresistible, whatever force should oppose. On the 30th of June, 1794, the long truce was broken by an attack on Fort Recovery. A thousand or fifteen hundred Indians and English, under the command of Little Turtle, furiously assailed the fort on every side. The assailants were repeatedly repulsed with great loss, but returned to the attack with fresh determination until night fell. Fortunately for the slender garrison, a convoy of fifty dragoons and ninety riflemen had just arrived, though not yet entered, and lent valuable aid in resisting the savages. The succeeding night being dark and foggy, the detachment effected an entrance to the fort in safety. On the following day the fight was renewed, but early despairing of success the savages withdrew to their camp seven miles away, where they remained two days encumbered with their dead.

On the 26th of July, Scott returned with the militia, this time increased to 1,600 men. The visit to Wayne's camp in the preceding fall had impressed the captious Kentuckians with a profound respect for the military ability of the new commander-in-chief, and there was no difficulty experienced in the spring in raising the full complement of militia. Two days after the arrival of this

re-enforcement, the army advanced. On the 1st of August, the army reached the St. Mary's River, twenty-four miles from Fort Recovery, where the erection of a stockade (Fort Adams) detained it three days. On the 8th, after a march of fifty-three miles, the legion reached the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, where Wayne proceeded to build Fort Defiance. While engaged in erecting this fort, he sent on the 13th a last offer of peace to the hostile tribes, which elicited no response save a request for a delay until the 18th instant. Unwilling to await the tardy return of the envoy, however, the troops moved forward, and on the last date mentioned arrived at a point forty-one miles from Fort Defiance, where some light works were thrown up for protection of the baggage, and called Fort Deposit. On the 20th, the baggage having been stored away to be left behind, the army began its advance between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning. The enemy was now reported to be in force at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, seven miles away, and after advancing about five miles the skirmishers reported the discovery of the savages. A heavy fire from the Indians caused the advance guard to retreat when the main lines were formed.

The legion was immediately formed into two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Maj.-Gen. Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Capt. MisCampbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Gens. Scott, Todd and Barbee of the mounted volunteers to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove in the course of one hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers. From every account the enemy amounted to 2,000 combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of 900. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.*

For three days and nights the American army remained on the banks of the Maumee, ravaging the country about with fire and sword. Houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed both above and below the British post; and all the houses, stores and goods of the English agent, McKee, were burned, as well as every sort of property about the fort beyond pistol range of the British garrison. This done, the army retired by easy marches to Fort Defiance, where it arrived on the 27th instant. Until September 14 the troops were engaged in strengthening the works of this fort, and in destroying the abandoned crops and villages, which made the margins of the confluent streams for miles above and below the fort appear like one grand inland town. On the 14th, therefore, the army set out for the principal Miami towns, where, in the bend of the St. Mary, a new fortress was completed on the 22nd of October, and named Fort Wayne, by Col.

*Gen. Wayne's report; (see American State Papers, Vol. V, p. 491.) In this engagement the legion had twenty-six killed, five of them officers; eighty-seven wounded, thirteen of them officers; the Kentucky volunteers had seven killed, all privates, and thirteen wounded, three of whom were officers. The loss of the enemy was estimated at more than double that of the Americans. "The woods were strewn for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets." "Brig.-Gen. Wilkinson and Col. Hamtramck, the commander of the right and left wings of the legion," were complimented in the report for bravery and efficiency; and among the aid-de-camps who were similarly mentioned occurs the name of Lieut. W. H. Harrison.

Hamtramck, who was left in command. While here the troops suffered much from sickness and the lack of supplies, and the militia becoming troublesome, they were dispatched on the 12th instant to Greenville for discharge. On the 28th the rest of the army, after leaving a garrison to hold the new fort, began its march for the same place. On the return march a detachment was left to garrison Fort Loramie,* which was erected on the creek of that name, where the old French and English trading posts were early established.

The blow inflicted upon the Indians fell with crushing weight. Their bravest warriors, those who had triumphed over Harmar and St. Clair, were now beaten and dismayed; their most important and cherished villages had been consumed, and all the winter's supply for thousands was destroyed; and what was infinitely more disastrous, the white man had built a chain of impregnable fortresses into the very heart of their country. The promise of English help had proven a delusion and a snare, and there was no further escape save to seek what they had so often disdainfully rejected. And now all indications began to point to a speedy restoration of peace. In the East a new treaty was made with the Iroquois early in November; in the West the number of hostile Indians lurking about the forts began to diminish; in December, chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawatomies and Miamis came with messages of peace to the commandant at Fort Wayne; in January, 1795, these nations, with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese entered into preliminary articles with Gen. Wayne, at Greenville, and on the 30th of July a treaty was agreed upon, which was to bury the hatchet forever. Thus was Kentucky at last freed from the fear of savage incursions.

*Sixteen miles northwest of Sidney, in Shelby County, Ohio.

CHIMNEY ROCK.

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE autumn of 1784 marks the beginning of a new phase in the development of Kentucky. The gradual transformation of society had brought the frontier community to the verge of a new experience. Like the boy, growing up within the precincts of the home, unmindful of its larger responsibilities, and careful only of the duties assigned him, when suddenly made aware of his majority finds the careless dream of youth magically dispelled, so Kentucky suddenly awoke to find its days of tutelage ended. Unconsciously, society had been preparing for the inevitable change. Gradually the scattered stations upon a distant frontier, with their few hundreds of occupants, had expanded in territorial limits and inhabitants to the proportions of a State. Its early heroes had one by one quit the stage of action, and new men had fallen heir to their achievements, their responsibilities and their positions. Of all the early leaders, Clark and Logan alone remained, and the latter performed the final act of the old *regime* when he issued the call for a convention, which met in this fall. With its organization, a new dynasty came to the throne.

The political lines of Virginia had followed close upon the westward progress of her population. Until her frontier crossed the Blue Ridge, the unexplored region beyond the mountains was recognized only as the "great woods." In 1734, Orange County was formed and included all that region west of the Blue Ridge which Virginia claimed under the comprehensive charter of the crown. In the fall session of 1738, the Virginia assembly divided this vast outlying region into two counties, Frederick and Augusta; the former was bounded on the north by the Potomac, on the east by the Blue Ridge, and on the south and west by a line to be run from the head spring of Hedgman to the head spring of the Potomac; the remainder of Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge, constituted Augusta, a territory which at present comprises four entire States and nearly forty counties in the western part of what was originally Virginia. In 1769, Botetourt County was formed from the outlying part of Augusta; in 1772, Fincastle was formed out of the western part of Botetourt; and on December 31, 1776, the latter county was extinguished by the division of its territory between the new counties of Washington, Montgomery and Kentucky, the name of old Fincastle being perpetuated only by the shire town of Botetourt County.

In this division, "all that part thereof which lies to the south and westward of a line beginning on the Ohio, at the mouth of Great Sandy Creek, and running up the same and the main and northeasterly branch thereof to the Great Laurel Ridge or Cumberland Mountain; thence southwesterly along the said mountain to the line of North Carolina," was assigned to a distinct county to be called Kentucky. Upon the organization of Fincastle, this region was specifically attached to it for judicial and other purposes, but the character of the people, as well as the vast extent of wild country, forbade the exercise of anything like supervision, and the pioneers in Kentucky received little active sympathy and no protection, either of a civil or military character. With the organization of a new county, however, the machinery of government was placed in their own hands; they were henceforth represented in the general assembly by two representa-

the other, on the same floor. They were also authorized to contract for the erection of a hewed or sawed-log prison, the walls to be at least nine inches thick. No provision was made for the expense of these buildings, save that in case the court, for any reason, removed its sessions to any other place these gentlemen were to be reimbursed out of the court funds, or through its influence by the legislature. The agents of the court had no difficulty in securing a donation of these buildings on the court's engagement to hold its session there, and from this beginning, the town of Danville took its origin. Thenceforward, this village became the district capital and a noted point for public meetings, until the separation of Kentucky from the parent State inaugurated a new *regime*.

Such was the state of political development when Col. Logan called a meeting of the citizens, in the fall of 1784, to consider the situation of the district with regard to the threatened invasion of the savages.* But in the powers thus conferred, the assembled pioneers found none to authorize the independent action to which they had so long been accustomed. The same resources were found in the country; the settlers still possessed their trusty rifles; horses and trappings, cornmeal and bacon were still abundant, but the question which confronted the convention was how these could be commanded in any general effort against the enemy. So long as the danger was imminent and threatened all alike, private interests would insure a ready response to the call to arms, even if there was no prospect of remuneration by the government for time and losses. But the declaration of peace, and the rapidly extending lines of the settlements, had wrought great changes in the public temper. The central settlements no longer felt the same apprehension of danger as those in more exposed situations, and the natural feeling began to prevail that, now the emergency had passed, it was due those who had suffered so much for the general weal that the government should undertake, at its own expense, the defense of those from whom it claimed the allegiance of subjects. This sentiment was daily strengthened by the accession of those who had not been trained in the stern school of border experience, and whose presence on the frontier was induced by a wish rather to improve their private fortunes than to cultivate the grace of patriotism.

The source of the difficulties under which the district labored was not far to seek. It lay in the inability of the frontier community, through legal restrictions, to exert the power it amply possessed. The formality of governmental sanction had hitherto been largely ignored by tacit consent, but now the Virginia authorities, complaining of the burden of the war, began to scrutinize unauthorized expense. The evils complained of were remote from the seat of government; they were of a kind not fully appreciated by those who had long been removed from frontier scenes, and failed, therefore, to awaken sympathetic promptness in promoting measures of relief. But with even these obstacles removed, there still remained the long, tedious journey to and fro, which must be accomplished before action could be authorized, and hopelessly prevented that promptness of reprisal, which the nature of the case rendered the only effective redress.*

All this came vividly before the men whom Logan's call had brought together. They discovered that the remedy to be applied lay beyond their power, and, while suggesting an appeal to the legislature, they recommitted the whole subject to a body which should be more representative of the people than themselves. A circular letter was accordingly addressed to the citizens of the district,

*Appendix A, Note 26.

*The difficulty of communicating with the frontier can scarcely now be imagined. In April, 1781, Gov. Jefferson sent orders to Clark for a military expedition into the Indian country which did not reach their destination until the 11th of the following July. On the 30th of November, 1782, the provisional articles of peace were signed in Paris, but news of this event, though known in the East in January, did not reach Kentucky until April. As late as 1788, there was little improvement in this respect to be observed. In a letter of John Brown to Judge Muter, dated New York, July 10, 1788, it was written: "An answer to your favor of the 16th of March, was, together with several other letters, put into the hands of one of Gen. Harmar's officers, who set out in May last for the Ohio, and who promised to forward them to the district. But I fear that they have miscarried, as I was a few days ago informed, that his orders had been countermanded, and that he had been sent to the garrison at West Point. Indeed, I have found it almost impracticable to transmit a letter to Kentucky, as there is scarce any communication between this place and that country. A post is now established from this place to Fort Pitt, to set out once in two weeks, after the 20th instant; this will render the communication easy and certain." (Marshall, Vol. I, p. 304.")

recommending that each militia company should appoint a delegate to a convention to be held at Danville on the 27th of December, 1784. To this recommendation there was a very cordial and general response; representatives were chosen and convened at Danville on the appointed day, and promptly completing their organization by the election of Samuel McDowell as president and Thomas Todd as clerk, they proceeded to the trans action of the business which had brought them together. For ten days this body conducted its deliberations with commendable industry and good sense; the best method of obviating the difficulties which hindered present necessary action, and of preventing their recurrence in the future was soberly discussed; the proposed appeal to the legis lature appeared, on the whole, to be only partially effective; the main obstacles in the way of successfully dealing with the frontier problem were believed to exist in the fixed character of the country, in its isolated and exposed condition. For this there seemed no apparent remedy save the one suggested by a provision of the State constitution, one expressly adopted with a view to such an occasion as the present—that of independence.

This bold proposition received the approbation of a "decided majority" of the convention, which found expression in a resolution urging that steps be taken to bring it about, but as so radical a measure was not contemplated by the people when the representatives were chosen, it was thought proper as well as prudent to again refer the matter to the people. It was accordingly suggested by resolution that at the succeeding April election, when legislative representatives were chosen, delegates should be elected to a second convention,* which should meet at Danville in May, for the express purpose of considering the propriety and expediency of seeking a separation of the district from Virginia. The nature of the proposition, which was brought to the attention of the people by circular letters and otherwise, evoked a considerable difference of opinion. None but the most radical accepted the proposed innovation without hesitation; others yielded their assent to what seemed the only practical alternative in the present dilemma, while "those who felt themselves at ease in places of safety, those who were strongly attached to Virginia —and there were many who loved her manners, habits and institutions—those who were unmoved by new objects of ambition, and others averse to any radical change, in a word, all those whose property rendered them timid, could but anticipate the event of separation from the parent State with some apprehensions; many openly opposed the measure." (Marshall.)

There was little or no opposition to the convention manifested, however, and the delegates were duly chosen. On the 23d of May, 1785, the new body assembled at Danville, the sessions of which were also attended by a considerable number of interested citizens. Good order and calm deliberation characterized the discussions, and on the ninth day the conclusions to which the convention had come were expressed in the following resolutions:

First. *Resolved*, unanimously, as the opinion of this convention That a petition be presented to the assembly, praying that this district may be established into a State, separate from Virginia.

Second. *Resolved*, unanimously, as the opinion of this convention, That this district, when established into a State, ought to be taken into union with the United States of America, and enjoy equal privileges in common with said States.

Third. *Resolved*, That this convention recommend it to their constituents, to elect deputies in their respective counties to meet at Danville on the second Monday of August next, to serve in convention, and to continue by adjournment till the 1st day of April next, to take further under their consideration the state of the district.

Fourth. *Resolved*, unanimously, That the election of deputies for the proposed convention, ought to be on the principles of equal representation.

Fifth. *Resolved*, That the petition to the assembly for establishing this district into a State, and the several resolves of the former and present convention upon which the petition is founded, together with all other matters relative to the interests of the district, that have been under their consideration, be referred to the future convention, that such further measures may be taken thereon as they shall judge proper.

*There is some discrepancy between writers in the number of these conventions. This arises from the fact that some count the informal gathering convened by Col. Logan as the first convention. The succeeding meeting, the first to which delegates were chosen, is properly entitled to that distinction.

These resolutions are chiefly interesting on account of the unanimity they express in favor of separation, and the indication they afford of the independent development of new political ideas which was silently going forward in the frontier community. As has been indicated, the people were considerably divided upon the desirability of separation, and if the delegates may be supposed to have originally fairly represented the sentiment of their constituents, the arguments employed in favor of the radical measure must have been unusually convincing to win over the entire opposition. It is probable, however, that the delegates were chosen from the leading men irrespective of their sentiments, who in such an aggressive society were unlikely to sympathize with the conservative element. The assertion of population as the true basis of representation was a new departure, contrary to the constitution and settled practice of Virginia as well as the aristocratic sentiment which was slowly gaining a foothold in the district. It was an outgrowth of the liberal influences made prominent by the resolution, which, coming in contact with the plastic society of Kentucky, rendered it in important respects superior to the parent State.

Whatever the reasons which led to the unanimity of the convention, the delegates evidently had reason to believe that their constituents were not ready to endorse their action without further discussion, and while they drew up a petition to the legislature, chiefly, it would seem, as a matter of form, they took care not to present it, but referred it to the people with an address in which they presented every consideration in favor of their proposed action. As a complete statement of the grievances complained of at that time, it is worthy of reproduction:

To the Inhabitants of the District of Kentucky.

Friends and Fellow Citizens: We your representatives, met in convention, in consequence of our appointment, beg leave to address you on a subject which we consider of the last importance to you, to ourselves and to unborn posterity. In every case, where it becomes necessary for one part of the community to separate from the other, duty to Almighty God, and a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, require that the causes which impel them thereto should be clearly and impartially set forth.

We hold it as a self-evident truth, that government is ordained for the ease and protection of the governed; and whenever these ends are not attained by one form of government, it is right, it is the duty of the people, to seek such other mode as will be most likely to insure to themselves and their posterity those blessings to which by nature they are entitled.

In the course of our inquiries, we find that several laws have passed the legislature of Virginia, which, although of a general nature, yet in their operation are particularly oppressive to the people of this district; and we also find, that from our local situation, we are deprived of many benefits of government which every citizen therein has a right to expect; as a few facts will sufficiently demonstrate.

We have no power to call out the militia, our sure and only defense, to oppose the wicked machinations of the savages, unless in case of actual invasion.

We can have no executive power in the district, either to enforce the execution of laws, or to grant pardons to objects of mercy; because such a power, would be inconsistent with the policy of government, and contrary to the present constitution.

We are ignorant of the laws that are passed, until a long time after they are enacted; and in many instances not until they have expired; by means whereof penalties may be inflicted for offenses never designed, and delinquents escape the punishment due to their crimes.

We are subjected to prosecute suits in the high court of appeals at Richmond, under every disadvantage, for the want of evidence, want of friends, and want of money.

Our money must necesarily be drawn from us not only for the support of civil government, but by individuals, who are frequently under the necessity of attending on the same.

Now, is it possible for the inhabitants of this district, at so remote a distance from the seat of government, ever to derive equal benefits with the citizens in the eastern part of the State; and this inconvenience must increase, as our country becomes more populous.

Our commercial interests can never correspond with or be regulated by theirs; and in case of any invasion, the State of Virginia can afford us no adequate protection, in comparison with the advantages we might (if a separate State) derive from the federal union.

On maturely considering truths of such great importance to every inhabitant of the district, with a firm persuasion that we were consulting the general good of our infant country, we have unanimously resolved—"that it is expedient and necessary for this district to be separated from Virginia, and es-

tablished into a sovereign independent State, to be known by the name of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and taken into union with the United States of America." In order to effect this purpose, we have agreed on a petition to be presented to the legislature of Virginia, at their next session, praying that a separation may take place; in which petition are fully set forth such terms as we thought beneficial to our infant country, and not inconsistent for Virginia to grant.

It is generally admitted that this district ought at some period, not far distant, to be separated from the government of Virginia. The only question then is, whether we are now of sufficient ability, either to fill the different offices of government, or provide for its support? In answer to the first part of this objection, examples have taught us that sound principles and plain sense suffice for every laudable purpose of government; and we generally find that the liberty of the subject and the laws of the land are in the highest reverence at the foundation and rise of States before the morals of the people have been vitiated by wealth and licentiousness, and their understandings entangled in visionary refinements, and chimerical distinctions; and as to the latter part, we have now in our power several valuable funds, which if by procrastination we suffer to be exhausted, we shall be stripped of every resource but internal taxation, and that under every disadvantage; and, therefore, we do not hesitate to pronounce it as our opinion that the present is preferable to any future period.

By an act of the last session of the assembly, we find that the revenue law is now fully and immediately to be enforced within the district, so that we shall not only pay a very considerable part of the tax for supporting the civil government of the State, but also be obliged to support our supreme court, and every other office we need in this district, at our own charge; and we are of opinion that the additional expense of the salaries to a governor, council, treasurer, and delegates to congress, will for a number of years, be more than saved out of the funds before alluded to, without any additional tax on the people.

To impress you still more with a sense of our regard for your interests as a free people, we have determined not to proceed in a matter of such magnitude without repeated appeals to your opinions; we have, therefore, recommended the election of another convention, to meet at Danville on the second Monday in August next, to take further into consideration the state of the district, and the resolves of this and the preceding convention. In this election we hope you will be actuated by a serious sense of the important objects which the proposed election is designed to promote.

Whatever may have been the true state of the facts thus traversed, the above statement of the case was believed to be well calculated to bring the people to the support of the advanced position of the convention; and, in the absence of a press, written copies were industriously circulated, while the late members of the convention were active in disseminating their views and enforcing them by similar arguments. The opponents of the measure were less active; their apprehensions were scarcely well enough defined to supply arguments, and they therefore passively awaited events rather than sought to control them. The election, accordingly, passed without serious contest, and the delegates-elect assembled at Danville, where, on the 8th of August, 1785, the third convention was organized. In providing for this convention, its predecessor had apportioned the representation among the counties, in the absence of any census, according to the title lists and muster rolls, which afforded a fairly accurate estimate of the population. In this apportionment, the number of delegates assigned to Jefferson County was 6; to Nelson, 6; to Lincoln, 10; and to Fayette, 8; a total of 30 delegates.*

This convention was distinguished by two notable features: the prominent character of its members, and the aggressive tone of its deliberations. To both of these, James Wilkinson contributed in an unusual degree.† He had entered the army early in the revolutionary struggle, and had gradually won honorable distinction and a high official position before its close. On the return of peace he had come to Pennsylvania, had engaged in mercantile pursuits, and had in the meantime served in the assembly of his adopted State. In February of the preceding year, he had

*According to Marshall (Vol. I, p. 207,) only twenty-six members attended, as follows: from Lincoln—Samuel McDowell, George Muter, Christopher Irvin, William Kennedy, Benjamin Logan, Caleb Wallace, Harry Innes, John Edwards and James Speed.

From Fayette—James Wilkinson, James Garrard, Levi Todd, John Coburn, James Trotter, John Craig and Robert Patterson.

From Jefferson—Richard Terrell, George Wilson, Benjamin Sebastian and Philip Barbour.

From Nelson—Isaac Cox, Isaac Morrison, Andrew Hines, Matthew Walton, James Morrison and James Rogers.

Of these, Wilkinson was foremost in brilliant accomplishments and honorable distinction; McDowell, Muter, Wallace and Sebastian were at different times members of the highest court of Kentucky; Innes was attorney-general, and subsequently judge of the United States Court for Kentucky; Logan, Patterson, Todd were scarcely less distinguished by their eminent services in the early history of the district; while scarcely one of the other members failed to prominently identify his name with some of the best achievements of the new State.

†Appendix A, Note 27.

come to Lexington, where his grace of manner and power of intellect easily captivated "the simple and rustic Kentuckians." "A person, not quite tall enough to be perfectly elegant, was compensated by its symmetry and appearance of health and strength. A countenance, open, mild, capacious and beaming with intelligence; a gait, firm, manly and facile; manners, bland, accommodating and popular; an address, easy, polite and gracious; invited approach, gave access, insured attention, cordiality and ease. By these fair forms, he conciliated; by these, he captivated." (Marshall.)

The general was undoubtedly ambitious; was not averse to reaching his ends by indirect methods, and came to Kentucky to improve his fortune in any way that the formative state of society should suggest. Accordingly, while earnestly engaged in pushing his business operations, the growing public interest in the question of separation did not escape his attention. He was not a member of either the first or second convention, though it is believed that he exercised a controlling influence over the action of the second, and inspired, if he did not write, the address put forth by that body. In the third convention he was undoubtedly the *vis a tergo*, and drew up the petition to the legislature as well as the impassioned appeal to the people. The convention spent several days in the consideration of the papers committed to it by its predecessors, when, "according to the order of the day, it resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the district," and after some time spent in discussion, the committee arose and made its report to the convention at the hand of Mr. Muter. This report recites in an itemized statement the identical grievances which formed the burden of the address already quoted, though in more elegant phrase and more forcible manner. In the address to the legislature, "the complimentary style of adulation and insincerity" was discarded, as it became "freemen, when speaking to freemen, to employ the plain, manly and unadorned language of independence, supported by conscious rectitude." The character of the whole petition, if such it may properly be called, was in keeping with this profession, and after reciting the familiar objections to the present relation, prayed "that an act may pass at the ensuing session of assembly, declaring and acknowledging the sovereignty and independence of this district."

The appeal to the people was of a still more aggressive character, and was well calculated to incite the people to illegal action. The Indians had again begun to harass the frontier with fire-brand and tomahawk, and furnished the ready writer with an argument that touched the most sensitive point in the Kentucky character. It was addressed to the "inhabitants of the district of Kentucky" as "friends and countrymen," and proceeded as follows:

> Your representatives in convention having completed the important business for which they were especially elected, feel it their duty, before they adjourn, to call your attention to the calamities with which our country appears to be threatened—*blood has been spilled from the eastern to the western extremity of the district*; accounts have been given to the convention, from post St. Vincennes, which indicate a disposition in the savages for general war; in the meantime, if we look nearer home, we shall find our borders infested and constant depredations committed on our property. Whatever may be the remote designs of the savages, these are causes sufficient to rouse our attention, that we may be prepared not only to defend but punish those who, unprovoked, offend us. God and nature have given us the power, and we shall stand condemned, in the eyes of heaven and mankind, if we do not employ it, to redress our wrongs and assert our rights.
>
> The Indians are now reconnoitering our settlements, in order that they may hereafter direct their attacks with more certain effect, and we seem patiently to await the stroke of the tomahawk. Strange indeed it is, that although we can hardly pass a spot which does not remind us of the murder of a father or brother or friend, we should take no single step for our own preservation. Have we forgot the surprise of Bryant's, or the shocking destruction of Kincheloe's station? Let us ask you, ask ourselves, what is there to prevent a repetition of such barbarous scenes? Five hundred Indians might be conducted undiscovered to our very thresholds, and the knife may be put to the throats of our sleeping wives and children. For shame! let us rouse from our lethargy; let us arm, associate and embody; let us call upon our officers to do their duty; and determine to hold in detestation and abhorrence, and treat as enemies to the community, every person who shall withhold his countenance

and support of such measures as may be recommended for our common defense. Let it be remembered that a stand must be made somewhere; not to support our present frontier would be the height of cruelty as well as folly. For should it give way, those who now hug themselves in security will take the front of danger, and we shall in a short time be huddled together in stations, a situation, in our present circumstances, scarcely preferable to death. Let us remember that supineness and inaction may entice the enemy to general hostilities, whilst preparation and offensive movements will disconcert their plans, drive them from our borders, secure ourselves, and protect our property; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention in the name and behalf of the people, do call on the lieutenants, or commanding officers of the respective counties of this district, forthwith to carry into operation the law for regulating and disciplining the militia.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the officers, to assemble in their respective counties, and concert such plans as they may deem expedient for the defense of our country, or for carrying expeditions against the hostile nations of Indians.

In view of the actual facts, the entire expression of this convention cannot but be considered in the last degree intemperate. No petition for separation had yet been presented to the assembly, nor had Virginia manifested any disposition to maintain the existing relation longer than should prove to the mutual prosperity of both sections. In fact, every authoritative utterance from 1776 to the date of the legislative address had been to the contrary. The attitude of independence assumed lacked every element of dignity, and betrayed far more of bravado than patriotism. The popular address was simple demagogism. The danger to be feared from the Indians was grossly exaggerated, and the appeal to "arm, associate and embody," as well as the final resolutions, was idle vaporing or an attempt to incite the borderers to unlawful enterprises, which would tend to complicate the situation and render appropriate action by the constituted authorities more difficult and uncertain. To Wilkinson such a view of the matter had little weight. He was essentially selfish in his action, and undoubtedly hoped to profit by thus pandering to the prejudices of the less thoughtful of the community. That the eminent gentlemen who made up the membership of the convention should unanimously endorse such pronunciamentoes must excite surprise, but it is probable that the end in view was more closely scanned than the methods by which it was sought.

Copies of the popular address were multiplied by the pen and industriously circulated among the people. Henceforward, there were two active parties among the citizens of the district, both seeking separation, but the one advocating a temperate, legal and dignified course, while the other urged an aggressive, peremptory, and, if need be, a violent dissolution of the tie. Wilkinson became the leader of the latter, and practiced all the arts of a popular leader to engage the attention of the class to whom the address most strongly appealed, and win them to the support of his measures. He set up an ostentatious establishment, cultivated the friendship of the younger and more ardent spirits, and liberally dispensed a lavish hospitality, with such success as to bewilder the judgment of many whose intelligence was unmoved by his arguments. His talents, which were of a high order, accomplished the rest, and he was for the time the leading spirit, if not the autocrat, of district politics.

In the midst of the discussion thus produced, the address to the legislature—committed for presentation to Muter, the chief justice, and Innes, the attorney-general of the district—had come before the assembly. That body found no difficulty in granting the wish of the Kentuckians, and in January, 1786, in recognition of the remoteness of the district and the natural difficulties attending the necessary intercourse between the two sections, it was provided that the expediency of the measure, and "the will of the good people of the district," should be determined by another convention to be held at Danville on the fourth Monday in the following September. The convention was to be composed of five representatives from each of the seven counties (Bourbon, Madison and Mercer were formed in this session), to be elected on the court days in August, and to continue in appointment for one year. Two-thirds of the representatives-elect were to form a quorum, and a majority

of votes to decide their action; and if, by such an expression, it appeared to be the will of the people, the district should be erected into an independent State on certain stipulated conditions,* of which the one requiring the assent of congress before the 1st day of June, 1787, proved the greatest obstacle to the wished-for consummation.

This act was received in the district with general disfavor. Many of the aggressive party complained of the delay involved in again submitting the question of expediency when three conventions had given such unmistakable expression upon that point, while objection to other of the conditions was entertained by the people irrespective of factional lines. A fourth convention appeared unavoidable, however, and both parties prepared to contest the election. The increasing depredations of the savages afforded Wilkinson and his following a powerful argument, and with a new boldness they declared their intention in case of success to throw off the authority of Virginia without delay. As the time of election approached, it was publicly given out that Wilkinson would advocate this course in a speech to the people at Lexington at the opening of the polls. The opposite faction, accordingly, selected a champion to reply. The day arrived, the speech was made, and also the reply. In the forensic contest, the general seems to have succeeded in outwitting his antagonist rather than in convincing the voters, many of whom, being from the remoter districts, were less under the influence of aggressive champions. It occurred to these simple people that such action would place Kentucky in an attidude hostile to Virginia, a position they were not prepared to assume. The officers in charge were in the interest of Wilkinson, and observing the unexpected strength of the opposition did not open the polls until late in the day, and, after receiving the votes of about one-fifth of those present, postponed the election to gain time for their favorite to concert measures to counteract the popular tendency.

The law authorized the polls to be opened on five consecutive days, and the opposition, understanding the tactics employed, retired, declaring their intention of massing their forces on the last day. This plan readily suggested the means to circumvent it. Voters favorable to Wilkinson's election were urged to attend the polls on the intervening days, and on the final day, in those sections where the greatest opposition existed, voters were prevented from attending the election through the connivance of the militia officers, who summoned the people to appear at musters set for that date. The result was that Wilkinson and his supporters were elected. It was a barren victory, however, for in the face of such determined and powerful opposition, he found it unadvisable to proceed to extremes, while other events contributed to render the convention of no effect in forwarding the proposed separation.

In this year occurred the futile expedition to the Wabash, and the more successful one against the Shawanese, under Col. Logan. Accordingly, when certain of the members-elect convened at Danville, in the latter part of September, they found that the military activities had drawn upon their numbers so heavily as to leave less than the required quorum to do business. They nevertheless, in the character of a committee, drew up a memorial to the legislature, in which they represented the reasons which prevented the regular organization of the convention, and at the same time suggested that certain changes should be made in the terms of separation. This was transmitted to John Marshall, then resident in Richmond, by whom it was presented to the assembly. In the meantime, a few of the members with the

*A letter from Madison to Washington, under date of December 9, 1785, gives a concise statement of these conditions, as follows: "Kentucky made a formal application for independence. Her memorial has been considered, and the terms of separation fixed by a committee of the whole. The substance of them is, that all private rights and interests, derived from the laws of Virginia, shall be secured; that the unlocated lands shall be applied to the objects to which the laws of Virginia have appropriated them; that the Ohio shall be a common highway for the citizens of the United States, and the jurisdiction of Kentucky and Virginia, as far as the remaining territory of the latter will be thereon, be concurrent only with the new states on the opposite shore; that the proposed State shall take its due share of our state debts; and that the separation shall not take place unless these terms shall be approved by a convention to be held to decide the question, nor until congress shall assent thereto, and fix the terms of their admission into the Union. The limits of the proposed State are to be the same with the present limits of the district. The apparent coolness of the representatives of Kentucky, as to separation, since these terms have been defined, indicates that they had some views, which will not be favored by them. They dislike much to be hung upon the will of congress." Spark's Life of Washington, Vol. IX, p. 510. For conditions in full, see Marshall, Vol. I, p. 223, 224.

clerk assembled, and adjourned from day to day, until some time in January, 1787, when a quorum was secured. The question was then again brought up for consideration and again unanimously affirmed. At this juncture the second act of the legislature was received by which the convention found itself superseded, and the whole matter referred to a fifth convention.

The chagrin and vexation of the members on the reception of this postponement of their wishes was great indeed, and while they with good sense and decorum immediately adjourned, they added this disappointment to the sum of their grievances, and urged it as an additional argument in favor of immediate separation. The action thus complained of was not, however, the result of hostility on the part of Virginia. From a letter of Mr. Marshall, who represented the memorialists before the assembly, as well as from the act itself, the legislature still appeared ready to grant the desired separation, but it considered that the delay of the convention to act made it impossible for congress to give its assent within the stipulated time; "that the twelve months' existence allowed to the convention, for other purposes, might, in the divided state of public opinion, involve difficulties, especially as there did not appear to be in the minority a disposition to submit to the will of the majority; that the proceedings of the convention would be subject to objections in consequence of defects in the law; and that the most safe, accommodating and unexceptionable course would be to pass a new law, in which the defects of the former act might be corrected; and to call another convention, to the decision of which even the disappointed could make no reasonable objection." (Marshall, Vol. I, p. 255).

The new act differed little in the character of its requirements, while it granted certain privileges which provided against the recurrence of the obstacles which had rendered the last convention abortive. Representatives were to be elected on the court days in August, 1787; the convention was to meet at Danville on the third Monday in September following; the limit within which congress was to grant its assent was fixed at the 4th of July, 1787; and the earliest date on which separation could take place was changed from September 1, 1787, as in the first act, to January 1, 1789. At the same time it was provided that five members assembled should have the power to adjourn from day to day, and to issue writs of election, if necessary, to fill vacancies, and that in case two-thirds of the members-elect did not convene within fifteen days of the time appointed, any number, in which a majority should concur in the vote, should be competent to decide in favor of separation. On the contrary, if the requisite two-thirds did assemble within the period indicated, while a majority should be competent to organize, the question of separation must be affirmed by a two-thirds vote to make it valid.

Before the citizens of the district were called upon to provide for a new convention under this act, a fresh source of agitation was developed in the negotiations concerning the navigation of the Mississippi. The origin of this controversy dates back to the year 1780, when Spain, having joined France in the war against England, sought through the French government an alliance with the United States. It was about the time of Mr. Jay's arrival in Madrid, as minister to the Spanish Court, when the French minister was instructed, in behalf of his Catholic majesty of Spain, "to communicate to the congress, certain articles, which his Catholic majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is highly necessary that the United States explain themselves, with precision, and with such moderation, as may consist with their essential rights." These "articles" referred to the western boundary of the United States, the navigation of the Mississippi, the possession of Florida and the territory east of the Mississippi. The minister proceeded to give "the idea of the cabinet of Madrid" to the effect "that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the royal proclamation, bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763 (that is to say, not west of the Alleghanies); that the United

States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon; that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be employed, for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for the Spanish crown; that such conquest may, probably, be made during the present war; that, therefore, it would be advisable to restrain the Southern States from making any settlements or conquests in these territories; and that the council of Madrid consider the United States as having no claim to these territories, either as not having possession of them before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured."*

Such preposterous claims were answered by "a word and a blow, and the blow came first." In the spring of 1780 Clark erected Fort Jefferson on the bank of the river, and in October the American "idea" was dispatched to Mr. Jay, the representative of the United States at Madrid. Neither congress nor Mr. Jay for a moment admitted the claims of Spain, nor did that power readily yield her extravagant pretensions. In January, 1781, under the evident inspiration of his government, a Spanish officer, with sixty-five men, set out from St. Louis, and, proceeding far into the interior, captured the unimportant post of St. Joseph, in the Northwest. This done, and the territory formally taken possession of in behalf of the Spanish crown, the troop quietly returned to the west bank of the Mississippi. In the meantime the American government greatly felt the need of friends, and satisfied for the time with such expressions as had been made, in February, 1781, instructed Mr. Jay not to insist upon the navigation of the river, if a treaty could be concluded without giving it up. Thus matters stood during the year of 1782; Spain, supported by the influence of France, demanding recognition of her extraordinary claims, and the United States politely evading the issue.

In 1785 negotiations were transferred to the Western Hemisphere. Jay had become secretary of State, and Don Diego Gardoqui had been sent hither to press the Spanish demands. On July 20 congress authorized the secretary to negotiate with the Spanish representative, but up to May, 1786, no progress had been made in the matter. At this time the secretary brought the whole business before congress, asking for instructions. That official represented that no adjustment of the conflicting claims had been reached; that the interests of the whole country demanded a commercial treaty with Spain; and that this could probably be effected only by surrendering the right to the free use of the Mississippi. The secretary suggested that a compromise should be made, and that the free use of the river below the bounds of the United States should be yielded for a period of twenty-five or thirty years. This proposition was at once earnestly opposed by the Southern members, but outvoted by the representatives of the Eastern and Middle States, and congress instructed Mr. Jay to continue the negotiations without insisting at all hazards upon the immediate use of the river.

This decision was reached in August, and information of the disposition of the government to practically sacrifice the West gradually found its way across the mountains. There was, at this period, no postoffice in Kentucky, nor any regular or safe mode of transmitting letters or papers from the East. News of governmental affairs came in the form of rumors, which, gathering new forms and colors by each repetition, finally reached the credulous people on the frontier in a shape so distorted as to appear portentous. Thus came the first intimation of congressional action in the matter of the Spanish claims.

At the same time, confirmatory intelligence was received from the Illinois country. On the failure of the Wabash campaign, Gen. Clark had remained at Vincennes, where he enlisted new troops, impressed supplies, and seized

*See Annals of the West, p. 22, where it is quoted from Pitkin's History of the United States, Vol. II, p. 92.

upon Spanish property on his own authority. In the following December (1786), a Thomas Green wrote from Louisville to the authorities of Georgia, which was then involved in a boundary controversy with Spain, that the general was ready to demand the river, with troops enough to take and hold the lands in question, if the Georgians would countenance the movement.* Wells, the agent whom Green and Clark united to employ, showed his papers to various persons at Danville, while on his journey south. Copies were taken and forwarded with a communication to the Virginia authorities, signed by Wilkinson and fourteen other leading Kentuckians. In February, 1787, this communication from Kentucky came before the Virginia council, which condemned the action of Clark, disavowed the authority assumed, ordered the prosecution of those concerned in the high-handed measures taken at Vincennes, and laid the whole business before congress. In April, the matter came up for discussion, and on the 24th instant troops were ordered to dispossess the intruders at Vincennes, and to garrison the post.

These transactions were sufficient to excite the people of the district to a political ferment, and when a certain "committee of correspondence in the western part of Pennsylvania" made a formal communication of the proposition of Mr. Jay, certain of the leaders in favor of immediate separation seized the opportunity to appeal to the people in a circular letter addressed "to the different courts in the western country."

*A letter written from Louisville by the same person, ostensibly to some one in the East, found its way to Tennessee, where it was widely circulated. It bore date of December 4, 1786, and was, doubtless, similar to the one dispatched by messenger to Georgia. In this the writer represents: "Our situation is as bad as it possibly can be, therefore every exertion to retrieve our circumstances must be manly, eligible and just.

"We can raise 20,000 troops this side the Alleghany and Appalachian Mountains; and the annual increase of them by immigration from other parts is from 2.000 to 4,000.

"We have taken all the goods belonging to the Spanish merchants of Fort Vincennes and the Illinois, and are determined that they shall not trade up the river, provided they will not let us trade down it. Preparations are now making here (if necessary) to drive the Spaniards from their settlements, at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States (if we need it), our allegiance will be thrown off, and some other power applied to. Great Britain stands ready with open arms to receive and support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies. When once re-united to them, 'farewell, a long farewell' to all your boasted greatness. The Province of Canada, and the inhabitants of these waters, of themselves, in time, will be able to conquer you. You are as ignorant of this country as Great Britain was of America. These are hints, that if rightly improved may be of some service; if not, blame yourselves for the neglect." (Annals of the West, p. 282, quoted from Secret Journals Vol. IV, p. 323.)

KENTUCKY, DANVILLE, March 29, 1787.

A respectable number of the inhabitants of the district, having met at this place, being greatly alarmed at the late proceedings of congress, in proposing to cede to the Spanish court the navigation of the Mississippi River for twenty-five or thirty years, have directed us to address the inhabitants on the western waters, and inform them of the measures which it is proper for this district to adopt.

The inhabitants of the several counties in this district will be requested to elect five members in each county, to meet at Danville on the first Monday of May, to take up the consideration of this project of congress; to appoint a committee of correspondence, and to communicate with the one already established on the Monongahela, or any others that may be constituted; to appoint delegates to meet representatives from the several districts on the western waters in convention, should a convention be deemed necessary; and to adopt such other measures as shall be most conducive to our happiness. As we conceive that all the inhabitants residing on the western waters are equally affected by this partial conduct of congress, we doubt not but they will readily approve of our conduct, and cheerfully adopt a similar system to prevent a measure which tends to almost a total destruction of the western country. This is a subject which requires no comment; the injustice of the measure is glaring, and as the inhabitants of this district wish to unite their efforts to oppose the cession of the navigation of the Mississippi with those of their brethren residing on the western waters, we hope to see such an exertion made upon this important occasion, as may convince congress that the inhabitants of the western country are united in the opposition, and consider themselves entitled to all the privileges of freemen, and those blessings procured by the revolution, and will not tamely submit to an act of oppression which would tend to a deprivation of our just rights and privileges.

This document was signed by George Muter, Harry Innes, John Brown* and Benjamin Sebastian. A copy of the letter found its way into each county, and with it a new feeling of alarm, which gradually found its way to the remotest corners. The call for a convention to consider the subject met with a ready response, and in May the delegates convened. A short conference developed the fact that either the case was not so alarming as at first supposed, or that the convention could effect nothing to its purpose, and it

* Save Mr. Brown, the signers of this circular have all been noted as prominent in the public business of the district. Brown was the son of a Virginia Presbyterian clergyman. He finished his education about the close of the revolutionary war, and in 1783 came to Kentucky. He built up an extended law practice and early took an active part in politics. He was a member of the convention of 1786; appeared as signer to this document, and in this year was elected to the legislature, from which he was sent as a delegate to congress.

therefore adjourned without taking action. This agitation, however, contributed in no small degree to the restlessness of the people. The sectional feeling, which notoriously prevailed throughout the country, made the borderers believe that their interests were likely to be made subsidiary to those of the older communities,* and the feeling that they must take care of themselves, already strikingly shown, began rapidly to gain ground with the people of the district. About this time Col. Logan led an expedition against certain of the southern Indians who were included in the Hopewell treaty. These at once sought redress from the authorities, charging the Kentuckians as the aggressors. This brought prompt instructions from the governor to Innes, the attorney-general, to prosecute the offenders and to take measures to prevent a recurrence of similar illegal movements.

To this communication, Innes replied by letter, under date of July 21, 1787, in which he said: "In my official capacity, I cannot do it; in a private capacity, it would render melodious," and with this, all attempt at legal prosecution of such offenses ended. He added, however, as a "hint to your excellency for matter of reflection" that "the Indians have been very troublesome on our frontiers, and still continue to molest us. From which circumstances, I am decidedly of opinion, that this western country will in a few years act for itself, and erect an independent government; for under the present system, we cannot exert our strength; neither does congress seem disposed to protect us, for we are informed that those troops which congress directed the several States to raise for the defense of the western country are disbanded." This was, quite probably, an extreme view of the situation, but one which had far more foundation in truth than the partisan feeling of the historian, Marshall, seems willing to allow. However, with other similar expressions, it had the effect to stimulate the State and national governments to increased efforts to remove the grievance of which complaint was made.

Another circumstance, which tended to somewhat calm the agitation, was the absence of Wilkinson, who would scarcely have allowed such a favorable opportunity for the furtherance of his plans, as the May convention afforded, to pass unimproved. Notwithstanding his activity in public affairs, the general does not appear to have lost sight of his business enterprise, and it was more at the bidding of private interest than public policy that he ventured with a cargo of tobacco, hams and butter, within the forbidden precincts of the Spanish territory. His boat left Louisville in June and reached New Orleans without the usual opposition, where its contents were sold at a good profit. Wilkinson, proceeding south by land, arrived some time after these events, and began those relations with the Spanish authorities of Louisiana which served to involve his character in a cloud of doubt that has never been entirely dispelled.*

It was doubtless due to these facts that the August elections passed without special incident. The delegates to the district convention were chosen without serious contest, and on September 17th assembled at Danville with scarcely a member-elect absent. The organization accomplished, the question of expediency proposed by the act of separation was brought forward, and with little discussion again decided unanimously in the affirmative, subject to "the terms and conditions prescribed by law." These significant conditions are indicative of the temper of the convention, which, in this respect, was in marked contrast with its predecessor. Congress was petitioned for the admission of the new State, under the name of Kentucky, and December 31, 1788, fixed upon as the date when the present relation to Virginia should cease. Neither the legislature nor the people were addressed upon the subject, but, for their information, the president of the convention was directed to forward to the

*Washington, who greatly desired the construction of works to connect the Ohio with the Potomac and the James Rivers, thought the temporary closing of the Mississippi might aid this project, as well as drive the West into closer relations with the Atlantic States. These views received the support of such influential men as Henry Lee and Richard Henry Lee. (See "Annals of the West", p. 287, and references to Spark's "Life of Washington.")

* Appendix A, Note 28.

governor a copy of its proceedings, and a transcript of its journal was prepared for publication in the *Kentucky Gazette*, which had been established in the preceding August. The president was also directed to "address the representatives from this district to the general assembly, requesting that they will use their endeavors to have an inhabitant of the district appointed a delegate to congress for the ensuing year." Provision was also made "that a convention should be elected with full power and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution of government for the proposed State, and to declare what laws shall be in force therein, until abrogated or altered by the legislative authority acting under the constitution so to be framed and established."

Mr. Marshall accounts for this mildness of temper exhibited by the convention by the facts that "the leader of violent separation" was in New Orleans; "Mr. Brown was probably in Virginia, having been that year elected to the legislature. If Innes and Sebastian were present, they were not yet prepared to lead in such an enterprise, for they were then but as common troopers; while the eyes of Muter being opened, he had drawn back to constitutional grounds." It was probably due more to the absence of leaders than to a change in the public disposition. But in February, 1788, Wilkinson returned from the South, by way of Charleston, S. C., and made his entry into Louisville in state, riding in a "chariot" drawn by four horses and accompanied by several slaves. It was immediately given out that he had secured from the Louisiana authorities the privilege of shipping tobacco to New Orleans on the most advantageous terms, and the general forthwith offered to purchase the unmarketed product, the cultivation of which he had previously urged. Wilkinson appeared to have entered into the speculation with great energy, and in January, 1789, fitted out twenty-five large boats, laden with tobacco, flour and provisions, for New Orleans. These goods were successfully disposed of, and later in the year, two mules loaded with specie were delivered to the general at Frankfort, where a crowd of Lincoln County planters were assembled to receive payment for tobacco sold to Wilkinson.

All this appears to have been open and above reasonable suspicion, but the ambitious trader seems to have been unwilling to confine his efforts to commercial life, and early sought to turn his success with the Spanish authorities to a political account in furthering his advancement in public life. He therefore assumed great credit for securing what the general government was willing to surrender; and so plausible was his argument, so winning his address, that the tide of public favor seemed about to waft him to the goal of his desires. There were not wanting a "few" who suspected "that more was meant than a mere traffic in tobacco," but such was the public temper that they were forced to communicate their fears to political sympathizers in "whispers." Another subject which at this time lent its aid to the plans of Wilkinson was the adoption of the Federal constitution, which had been submitted to the States for ratification in the preceding September. The people of the district were very generally opposed to its ratification. They had experienced what they believed to be the selfish legislation of the Atlantic States in the negotiations concerning the Mississippi River, in the dilatory measures undertaken against the savages, and in the vexatious delays which had repeatedly deferred the separation of the district from Virginia, and they had no wish to have the power, thus unjustly exercised, increased. It was believed that the new constitution would do this, and the feeling of opposition ranged from a wish for its unconditional defeat to its amendment before adoption.

It was with such sentiments that the people prepared for the April election, at which a double set of delegates were to be chosen. In addition to five from each county, authorized by the Fifth District convention (September, 1787), the legislature had authorized each county in the State to elect at the same time two members to meet in convention in June, at Richmond, for the purpose of considering the new Federal constitution. There

was little division of sentiment involved in this election, and therefore no special contest. The district convention was called for the purpose of submitting a constitution for the proposed State of Kentucky, and involved none of the issues before the people. In regard to the Federal constitution, with the exception of Jefferson County, which was strongly Federal in sentiment, there was little feeling manifested by the Kentuckians in favor of its ratification. The people had generally settled down to the belief that, for one reason or another, it would be rejected, and delegates were selected chiefly on personal grounds.*

The State convention met, and on the 25th of June ratified the new constitution by a vote of eighty-eight to seventy-eight. Of the Kentucky members, Robert Breckenridge, Rice Bullock and Humphrey Marshall voted with the majority, the latter alone disappointing his constituents. When the result of the convention was known in Kentucky, there was a deep feeling of disappointment and resentment experienced, especially in regard to the conduct of Mr. Marshall. He undoubtedly acted upon the proper view of the relation of representative and constituency, and provided he made no expressed or implied engagement to act otherwise, of which there is no evidence, the member from Fayette cannot be reasonably charged with a violation of good faith. But the people did not view the matter in so calm a manner, and the independent delegate narrowly escaped the violent expression of his constituency's displeasure.

On the 28th of July, the Sixth District convention, but the first called for the framing of a constitution, assembled at Danville, and while in session learned that congress had refused to act upon the question of Kentucky's admission to the confederacy. In accordance with the request of the fifth convention, John Brown had been sent to congress by the legislature in the preceding December; on the 29th of February he had presented the petition of the convention for the admission of the district as an independent member of the Federal union, but there were many obstacles in the way of its early and final disposition, and so the subject was alternately debated and deferred from February to May, from May to June, from June to July, when the whole matter was referred to the first congress under the newly adopted constitution. This decision was announced on the 3d of July by resolution, in which congress directed a copy of the proceedings "relative to the independence of the district of Kentucky" to be sent to the Virginia legislature, and also to Samuel McDowell, "late president" of the fifth convention, and that the inhabitants of the district be informed, "that as the constitution of the United States is now ratified, congress think it unadvisable to adopt any further measures for admitting the district of Kentucky," etc.; "but that congress, thinking it expedient that the said district be made a separate State, and member of the Union, as soon after proceedings shall commence under the said constitution, as circumstances shall permit," recommend to both parties concerned that steps be taken anew to bring it before congress again.

The preamble to this resolution throws no additional light upon the reasons on which this conclusion was reached. It appears that, after fully considering the subject, congress "did, on the 3d day of June last, resolve that it is expedient that the said district be erected into a sovereign and independent State, and a separate member of the Federal union, and appointed a committee to report an act accordingly," but the sentence inconsequently concludes, "which committee on the second instant was discharged," as, by the ninth State having ratified the new constitution, a new order of things had set in. There is nothing in all this to indicate why the committee should have delayed a full month to report upon a matter which congress had declared expedient, after several months' consideration. Letters from Mr. Brown to Judges McDowell and Muter did better in this respect. To the latter he wrote:

*The members of the State Convention, as given by Butler (p. 166, note,) were: From Fayette County, Humphrey Marshall and John Fowler; from Jefferson, Robert Breckenridge and Rice Bullock; Lincoln, John Logan and Henry Pawling; Nelson, John Steele and Matthew Walton; Mercer, Thomas Allen and Alexander Robertson; Madison, G. Clay and William Irvine; Bourbon, Henry Lee and John Edwards.

Before this reaches you, I expect you will have heard the determination of congress relative to the separation of Kentucky, as a copy of the proceedings has been forwarded to the district by the secretary of congress a few days ago. It was not in my power to obtain a decision earlier than the 3d instant. Great part of the winter and spring there was not a representation of the States sufficient to proceed to this business, and after it was referred to a grand committee, they could not be prevailed upon to report, a majority of them being opposed to the measure. The Eastern States would not, nor do I think they ever will, assent to the admission of the district into the Union as an independent State, unless Vermont or the province of Maine is brought forward at the same time. The change which has taken place in the general government is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but the jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition, and I am inclined to believe that they will exist to a certain degree even under the new government, to which the application is referred by congress.*

The effect of these communications upon the members of the Constitutional convention, which were as unexpected as disappointing, may readily be imagined. "The most deep-felt vexation, a share of ill-temper bordering on disaffection to the legal course of things, and strong symptoms of assuming independent government," were manifested. The navigation of the Mississippi, and the trade to New Orleans, now just tasted for the first time, were strenuously pressed into the argument in favor of completing the constitution and organizing government without delay. And had not these dispositions been met with a determined countenance, and overawed by those of a contrary tendency, it is not difficult to believe that immediate separation would have taken place.† It was proposed by the aggressive party that the course to be pursued should be referred to the captains of the various militia companies, who should take the sense of their commands by vote. This proposition was opposed on the most valid grounds by the more conservative members, and finally abandoned, but the session was protracted several days by these spirited discussions, when the convention adjourned after agreeing upon the following recommendation and resolutions:

WHEREAS, It appears to the members of this convention that the United States in congress assembled have for the present declined to ratify the compact entered into between the legislature of Virginia and the people of this district, respecting the erection of the district into an independent State, in consequence of which the powers vested in this convention are dissolved, and whatever order or resolution they pass cannot be considered as having any legal force or obligation; but being anxious for the safety and prosperity of ourselves and constituents, do earnestly recommend to the good people inhabiting the several counties within the district, each to elect five representatives at the times of holding their courts in the month of October next, to meet at Danville on the first Monday in November following, to continue in office until the 1st of January, 1790; and that they delegate to their said representatives full powers to take such measures for obtaining admission of the district as a separate and independent member of the United States of America, and the navigation of the Mississippi, as may appear most conducive to those important purposes; and also to form a constitution of government for the district, and organize the same when they shall judge it necessary, or to do and accomplish whatsoever, on a consideration of the state of the district, may in their opinion promote its interests.

Resolved, That the elections directed by the preceding recommendation be held at the court house of each county, and continue from day to day for five days, including the first day.

Resolved, That the sheriffs within the respective counties of this district be requested to hold the said elections, and make return thereof to the clerk of the supreme court immediately after the same are finished; and also deliver to each representative, so elected, a certificate of his election; and in case there shall be no sheriff in either of the said counties or he should refuse to act, that any two acting magistrates there present may superintend and conduct said elections, and make returns, and grant certificates in the same manner the sheriffs are requested to do.

Resolved, That every free male inhabitant of each county within said district has a right to vote in the said elections within their said counties.

Resolved, That a majority of the members so elected be a quorum to proceed to business.

Resolved, That if the said convention shall not make a house on the first Monday in November, any three or more members then assembled may adjourn from day to day for five days next ensuing, and if a convention should not then be formed at the end of the fifth day, that they may adjourn to any day they think proper, not exceeding one month.

Resolved, That the clerk of each county, or the

*This letter was not made public until 1790, but the one addressed to McDowell was of similar import, and was probably laid before the convention, save a private communication in regard to Spanish affairs, to be referred to hereafter.

†See Marshall, Vol. I, p. 289.

said magistrates, as the case may be, read, or cause to be read, the aforesaid resolutions on each day immediately preceding the opening of the said elections.

Ordered, That the president do request the printer of the *Kentucky Gazette* to publish the proceedings and resolves of congress, by him laid before this convention; also such of the proceedings of this convention as the president shall think proper; and in particular, that the printer continue to publish weekly, until the 1st of October next, the recommendation for electing another convention, and the several resolutions relative thereto.

Thus the issue of immediate or delayed separation came again before the people for decision, largely at the polls. Fayette County, being the home of the chief leaders, became the scene of a spirited campaign. The militia captains were important factors in the early political machinery of Kentucky, and the wordy contests between the partisans of one or the other of the parties were frequent and warm. Opposed to Wilkinson were Col. Thomas Marshall, Sr., and Judge Muter, who did not hesitate to charge the general with improper and illegal relations with the Spanish authorities, and with designing, under cover of the final clauses of the Sixth convention's recommendation, to form an independent government in the district for the purpose of entering into relations with Spain without the sanction of Virginia or of the general government. These gentlemen were impelled to this course by something more substantial than mere suspicions. The discussions in the last convention had aroused their alarm, which was fully confirmed by the letter from Brown addressed to Muter and immediately shown by the latter to Col. Marshall. In this Brown wrote, in addition to the part already quoted:

The question which the district will now have to determine upon, will be: Whether or not, it will be more expedient to continue the connexion with the State of Virginia, or declare their independence and proceed to frame a constitution of government? 'Tis generally expected that the latter will be the determination, as you have proceeded too far to think of relinquishing the measure, and the interest of the district will render it altogether expedient to continue in your present situation until an application for admission into the Union can be made, in a constitutional mode, to the new government.

This step will, in my opinion, tend to preserve unanimity, and will enable you to adopt with effect such measures as may be necessary to promote the interest of the district. In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place, I have been assured by him, in the most explicit manner, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe. As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the district, with his permission, not doubting but they will make a prudent use of the information.*

Without disclosing the contents of this letter to the public, however, and urged by Col. Marshall—who, it is said, is chiefly responsible for the matter of the publication as well as its origin—Judge Muter addressed a letter to the editor of the *Kentucky Gazette*, in which he called attention to the illegality of the action he believed to be imminent. He said:

Forming a constitution of government, and organizing the same, before the consent of the legislature of Virginia for that purpose is first obtained, will be directly contrary to the letter and spirit of the act of assembly, entitled "an act for punishing certain offenses, and vesting the governor with certain powers;" which declares that every person or persons who shall erect or establish, government separate from, or independent of the State of Virginia within the limits thereof, unless by act of the legislature for that purpose first obtained, or shall exercise any office under such usurped government, shall be guilty of high treason.

The third section of the fourth article of the Federal constitution expressly declares: "that no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed out of the junction of two or more States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the congress." Therefore, the consent of Virginia to the separation must first be obtained agreeably to the above cited section, to afford to Kentucky any pros-

*It was subsequently disclosed that Brown had inclosed in the letter to McDowell a separate slip marked "confidential," on which he wrote: "In a conversation I had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, he stated that, if the people of Kentucky would erect themselves into an independent State, and appoint a proper person to negotiate with him, he had authority for that purpose, and would enter into an arrangement with them for the exportation of their produce to New Orleans, on terms of mutual advantage." It is probable that similar communications were sent to Wilkinson, Innes and others of that party.

pect of being admitted a member of the Federal union.

In the tenth section of the first article of the Federal constitution it is declared: "that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation." Of course it must follow that no part of a State can enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation.

The resolution of the late convention, if adopted by the people, might fairly be construed to give authority to the next, to treat with Spain to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi, if they should think such a measure conducive to their interests; when it might plainly appear, by the before-cited section, that any other application than to the assembly of Virginia, and to the congress of the United States, must be contrary to the Federal constitution.

It is, therefore, submitted to the consideration of the inhabitants of Fayette, whether it may not be necessary in their instructions to their delegates, to direct them not to agree to the forming a constitution and form of government, and organizing the same, till the consent of the legislature of Virginia, for that purpose, is first obtained; not to agree to make any application whatever to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi, other than to the legislature of Virginia, and the congress of the United States; to draw up and forward to the assembly of Virginia a memorial requesting them to alter their acts for the separation of this district from Virginia, that the same may be brought before the congress of the United States, in the manner directed by the Federal constitution; and to request them to authorize the convention, by law, to form a constitution of government, and to organize the same; or, direct a new convention to be chosen, to continue in office a reasonable time, and to be vested with these powers.

To forward to the assembly of Virginia, and the congress of the United States (if they judge proper and necessary), a decent and manly memorial requesting that such measures may be pursued by congress, or that Virginia will use her influence with congress to take such measures as shall be most likely to procure for the people of the western country the navigation of the Mississippi.

The effect of such an address by the chief justice of the district could not fail to make a deep impression. A strong agitation took place, and two distinct parties were formed; the one of which Wilkinson was the most prominent leader, its leaders being drawn principally from the court and legal profession, became known as the "court party," while the other assumed the name of the "country party." No such policy as Brown had confidentially communicated, and Muter had publicly intimated, had been distinctly avowed by Wilkinson and his followers in the campaign which followed the last convention; but such were the suspicions excited against these men that the people were greatly aroused to the danger of such a possibility, and the "court party" found it advisable to be less pronounced in their utterances. Still, neither party felt sure of the support of the majority of the people. The rapid immigration was bringing in large numbers of new men, whose lack of border experience caused them to feel less keenly in regard to the grievances complained of, and who gradually strengthened the "country party;" and yet, the adventurous character of many of them, and the wide-spread sectional feeling, tended to keep the two factions pretty evenly balanced.

The contest was probably more spirited in Fayette County than elsewhere in Kentucky. Here, Wilkinson and the other candidates of the "court party," were opposed by Col. Marshall, Muter, Crockett, Allen, and another, whose name is not remembered, of the other party. "The election came on and was exceedingly animated;" the vote at first went very much against the radical candidates, and there was a strong probability that the whole list would be defeated. On the fourth day, therefore, Wilkinson believed it advisable to disclaim the character imputed to him, and to make such professions as to disarm the fears of the people, with whom he was really a great favorite. Accordingly, the return of the poll at the close of the election, showed that the four gentlemen named, of the opposition, and Wilkinson alone, of the "court party," had been chosen delegates. In other parts of the district, the result was more favorable to the latter party, and Brown, Innes, McDowell and others of the leaders were chosen, besides enough of their followers to make the membership of the new convention about evenly divided between the two factions.

The seventh convention met on the 3d of November, 1788; on the 4th, a quorum was present, and on the 5th, it began the business of the session. The leaders of the opposing forces in the convention had already discovered themselves; of the "country party," there

were Marshall, Muter, Crockett, and Col. John Edwards, of Bourbon County; of the "court party," there were Wilkinson, Brown, Sebastian and Innes. The first trial of strength came at the very beginning of the real work of the convention. Organization having been accomplished, the resolution of congress relating to the separation of the district was read to the convention and referred to a committee of the whole, into which the convention was resolved, and Mr. Wilkinson called to the chair. In the discussion which followed, a question as to the authority under which the body was acting developed the fact that the recommendation and resolutions of the former convention had not been referred. A resolution that the committee rise in order that this document might be brought before it, was urged and opposed by arguments in which neither party expressed their real object. Both had the empowering clause of the recommendation in view, but the one urged that the navigation of the Mississippi, of which the congressional document made no mention, was too important a subject to be left out of the consideration of the committee, while the other objected to the confusion involved in the discussion of so many topics at the same time.

The debate took a wide range and earnest tone, in the course of which Wilkinson dilated upon the advantages of a free navigation of the river. He pointed out the discouragements experienced; that it was idle to look to the general government for relief; that the same difficulties did not exist in treating with Spain, and declared "that there was information of the first importance on that subject within the power of the convention, which he doubted not it would be equally agreeable for the members to have, and for the gentleman who possessed it, to communicate." The attention of the convention was thus directed to Mr. Brown, who with some hesitation arose and said "that he did not think himself at liberty to disclose what had passed in private conference between the Spanish minister, Mr. Gardoqui, and himself, but this much in general he would venture to inform the convention, that, provided we are unaminous, everything we could wish for is within our reach." This was scarcely so explicit as his friends had been led to expect, nor so forcible as desired by Wilkinson, who probably intended Mr. Brown's authoritative utterance as an introduction to a paper which he had prepared upon the subject of the navigation and commerce of the Mississippi. Nothing daunted by this partial failure of his plans the general proposed, with the permission of the convention, to read his production. It was at once called for by his party associates, and listened to with respect by all. It was addressed to the intendant of Louisiana, covered some fifteen or twenty pages of manuscript, and treated the subject in a way that elicited a unanimous vote of thanks "for the regard he therein manifested for the interests of the western country." The reading of this essay ended the discussion, and the resolutions in question were referred to the committee of the whole, in order that all the interests of the district might come within the scope of its deliberations.

The victory thus gained by the "court party" was barren of any marked results. Whatever the ulterior purpose of its leaders may have been, its achievement required an unanimity that was found to be impossible. Each party had became aware that it was in the presence of a watchful opponent, and each, doubtful of the other's strength and disposition, appeared unwilling to join issue. The whole course of the convention was a series of evasions; every proposition was voted without serious opposition, save in the case just mentioned. Mr. Innes introduced petitions from subscribers in Mercer and Madison Counties praying for an address to congress in behalf of securing the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the convention in due time prepared and forwarded such an address. A little later Mr. Crockett introduced a numerously signed remonstrance against a "violent separation" from Virginia, and Mr. Edwards, by order of the convention, presented a "decent and respectful" address to the legislature, "praying that an act may pass at the present session for ena-

bling the good people of the Kentucky district to obtain an independent government;" and its "friendly interposition with congress for a speedy admission of the district into the Federal union." An amendment being offered, this measure was postponed for a time, and in the meantime Mr. Wilkinson offered a preamble and resolution calling for an address to the people, seeking "instructions in what manner to proceed on the important subject to them submitted." This was also passed, and the business placed in the hands of a committee to prepare. This was brought forward, reported to the committee of the whole, where it was superseded by the address to the legislature which, when adopted by the convention, obviated the necessity for further instructions. This done, the convention adjourned till the first Monday in August, 1789.*

It is almost idle to inquire into the motives which actuated the "court party," but the historian, Marshall, has ascribed such an exceptional character to them, has dealt so freely in suspicion and inuendo, that they seem to have a permanent importance which may not be wholly ignored. Of the persons involved in the supposed conspiracy with Spain, Wilkinson and Brown were the most important. So far as appearance and proof went, the operations of the former were simply of a business character, and his relations with Lousiana authorties were confined to a kind of commercial treaty won by the remarkable audacity of the man. There is no doubt that the privilege he obtained was a very profitable one not only to himself but also to the people of Kentucky, many of whom, through his permits, shared the advantages of the concession. There is no reasonable probability that he ever received a pension from the Spanish authorities, and though repeatedly tried by competent courts, before which he waived legal formalities tending to limit incompetent evidence, he was triumphantly acquitted on every charge preferred, though supported by witnesses of the worst character and most vindictive temper. Brown's relations were of a different character. It was doubtless the hope of Spanish officials to achieve through the disaffection of the Kentuckians what seemed impossible in negotiating with the general government. That the western representative should have given his assent to the Spanish minister's proposition was not so unnatural as undiplomatic. It is well to bear in mind that national sentiment at that time was undeveloped; that the separate action of a State was legally recognized; and that if Kentucky had been "unanimous," the matter of Virginia's opposition would have been of slight consequence. That Brown's attitude was entirely friendly to what he considered the best interests of the district is beyond reasonable doubt, and so far from condemning him, the "good people" of Kentucky, while not indorsing his views in this respect, gave him the best evidence of their regard by continuing him in the United States senate for eighteen years. Even the jaundiced historian, while assailing these men, is compelled to say "that so long as the leaders of the faction for violent separation contiued to offer themselves to the people in elections, they were elected." (Vol. I, p. 369.)

After the contest was ended, the mental vision of many of their opponents cleared, and led them to do justice to the leaders of the "court party." Col. Marshall was an intimate friend of Washington, and when the latter began to be spoken of as the probable first president under the constitution, the colonel wrote him, under date of February 8, 1789, giving an account "of such symptoms of foreign intrigue and internal disaffection as had manifested themselves to him." In this letter, "the names of Wilkinson and Brown are alone mentioned among the implicated." Mr. Marshall was undoubtedly actuated in this matter by the most worthy motives, and his sincerity is evinced by his subsequent conduct when his suspicions were proven unfounded. In a letter to Marshall, Washington subsequently wrote:

In acknowledging the reciept of your letter of the 11th of September (1790), I must beg you to

*Marshall gives the proceedings of this convention considerably in detail. He had access to notes of the deliberations taken by Col. Marshall, which were declared by other members to be accurate. See (Vol. I, pp. 316-337.)

accept my thanks for the pleasing communication which it contains of the good disposition of the people of Kentucky toward the government of the United States. I never doubted but that the operations of this government, if not perverted by prejudice or evil designs, would inspire the citizens of America with such confidence in it, as effectually to do away these apprehensions which, under our former confederation, our best men entertained of divisions among ourselves, or allurements from other nations. I am therefore happy to find, that such a disposition prevails in your part of the country as to remove any idea of that evil, which a few years ago you so much dreaded.

"This letter," as Mr. Butler remarks, "taken in connection with the subsequent appointment of Wilkinson to be a lieutenant-colonel in the army, at the recommendation of Col. Marshall,* as well as others, and the repeated military commissions of high trust and expression of thanks to Messrs. Brown, Innes, Scott, Shelby and Logan, amply confirm the idea that the imputed disaffection of any of these distinguished citizens to the union of the States, had been abandoned by Col. Washington himself, and most certainly by Washington, if ever admitted to disturb his serene and benevolent mind." (P. 183.)

The year of 1788 is marked by another characteristic intrigue, which, though unimportant in its results, illustrates how widespread and determined the disaffection of the western country was believed to be. Some time about November, Connolly, the notorious nephew of Lord Dunmore, arrived from Canada, ostensibly to inquire after his lands at the Falls of the Ohio, but really to discover the disposition of the leading men in regard to hostile operations against the Spanish on the lower Mississippi. He was introduced by Col. John Campbell, his partner in the lands, and some time a prisoner among the Indians. He approached Judge Muter and Marshall, urging the necessity of the free navigation of the river, and represented that the Canadian authorities had 4,000 troops, besides two regiments, at Detroit, which they were willing to employ in aiding the Kentuckians to possess New Orleans, beside arms, ammunition, clothing and money. He also approached Gens. Scott and Wilkinson with the same story. The latter, dangerous to the public quiet as he was believed by some to be, treated the plotter in a summary fashion. Although willing to impress the Spanish intendant with the idea, "that should Spain be so blind to her true interests as to refuse the use of the river to the western people, and thereby compel a resort to military means for its attainment, that Great Britain stands ready, with her arms expanded, willing to receive and co-operate with them in their efforts for the accomplishment of this great and favorite object," he was by no means ready to try the experiment. He procured it to be given out that Connolly was an English spy, and engaged a borderer to make a sham assault upon him. This so terrified him that he asked a guide to secretly lead him out of the district, and thus ended the only attempt made by the English to enlist the co-operation of the Kentuckians.

On the 29th of December the legislature, in prompt compliance with the address of the last district convention, passed the third act of separation. This document did not reach Kentucky, however, until in January, 1789, when, its terms being known, it gave rise to severe criticism and to general disappointment. It was found that new conditions had been added to those originally imposed, which, however reasonable they may have appeared to the Virginians, proved highly objectionable to the Kentuckians. It was provided that the new State should pay a portion of the present domestic debt of the commonwealth. This had been suggested by the great expense incurred in carrying on military operations in defense of the district, which, though not always authorized by Virginia, had been assumed. The other new condition proposed to secure to the Virginia officers and soldiers the bounty lands set

*The fact of this recommendation becoming known to his political associates, brought upon him "a degree of censure" which evoked the following explanation. "He considered Wilkinson well qualified for the commission he had solicited and obtained; that while he remained unemployed by government he considered him dangerous to the public quiet of Kentucky, perhaps to her safety; that if his commission did not secure his fidelity, it would at least place him under control, in the midst of faithful officers, whose vigilance would render him harmless, if it did not make him honest. At all events, he could see no good reason for not putting the lion in the toils, which he solicited for himself." (Marshall, Vol. I, p. 391). This explanation, if not distorted by the historian, served the censured gentlemen as an *argumentum ad hominem* in his reply to his associates, but as a public apology, it does credit neither to his head nor his heart, and would have been much better omitted by his friend, the historian.

part for them, but it served to continue a certain dependence of the district upon the parent State, so that in case of separation the new State would be "in part independent, and in part dependent on a co-State as to the exercise of legislative power."

This act obliged the people of the district to again travel the whole tedious round of conventions to determine the expediency of separation, to form a constitution, and to organize a government. The election of delegates occurred in April, and Messrs. Marshall and Muter again presented themselves as candidates. Wilkinson, tired of politics, and immersed in business cares, declined to present his name, and the election passed without notable incident. On the third Monday in July (20th), 1789, the eighth convention assembled at Danville. There were many of the "court party" present, but the old issue was not presented, and the deliberations of the body were unmarked by any serious division of sentiment. Discussion first turned upon the new terms of separation, and after a short debate a resolution was adopted providing for a memorial to the legislature "requiring such alterations in the terms proposed to this district for separation as will make them equal to those formerly offered by Virginia, and agreed to on the part of the said district." This done, the convention turned its attention to general legislation. It directed its members to "meet at their court houses, on the October court days, and lay off their respective counties into precincts, and that each delegate make out a list of the souls residing within his respective precinct, discriminating between males and females, and between those over and those under twenty-one years of age." It was further provided that the president of the convention should call the members together again so soon as the amended act of the legislature should come to hand.

The memorial of this convention, in due time, came before the legislature, which, on December 18, 1789, passed an act in conformity with the wishes of the district. This act,* the fourth and final one, required the work to be done *de novo;* the convention, to determine the expediency of separation was required to meet at Danville, on July 26, 1790; congress to give its assent prior to November 1, 1791; the day of separation to be fixed "posterior" to that date, and a constitutional convention to be provided for and meet prior to the date fixed for final separation. The ninth convention accordingly met on the date appointed; organized with Judge Muter as president; resolved unanimously in favor of the expediency of separation; accepted the terms of the last legislative act, and fixed on June 1, 1792, as the date of final separation; prepared appropriate addresses to Virginia and congress; provided for the election—on the court days in December, 1791—of delegates to constitute a convention, which was to assemble on the first Monday in April, 1792, at Danville, and adjourned. On December 18, 1790, the president strongly recommended the claims of Kentucky to congress, in response to which communication each house made a suitable reply in favorable terms, and on February 4, 1791, both houses had passed the act admitting the district, as the State of Kentucky, on the terms of the "compact" between that section and Virginia. Fourteen days later Vermont was also admitted to the Union, but, as it was not encumbered with delaying conditions, it became a part of the Union immediately after congress rose in March—an indirect confirmation of Mr. Brown's opinion that the historian, Marshall, fails to point out.

In December, 1791, the election of delegates for the tenth* and final convention came on and passed without notable incident, save that "considerable effort" was made to place the district under party discipline. The plan was to organize a system of county committees, "whose first ostensible business was to form tickets, or to recommend to the people fit persons to be elected by them as representatives. The next thing was to furnish the representatives, when chosen, with

*Appendix A, Note 29.

*These conventions were assembled on the following dates: December 27, 1784; May 23 and August 8, 1785; September (fourth Monday), 1786; September 17, 1787; July 28 and November 3, 1788; July 20, 1789; July 26, 1790, and April (first Monday), 1792.

instructions how to act." The project appears to have been only partially successful, and, as a "principle of practice," was not established in Kentucky until a later time. Electioneering, however, had already become an art, and the people, accustomed to being courted for their votes, elected "those who had taken most pains to please." The deliberations of the convention were harmonious, and the progress of the work so rapid that, notwithstanding the interruption occasioned by the resignation and re-election of Mr. Nicholas,* the members ratified the new instrument by their adoption and signature on the 19th day of the same month.

The convention provided that the election of State officers and the members of the legislature should occur in May, and that the new government should assemble in Lexington on Monday, the 4th day of June following. Accordingly, on the 3d of the month, Isaac Shelby, the declared governor, left his farm destined for that place. The same day, passing through Danville, he received a congratulatory address from its citizens, to which he returned an appropriate reply, and then proceeded on his journey. The next day he arrived in Lexington, escorted by a troop of volunteers who had met him on the road, pursuant to an order of the trustees of the town, by whom he was received with some parade. The greater number of the senators, with a large proportion of the representatives, arrived the same day, and on the following day the new government was formally inaugurated, with Alexander Scott Bullitt as president of the senate, and Robert Breckinridge as speaker of the house of representatives. Thus, after eight years of vexatious struggle, the State of Kentucky became an integral part of the American Union, fitted and furnished for its career in the sisterhood of States.

The boundaries of the new State had been recognized, by the act of Virginia, as the "same as at present separate the district from the residue of this commonwealth." In 1780 the line 36° 30′ north latitude, which separated Virginia from North Carolina, had been traced only to the Alleghany Mountains. With the extension of settlements westward, disputes arose between the borderers, and serious inconvenience was experienced in the matter of property, as well as jurisdiction. The two governments accordingly provided, in this year, for the further survey of this line, Dr. Walker being selected on the part of Virginia, and Col. Henderson on the part of North Carolina, for this purpose. These gentlemen, with their attendants, immediately set about this business, beginning at the Tennessee River, and proceeding eastward. They soon found the results of their independent observations disagreeing with each other, and each adhering to his own opinion, through a prepossession in favor of his own State, or the inaccuracy of instruments, the lines thus drawn were found to cross each other, and to be quite wide apart on reaching the top of the Cumberland Mountains. At this point Henderson withdrew, but Walker, pursuing his course, had the line marked to the Tennessee River, where he stopped, and subsequently discovered that the projected line would touch the Mississippi instead of the Ohio, as had been supposed.

Such definition of the boundary line by no means obviated the inconvenience experienced, but for many years no further official attention was given the matter, although difficulties occasionally arose which threatened to interrupt the friendly relations of the two governments. On the 14th of October, 1799, the boundary on the east was settled by commissioners acting for the two States interested, and was established to run from the point where the southern boundary crosses the Cumberland Mountains, pursuing a northeast course to the northeastwardly

*This incident is related by Marshall (Vol. I, p. 395) as follows: "Mr. Nicholas, finding it necessary or convenient to revise some opinion which he had advanced previous to his election, and which now stood in his way to a newly conceived measure, resigned his seat in order to submit himself, as regenerated, to the people in another election, rather than forego the desire of bringing forth this recent conception, or run the risk of giving offense to his constituents, or of trusting to the intrinsic merits of the project and subsequent speculations. He was in the midst of his constituents, and beside, this self-immolation could but yield a most savory sacrifice to the popular nostril, and secure to him its patronage. Accordingly he had no opponent, was re-elected, and again took his seat in a few days, re-enforced with all the might and majesty of his county. It is, however, due to Mr. Nicholas to add that if he was a seeker of popularity he was a politician of distinguished eminence" The project for which he made this sacrifice was to vest the court of appeals with original and final jurisdiction in land suits, and it was accordingly incorporated in the constitution.

branch of the Big Sandy River; thence to the main west branch, and down the same to the Ohio. In 1811, provision was made by the Kentucky legislature for the survey of the southern boundary westward from the Tennessee River, which was subsequently accomplished by Messrs. Alexander and Munsell, the line reaching the river below New Madrid. In 1820 this line, with the one established by Walker, was mutually agreed upon as the southern boundary of Kentucky. This area, otherwise marked by the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers,* is included between the meridians of 82° 3′ and 89° 30′ west longitude, and between 36° 26′ and 39° 6′ north latitude. Its extreme length from east to west is 308 miles; its greatest breadth from north to south is 172 miles, and contains 37,680 square miles, of which all, save about 1,000 square miles in the sub-valley of the Ohio, lies within the Mississippi Valley.

In 1800 the population had increased since the first census to 220,955 persons, of whom 41,082 were slaves or free persons of color; in 1810 the population was composed of 324,237 whites and 82,274 blacks, and Kentucky rose from the fourteenth State, in point of population, to the ninth in the American Union. This development found expression also in the growth of towns and villages, which, numbering only five, with populations varying from 150 to 834 souls, in 1790, ten years later had increased to twenty-nine, with populations varying from six to 1,795 souls.† A traveler from the East, intent on seeing the country, at this time would take boat at Pittsburg, and land at Limestone. Until 1784 no structure of any sort marked the site of the landing place, but at that date the Wallers erected a double log-cabin and block-house; and three years later a warehouse, for the reception and inspection of tobacco, was built by authority of the legislature. Immediately after, a plat consisting of 100 acres was laid out by John May and Simon Kenton, "on the lower side of Limestone Creek, and called Maysville." Notwithstanding its importance as a general landing place for Kentucky immigration, this municipal venture developed but slowly. In the same year (1787) the town of Charleston was established by law at the mouth of Lawrence Creek, and two years before, the town of Washington, four miles to the southwest of the landing, had been laid out. This was a pretentious venture, the plat of which covered 700 acres; it grew rapidly under the stimulating influence of the large immigration, and in 1790 possessed a population of 462 souls. In 1800 its inhabitants were returned at 570, and at 815 ten years later. With such competition the famous *entrepot* grew but slowly. It was noted "as a fine harbor for boats coming down the Ohio," and as being the terminus of a "large wagon-road to Lexington." In 1797, Francis Bailey, the English traveler, estimated that it might contain from thirty to forty houses, which were found to be chiefly log-houses; the place on a near approach appeared very dirty, and presented a much more pleasing prospect from the river; provisions were found to be very dear, owing to the number of boats which had recently landed. As early as 1798 it had reached the dignity of a "post-town," and in 1802 was found by Michaux to consist of not more than thirty or forty houses, though these were built of plank, obtained from the Kentucky boats that were broken up at the end of their journey. A few years later it was described as "quite a bustling place," but with a population numbering about 350 souls.

Inland travel from this point, which was known as Limestone for some years later, was accomplished on horseback, but Michaux warns visitors that they will find it difficult to hire horses here. Such animals were only to be obtained by purchase, and the people, not less well informed than those farther east, knew "how to take advantage when they

*The jurisdiction of Kentucky extends to low-water mark on the north side of the Ohio River.

†The census takers of 1800 returned twenty-nine towns, with a separate enumeration, as follows. The figures before the names indicate the order of each town in point of population: 24, Eddyville, 69; 26, Falmouth, 38; 12, Flemingsburg, 124; 2, Frankfort, 628; 6, Georgetown, 350; 20, Germantown, 81; 22, Greensburg, 71; 27, Greenville, 26; 25, Hardinsburg, 49; 13, Harrodsburg, 124; 21, Hartford, 74; 8, Henderson, 205; 17, Lancaster, 103; 1, Lexington, 1,795; 5, Louisville, 359; 11, Maysville, 137; 19, Mount Sterling, 83; 16, Newport, 106; 28, Nicholasville, 23; 4, Paris, 377; 20, Prestonburg, 6; 15, Richmond, 110; 14, Russellville, 117; 7, Shelbyville, 262; 18, Shepherdsville, 96; 10, Springfield, 63; 9, Versailles, 172; 3, Washington, 570; 23, Williamsburg (now Orangeburg), 70.

can." The Frenchman, therefore, determined to make his way to Lexington on foot, a distance of sixty-five miles, which he accomplished in two days and a half. Washington was reached after a tramp of four miles, and was found to consist of "about two hundred houses, all of planks," which were erected on either side of the wagon-road which lead to Lexington. Here trade was brisk, the principal article being flour, which was exported to New Orleans. In the country around were found beautiful plantations, with fences as well kept and fields as well cultivated as in Virginia. From Washington the road led to Springfield, a place then consisting of five or six houses, two of which were "spacious well-built taverns," but which were unknown to the gazetteers and have since entirely passed away. A little further on, the traveler reached May's Lick, nine miles southwest from Washington, which was chiefly interesting for the salt works established there. Millersburg, known to the early gazetteers as "Miller's," was found situated on a branch of the Licking, thirty-two miles northeast of Lexington, and consisting of about fifty houses and two saw-mills. A bridge was constructed over the river, which, like all others of the few to be found in this country, consisted of tree-trunks, not fastened together, placed transversely beside each other. But little care was bestowed upon repairs, and the traveler on horseback is advised that "it is always prudent to alight on crossing them."

Some eighteen miles before reaching Lexington on this road, the town of Paris arose before the early traveler. It was at this time the chief place in Bourbon County. During the pioneer period it was known as Houston's Station, and was eclipsed by the superior importance of Ruddle's and Miller's Stations in its near vicinity. In 1789, it was established as a town by the legislature under the name of Hopewell; a year later the name was changed to Bourbonton, and subsequently to Paris. It was situated in the midst of a pleasant plain of considerable extent, and near the Licking, on which were several "corn-mills." In 1796 it contained only eighteen houses, but in 1802 Michaux notes upward of 150 buildings, "more than half of which are built of brick." Everything at that time indicated the prosperity of the people. "Seven or eight of them," says Michaux, "were drinking whisky in a very neat tavern, where I stopped to let the great heat pass over. After answering the various questions they asked me relative to the intentions of my journey, one of them invited me to dine with him, being desirous of making me acquainted with one of my countrymen, who had lately arrived from Bengal. I yielded to his request, and found a Frenchman who had quitted Calcutta to come and live in Kentucky. He had taken up his residence at Paris, where he exercised the profession of a schoolmaster."

No further aggregation of houses claimed the distinction of a village until Lexington, the early metropolis of Kentucky, was reached. This town was established the same year as Louisville (1780), and rapidly assumed the place of first importance. It was situated in a rich, extensive plain, in the center of that region now known as Bluegrass, on the north side of Town Fork, an affluent of the south branch of Elkhorn. It was early chosen as the site of Wilkinson's commercial operations, to whose enterprise it doubtless owed much of its first prosperity. Its rapid growth, however, may probably be attributed to its position in the center of one of the most fertile regions in the world. In the census of 1790 it is credited with a population of 834, which had reached 2,000 in 1796, as estimated by Jedidiah Morse, the earliest of American gazetteers. At the latter date, there were 250 houses, three places of public worship, a court house and a jail. Two printing offices each issued a weekly gazette, several stores competed in trade, and everything indicated a flourishing condition of prosperity. Its social charms were of the most agreeable character, its population including a number of the most genteel families to be found in Kentucky.

In 1802, it is described as situated in the middle of about 300 acres of cleared ground,

surrounded by heavy woods. Its plan was regular; the broad streets, intersecting each other at right angles, were without "footways," and muddy in winter and in the wet season. The houses were mostly brick, and dispersed over an extent of 80 or 100 acres, save on Main Street, where the houses were contiguous to each other. At this time the gazettes were issued twice a week, for which a part of the paper was manufactured in the country. Two good rope-walks found constant employment in furnishing the ship-builders on the Ohio, while the preparation and manufacture of hemp furnished employment for considerable capital and a number of hands in several other establishments. A new invention for "grinding and cleansing" this staple had just been announced by one of its citizens. With this machine, moved by horse-power or by a current of water, it was believed that 8,000 weight of hemp could be thus prepared in a day. A new nail machine had just been patented also, which eventually turned out 5,320 pounds of finished nails in twelve hours, and enabled the manufacturers to export the finished product to Louisville, Cincinnati, and even to Pittsburgh. Michaux further notes that "the manufactures of Lexington are supported, and their proprietors are thought to be doing very well, notwithstanding the extreme high price of labor. This price is occasioned by the inhabitants giving the preference to agriculture, and there being but few who put their children to trades, because they require their assistance in their own employments. The following comparison will render this defect of artisans in the western country more perceptible. At Charleston in Carolina, and at Savannah in Georgia, a white workman, such as a joiner, carpenter, mason, white-smith, tailor, shoemaker, etc., earns two piasters a day, and cannot live a week for less than six. At New York and Philadelphia he receives only one piaster, and it costs him four a week. At Marietta, Lexington and Nashville, Tenn., this workman receives a piaster, or a piaster and a half per day, and can live a week upon one day's wages. Another instance will also assist in giving an idea of the low price of provisions of the first necessity in the western States; the boarding-house at which I lived during my residence at Lexington is reckoned one of the best in the town, and the table is very well supplied for two piasters per week." Outside of the town were several powder-mills, for the use of which sulphur was imported from Philadelphia, and the saltpeter manufactured from the earths of the neighboring caverns. Several tanneries on the river, and potteries where the common ware was made, should also be included in these outside manufactories.

In 1805, Lexington was set down as the "largest and most wealthy town in Kentucky, or indeed west of the Alleghany Mountains;" its main street had all the appearance of Market Street in Philadelphia on a busy day; the dwelling-houses were estimated at 500, many of which were elegant, and three stories high; and at that time, thirty brick buildings were in process of construction. In all, save the water, the surroundings of the town were declared to be admirable, and the prospect seemed to warrant the prediction that in a few years Lexington would rival the most populous inland town of the Atlantic States, "not only in wealth, but in population." Two years later, the town had gained a fourth church, a public academy, and "other well regulated schools;" a market-house, in which the produce of the surrounding country was exposed for sale; a book store, and book bindery, two more rope-walks, two nail factories, and two cotton-mills, in one of which the manufacture of duck was made a specialty. The stores were estimated at thirty, several of which were engaged in the wholesale trade; the number of houses by a closer estimate was placed at 400, "many of which are handsomely built," and the population at 2,400 souls.

The census of 1810 showed this progress still active. The population had increased to 4,326; the manufacture of hemp now engaged fifteen rope-walks and bagging factories, which annually worked up about 1,200 or 1,400 tons of hemp. Each bagging factory employed from fifteen to twenty-five black

boys in spinning, from ten to twenty looms attended by black men, four or five hands preparing the fibre, and two or three white men as overseers. The rope-walks each employed ten or fifteen men, each man and boy earning for his master about $1 per day. The value of the manufactured products thus turned out was estimated at $500,000 in the Eastern market. The cotton factories had been increased to four, in the newest and most extensive of which the manufactured articles were declared to "do honor to our country." It was further noted by a traveler, that "Mr. Daniel Bradford, has lately established a wool-carding and spinning machinery, and one or two others are in operation," besides an oil-cloth and oil-carpeting business, which succeeded well. It was also reported, that Mr. John Bradford, Sr., was about to erect machinery for spinning ropes by steam power. A second book store, and a third printing press, were also recent accessions to the business of the town. Public enterprise was further marked by a "well regulated and extensive public library," a "public theatre," with its company of actors, and neatly conducted "bath-houses, both warm and cold." The style of building was still handsome, and the public inns, of which there were four, were conducted on a plan and style of neatness, which made a man feel at home, as soon as he entered. Everything went "like clock work," the employees being at their posts night and day, and the landlord's watchful eye constantly over all. It was not unusual to see thirty or forty strangers sit down to the table in Postlewaite's tavern at one time, and the others were not less well patronized.

These facts pertaining to Lexington may be found in the published accounts of the travels of Michaux, Espy (Tour in Ohio and Kentucky in 1805; published in Cincinnati, 1871); the *Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1814, and in Fearon's Sketches of America, London, 1818. From the latter a statement of Lexington's business, in 1817, is drawn as follows: twelve cotton mills, employing a capital of £67,500; three woolen-mills, £32,600; three paper-mills, £20,250; three steam grist-mills, £16,875; powder-mills, £9,000; lead factory, £14,800; foundries for casting brass and iron, in connection with a silver-plating establishment, £9,000; four hat factories, £15,000; four coach factories, £12,600; five tanneries, £20,000; twelve factories for making cotton bagging and hempen yarns, £100,400; six cabinet-makers, £5,600; four soap and candle factories, £12,150; three tobacco factories, £11,450; sundry others, £120,000; making the total of employed capital in manufacturing, £467,225.

Southward from Lexington the public road was only a bridle path, though well marked by constant use. This led in a southwest course twenty-two miles to Hickman's Ferry, on the Kentucky River, where a tavern offered entertainment to the belated traveler, and a flatboat furnished a means of crossing in time of high water. A mile beyond the river a branch road turned abruptly westward toward Harrodsburg, while continuing southwardly for some twenty miles the trail led to Danville. The latter village was established by the legislature in 1787, and, as the district capital, gained some early distinction. It was the place where the various conventions were held from 1784 to 1792, but it was not of much importance as a town until some years later. Its population is not given separately in either the first or second census, and in 1810 contained only 432 inhabitants. On the formation of the district, Harrodsburg lost much of its early prestige. It was early made a post-town, however, and in 1796 contained some twenty scattered houses. In 1802, planks had become conspicuous in the construction of dwellings, but the number had not increased, and the population was only 124 as returned in the previous census. In 1810, there were only 313 inhabitants. The route to Nashville, followed by pack-trains and travelers, led southwestwardly from Harrodsburg to Hay's (Haysville), thence to Skegg's, Bears' Wallow, Dripping Spring and across the Big Barren southward. After leaving Harrodsburg, the country was sparsely settled, and save log "taverns," at intervals of from twenty to thirty miles, there was scarcely a sign of human habitation to

be observed along the route. The early tourist was forced, therefore, to turn northward and seek Frankfort, as the trails leading westward were still less inviting.

In the western portion of the new State thus left unexplored, there were two towns, at least, which gave promise of future growth. Of these, Henderson, on the Mississippi, was the more important. It was laid out quite early, though not incorporated until 1810; it extended along the river front for half a mile, and from its situation on a high bank commanded a fine view of the river for several miles. It was a post-town and county seat as early as 1793, and in the second census is credited with a population of 205 souls. In 1810 the enumeration fell to 159, though considerable business activity is noted. The town at this time contained about thirty houses, of which many were brick. The business portion of the town was represented by two stores indifferently supplied and two long tobacco warehouses. The other western town was Eddyville, on the Cumberland River, forty-five miles from its mouth. This place was settled in 1799, and thither the notorious Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, came in the spring of 1801. Removed from the political agitations of the East, he turned his ability into commercial channels, erected a successful wool and cotton carding machine, a paper-mill propelled by oxen, and a distillery. He subsequently engaged in boat-building, constructing several gunboats for the government, and a large number of barges and river boats. One of his sons was engaged in the river traffic and made frequent trips to New Orleans. The village was more important for its business activity than for its population, which was only sixty-nine persons in 1800, and does not appear in the census as a separate factor again until 1830, when it reached only 167 souls.

The State capital in 1800 was the second town in Kentucky. The land on which it stood was surveyed as early as 1774 by the McAfees, but these adventurers, finding richer lands elsewhere, neglected to record the plat made. The survey was well known, however, and subsequent locaters were careful not to infringe upon its boundaries. Thus the adjacent lands were entered at various times up to 1789, the omission of the McAfees escaping notice until 1785, when Humphrey Marshall learned of it, and promptly took advantage of the fact to enter it for himself. In the following year, Frankfort was established as a town by the legislature, taking its name, it is said, from the fact that Stephen Frank was killed in 1780 by the Indians on that spot. Its growth was not such as to attract attention until it was made the capital of the new State in 1793, when a new era in its history began. The town was situated on a river bottom, marked by high ground on the northeast, and encircled on the southwest by the river, which forms a semi-circle at this point. A considerable part of the town site was subject to annual inundation, and until 1796 was occupied by a stagnant pond; but at this time, Gen. Wilkinson, being stationed here, took measures to drain this part of the plain and greatly improved the healthfulness of the place. At this date, Frankfort was noted as a flourishing town, regularly laid out, containing many handsome houses, a fine state-house constructed of stone, and a tobacco warehouse. Its population is not given in the first census, but in 1800, it is credited with 628 inhabitants, and in 1810, with 1,099. It then contained about 140 houses, three printing offices, a book store, book-bindery, a public library, eighteen "mercantile" stores, and a bank, established in the fall of 1807.

The buildings were principally of brick and of a pleasing style. The State House, a large three-story stone building, stood in the middle of a "large yard," and appeared "much neglected for want of repairs and cleanliness." The brick building occupied by the bank was a handsome structure, and stood in range with the new bridge and the State House. The penitentiary was a well conducted institution, in which the criminals were employed at various mechanical branches of industry during their term of confinement. A variety of handsome stone and marble

work, among which were "some elegantly wrought tombs," was noted. The marble used was a handsome stone, beautifully variegated and susceptible of a high polish, brought from a quarry twenty-five or thirty miles away.

The annual sessions of the legislature contributed to its prosperity, and the evidences of its improvement in buildings, manufactures and commerce were numerous. Some of these marks of prosperity are noted in the *Navigator*, published in Pittsburgh in 1811, and republished in 1814, as follows:

The Kentucky River at Frankfort is narrow, with bold banks of limestone rock, admirably calculated for building, running in horizontal veins of from six to twelve inches thick. It has been known to rise fifty feet perpendicular in twenty-four hours. The bridge now erecting at Frankfort will add facility to the commerce of the time. It is building on the plan of Judge Finley's chain bridge; will cost about $25,000; is 334½ feet span, having one pier in the middle of the river, sixty-five feet in height; the whole length being 700 feet, and eighteen broad. The two chains for this bridge were made at Pittsburgh by Mr. Thomas Hazleton, and weigh about twelve tons, of inch and a half square bar. Much difficulty has been experienced in getting a foundation for the western abutment, arising from a kind of quicksand, and water rushing in at the bottom upon the workmen as fast as they could discharge them at top with pumps and buckets worked night and day.

Messrs. Hunter & Instone have recently got into operation in Frankfort an extensive bagging manufactory, in which about twenty-five hands, black men and boys, are busily engaged, spinning, weaving, etc. At the end of this, and immediately on the bank of the river, the same gentlemen have erected a large warehouse for the storage of goods, which center here from different parts of the State, to descend the Kentucky River to the Ohio. A bagging manufactory was burned down at Frankfort about twelve months ago, by design, it was conjectured.

An extensive rope-walk was erected (September, 1810) at the edge of the town, calculated to do a large business; and a steamboat, that is, a large boat to be propelled by the power of steam, was on the stocks a little above town. She is intended for the trade of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. A mile below Frankfort there is a saw and grist-mill in the river, which in low water does a good deal of business, but it is not uncommon to see it completely covered by the floods of the river, to withstand which it has no roof and is open on all sides, and heavily loaded down on the corners and in the middle of the frame at top with piles of stones. The mill is owned by a Mr. Hawkins. Boats pass it through a chute, by lifting a few boards at its head, which, when replaced, form a dam for the mill. With some difficulty the Kentucky River can be navigated from Frankfort with light flat-bottomed boats to the Ohio in the lowest stages of the water, but for eight months in the year the navigation is very good.

Two miles below Frankfort there is a bank of fine white sand thrown up by the river, said to be well calculated for the manufacture of glass. Mr. Greenup, former governor of Kentucky, has it in contemplation, it is said, to establish a glass house at or near this place, and the establishment of a brew-house is talked of by the citizens of the town. Thus go on the improvements of interior America, whose inhabitants begin to feel and act like the citizens of an independent nation, possessing an extent of country capable of producing, from the luxury of the soil and variety of climate, everything which ought to make a people happy and independent of all the venomous combinations of maddened Europe.

Frankfort was situated in the most populous part of Kentucky. The lower river valley was then sparsely settled, Newport on the Ohio being the only town north of the capital, and that contained only 106 inhabitants by the second census. But both east and west of the river there were numerous plantations, and several conspicuous towns besides those already mentioned. West of the Limestone and Lexington road was Flemingsburg, with 124 inhabitants in 1800; west of the Lexington and Danville trail was Richmond, with 110 inhabitants; southwest of this town was Lancaster, with 103 inhabitants; and some fourteen miles southwest of Frankfort was Versailles, established in 1792, and eight years later containing 172 inhabitants. But larger than any of these, and the sixth town in the State, was Georgetown, lying midway between Paris and Frankfort. It was originally settled in 1775; was the site of McClellan's Fort; was known as Lebanon until 1790, when it was incorporated by the legislature and named in honor of the first president of the United States. In 1800, it contained 350 inhabitants. West of the river was Springfield, about forty miles southwest of Frankfort. The country about it was settled in 1786, by the leading branch of the Hardin family; was established as a town in 1793, and in the second census is assigned

163 inhabitants. Bardstown, thirteen miles northwest of Springfield, and about equally distant from Louisville and Frankfort, was established by the legislature in 1788; its original plat contained 100 acres, situated on an elevated plain near Beech Fork, an affluent of Salt River. It was first named *Bairdstown* after one of the original proprietors, from which it has been changed to its present name by the popular pronunciation of the original. In Morse's Gazeteer of 1798, it is mentioned as a "flourishing town," with 216 inhabitants. In the second census it is not enumerated separately, but in 1810 it contained 821 inhabitants. Turning west from Frankfort, twenty one miles away, the traveler reached Shelbyville, in 1800 the seventh town in the State in point of population. In 1779, it was the site of Squire Boone's station, and in 1792 it was laid off by order of the legislature with a plat containing fifty-one acres. Purchasers of lots were required to build thereon a hewed log house, not less than a story and a half high, with a brick or stone chimney. Its growth was steady and permanent; by the second census its population numbered 262, and 424 ten years later.

Thirty miles farther west, Louisville was reached, situated at the falls of the Ohio. In 1790, this was the fourth town, and in 1800, the fifth town in the State. It was established as a town, and made the seat of justice for the newly formed county of Jefferson in 1780; the lots were sold by auction, as was the common practice, and purchasers were required to build, within two years of the date of sale, a dwelling house, "sixteen feet by twenty at least, with a brick or stone chimney." The outline of the plat started on the banks of the Ohio, thirty-five poles above the mouth of Bear Grass, running thence to the mouth of the creek; "thence north 87, west 120 poles, north 50, west 110 poles to a heap of stones and a square hole cut in the flat rock; thence (the division line) south 88, east 769 poles to a white oak, poplar and beech, north 37, west 390 poles to the beginning; no variation." Six streets running east and west were laid out in this area, and twelve others crossing them at right angles. A space 180 feet wide, south of Green Street, and extending from First to Twelfth Street, was originally reserved for a public ground, but it was eventually disposed of by the city authorities, and the prospective city robbed of its park. The situation selected for the new town was an unhealthy one, and in time gained for Louisville the not inappropriate title of the "Graveyard of the West." The "second bank" formed a kind of dyke which prevented inundation by the river, but also retained the surface water which gathered in the numerous depressions which characterized the country along the river, so that the whole valley from Bear Grass to Salt River was thickly scatered over with stagnant ponds. "Long Pond" commenced "at the present corner of Sixth and Market Streets, and, inclining a little toward the southwest, extended as far as old Hope Distillery, on or near Sixteenth Street." This was long the early skating resort for all classes in the city. "Gwathmey's or Grayson's Pond" was the second in importance; it extended from Centre Street westwardly half way to Seventh Street, and was preserved by its owners for the fish with which it was stocked. Besides these there were a great number of smaller ponds, which gave the town the appearance of a miniature archipelago. In 1805, the trustees were authorized by the legislature to obviate "those nuisances in such a manner as the majority of them should prescribe," but it was not until the visit of a fearful epidemic, in 1822–23, that any earnest movement was made in this direction.

The military operations of the period contributed to bring here a considerable population of a transient character, but such was the unwillingness or poverty of the lot owners that the period within which dwellings were to be erected was twice extended by the legislature. In 1783 the first store was opened, window glass was first observed in use here, and beside 100 cabins it was noted that there were in the town "sixty-three houses finished, thirty-seven partly finished, and twenty-two raised but not covered."

This estimate of the buildings was probably incorrect, or else indicated the number of lots upon which purchasers had built structures to meet the requirement of the law, as in 1790 the census placed the number of inhabitants at only 200 persons. In 1793 a more accurate observer relates that the houses, constructed of logs and boat-planks, were few and small, and that the town was far more noted for the energy and social abandon of its people than for public enterprise. Upon the authority of Forman's autobiography, McMasters says: "Travelers from the more decorous towns of the East were shocked at the balls, the drinking, the fighting and the utter disregard paid to the Sabbath day. But all agreed that the inhabitants were the most whole-souled and hospitable. The favorite drink was eggnog. The favorite pastime was billiards, and every morning numbers of young women, escorted by the young men, gathered about the one billiard-table in the town. If a stranger of note put up at the only tavern, and gave out that he was come to stay some time, he was sure to be called on, as the phrase was, to sign for a ball. When the night came, the garrison at Fort Jefferson would furnish the music, and the managers would choose the dances. The first was usually the minuet, and, till his number was called, no man knew with whom he was to dance. This over, each was at liberty to choose his own partner for the first 'volunteer.'"*

In 1796, Louisville is described as a port of entry and post-town; it consists of three principal streets, and contains about 100 houses, a court house and jail. It commands a delightful prospect of the river and the adjacent country, and promises to be a place of great trade, but its unhealthiness, owing to stagnated waters back of the town, has considerably retarded its growth. In the following year, a more particular account of the town's progress is gathered from the assessor's returns. Taxes were levied "on all who reside within the limits of the half acre lots," at the rate of 6d. for each horse, 1s. for each negro, 20s. for each billiard-table, 6s. on each tavern license, 10s. on each retail store, 2s. per wheel on all carriages, 6d. on £100 value in town lots, and 3s. on each tithable. The return shows that there were found within the prescribed limits, 50 horses, 65 negroes, 2 billiard-tables, 5 tavern licenses, 5 retail stores, 6 wheels (but whether three gigs or one four-wheeled vehicle and a gig there are no means of determining), and 80 tithables. The whole assessment amounted to £31, 15s. 6d., but out of this, £12 were credited on the delinquent list. In 1800, the population had reached 359 souls, and by an act of the legislature of the same year the citizens were exempted from working on the public ways, out side of town, save the one to the "lower landing;" a "surveyor" was authorized to take charge of the streets, and to summon the inhabitants at proper times to work on them; and £25 were appropriated to build a market house on the public grounds. The latter provision of the act proved of no effect, as no such grounds could be found, and in the following year the legislature repealed this feature of the previous act, but at the same time required the trustees to fix upon a suitable place for the purpose, and thereon to erect a market house. In 1806, the town had begun to engage in the river commerce; but "six keel boats and two barges—the one of thirty tons belonging to Reed, of Cincinnati, the other of forty, owned by Instone, of Frankfort—sufficed for the carrying trade of Louisville and Shippingport." In 1807 the *Farmer's Library*, a weekly paper, was established, and in the year following the Louisville *Gazette* appeared. In 1809 the assessor's returns again afford a clue to the progress of the town, and marks a good degree of growth in the interval since 1797:

$74,000 value of lots at 10 per cent	$740 00
113 white tythes, at 50c	56 50
82 black tythes over 16 yrs., at 25c	20 50
83 black tythes under 16 yrs., at 12½c	10 38
11 retail stores, at $5	55 00
3 tavern licences, at $2	6 00
30 carriage wheels, at 12½c. per wheel	3 75
2 billiard tables, at $2.50	5 00
131 horses, at 12½c	16 37
	$913 50

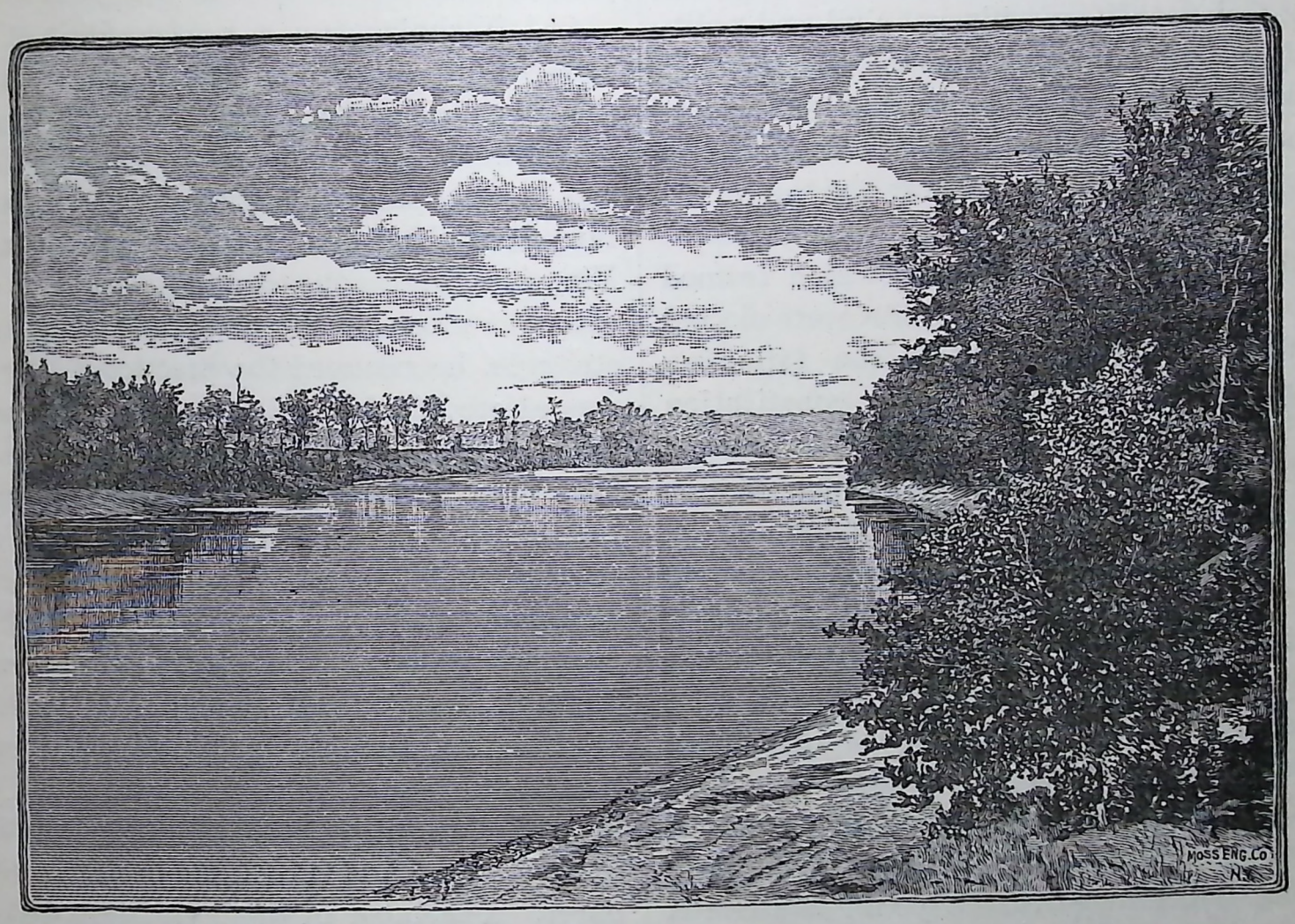
*History of the People of the United States, Vol. II, p. 152.

In 1808, a theater was erected in Louisville, and though "but little better than a barn," it sufficed the purposes of the town until 1818, without refitting, and after repairing and refurnishing, until 1843, when it burned down. In 1810 a brick court house was begun, in front of which a lofty "Ionic portico," supported by four wooden columns, gave it such distinction as to be considered the handsomest of its kind in the western country. A variety of circumstances appeared to combine to retard the development of the manufacturing interests of Louisville, and in 1810, with 1,357 inhabitants, little mention is made of its factories. There were, however, several rope-walks extensively carried on, and a valuable bagging factory, which was burned down in December, 1810. In the *Navigator* of 1814, it is noted that "there have lately been added to Louisville a banking company, a paper-mill, a second printing office, a book store, a circulating library, a reading room, an air foundry for casting all kinds of pot metal, a glass house, and a grist and saw-mill by steam, and cotton manufactory by the same power were expected to be in operation this summer (1814), and a number of handsome buildings, altogether having the appearance of its becoming a great commercial and manufacturing town."

An early competitor for metropolitan honors was Shippingport, situated two miles below Louisville, at the foot of the rapids. The plat originally contained forty-five acres, and was laid out on the plain which skirts the Ohio from Beargrass to Salt River. In 1785 it was established by the legislature under the name of "Anonymous," in the absence of any other; Campbelltown was subsequently applied, but the popular name eventually prevailed—a clear instance of "the survival of the fittest." It was regularly laid out, and with the growth of river navigation rapidly developed. In 1803 the whole site was sold to James Berthoud, who three years later disposed of the larger portion to Messrs. Tarascon, two Frenchmen and brothers, to whose enterprising energy and public spirit the town owed its early prosperity. The names of the streets were characteristic: Front, Market, Tobacco, Bengal, Jackson, Hemp, Mill and Tarascon, the next being numbered from Second to Sixteenth Street. During the early period of river navigation the town enjoyed superior advantages. After passing the rapids, boats put in here for supplies, where they found deep water and a bold shore. Boats upward bound were obliged to discharge their cargoes here, from whence all good destined for upper ports were wagoned to Beargrass for reshipment. In 1810, though containing only ninety-eight inhabitants, it was a place of considerable business. Messrs. Tarascon had a large flouring-mill at the foot of the rapids, from which they shipped considerable quantities of flour to New Orleans; they had a store and extensive rope-walk also, and Mr. Berthoud did a large commission business. From 1815 to 1819 the Tarascon brothers greatly extended their business, erecting a mill-race with intention of affording power for a series of factories, which they projected, but never completed. They did erect an immense flouring-mill on a scale that was the wonder of the times. It was six stories, towered 102 feet in the air, and cost $150,000; it was wonderfully complete in all its appointments, and had a capacity of 500 barrels of flour per day. This done, the proprietors began experimenting with water-wheels, intending to erect mills for the manufacture of cotton on a large scale, but the canal was projected, and other obstacles prevented the fulfillment of these ambitious designs.

The lowness of the ground interfered with its building up, though in 1819, McMurtrie gives the average price of lots at from $40 to $50 per front foot. The same writer says: "The population of Shippingport may be estimated at 600 souls, including strangers. Some taste is already perceptible in the construction of their houses, many of which are neatly built and ornamented with galleries, in which, of a Sunday, are displayed all the beauty of the place. It is, in fact, the *Bois de Boulogne* of Louisville, it being the resort of all classes on high days and holidays. At these times, it exhibits a spec-

tacle at once novel and interesting. The number of steamboats in the port, each bearing one or two flags, the throng of horses, carriages and gigs, and the contented appearance of a crowd of pedestrians, all arrayed in their 'Sunday's best' produce an effect it would be impossible to describe."



VIEW ON THE TENNESSEE RIVER IN WESTERN KENTUCKY.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NEW STATE AND ITS PROBLEMS.

KENTUCKY, from a county of Virginia, had become, as has been shown, an independent commonwealth, and a sovereign member of the sisterhood of States. It was the first-born of the new confederation, and comprised the fourteenth State of the Federal Union. The machinery, civil and political, was set in motion, and the new member embarked on the full tide of municipal experiment. A constitution had been framed and adopted, and in a general way ratified by the people.

Delegates to the convention which framed the constitution of the new State, were elected in December, 1791, and in the following April met in Danville. The constitution which they formed is an index of the state of public feeling at the time on many matters of importance. It totally abandoned the aristocratic features of the parent State, so far as representation by counties was concerned, and established numbers as the basis. Suffrage was universal, and the sheriffs were elected triennially by the people. But while these departures from the constitution of Virginia displayed the general predominance of the Democratic principle in Kentucky, there are strong indications that the young statesmen of the West were disposed to curb the luxuriance of this mighty element by strong checks. The executive, the senate and the judiciary were entirely removed from the direct control of the people. The governor was chosen by electors, who were elected by the people for that purpose every fourth year. The members of the senate were appointed by the same electoral college which chose the president, and might be selected indifferently from any part of the State. The judiciary were appointed, and held their office during good behavior. The supreme court, however, had original and final jurisdiction in all land cases. This last feature was engrafted upon the constitution by Col. George Nicholas, and was most expensive and mischievous in practice.*

Col. Nicholas was a master spirit of the convention, and one of the ablest lawyers of the early bar of Kentucky. He was born in Williamsburg, Va., about the year 1743, and was a son of Robert Nicholas, a distinguished lawyer of Virginia. He was a captain in the Virginia line in the revolutionary war, and after the close of the long and sanguinary struggle, he resumed the practice of law and was elected to the legislature from Albemarle County, where, upon his retirement from the army, he had made his home. He was a prominent and influential member of the convention called to ratify the Federal constitution, and zealously advocated its adoption. In 1788, he came to Kentucky and located in Mercer County (now Boyle) near Danville. Of him, and the first constitutional convention of the State, Gov. Morehead said: "It abounded in talent, integrity and patriotism, and George Nicholas was its brightest luminary. A member of the convention that ratified the constitution of the United States, he was the associate of Madison, of Randolph, and of Patrick Henry; and he came to Kentucky in the fullness of his fame and in the maturity of his intellectual strength. He enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence of the people of Kentucky, and contributed largely, by public speaking and by essays of singular power, to influence the course they took in the great political contest of 1798. He was emphatically a great statesman and a

*Collins, Vol. I, p. 274.

great lawyer." In later years Col. Nicholas removed to Lexington, and for the remainder of his life devoted himself to his profession. When, in 1799, a law department was added to Transylvania University he was elected the first professor, but died in a few months afterward, at the age of fifty-six years.

A late writer, in discussing that clause of the first constitution of the State relating to the supreme court, says: "This provision was introduced by Col. George Nicholas. On proposing it, as it had not been an element in his canvass, he took the good way of resigning his seat in the convention and asking for a re-election, which was unanimously given him without contest. This uncontested return of the proposer was taken as evidence that the people desired the arrangement. The object of this provision was to prevent the action of local prejudice in the settlement of legislation concerning land titles. This prejudice is always sure to be strong in the case of such land titles as were growing up under the rough system of 'location' that the laws permitted. Boundaries being unfixed, there was already a disposition to disregard the rights of original patentees, and to use the unoccupied land as common property. Any jury, drawn from the neighborhood in which the disputed land lay, was likely to contain men who had a sinister interest against the establishment of patent claims. Thus the State at the outset found itself in danger, through defective titles, of losing a part of the value of the soil which had inspired the people to its conquest. The remedy was unusual, but fully warranted by the needs of the case, though in experience it was found impracticable."

The first constitution of Kentucky was modeled, in a great degree, after the constitution of the United States, as shown by the adoption of the famous "Kentucky Resolutions."* It has been characterized as an effort to "adapt the framework of the law to the existing needs of the community, rather than to seek any ideal perfection," and Marshall, the historian, says the "scheme was that of a democracy rather than that of a republic." This could scarcely be considered an objection, as the people were democratic in their political spirit, and their society was a pure democracy. Hence, it was only natural that their law should conform to their motives and conditions. Some of the features of the document deserve more than a passing notice. The first of these is the clause relating to suffrage, which was given to all male citizens who were twenty-one years old, and had not been disfranchised through the conviction of crime. Another feature, and one to be commended, was that the whole body of the judiciary was "constituted by appointment, and without specified term of office." This was the custom of the time, and might still be followed with advantage to the country and considerable benefit to society. Another very good provision was keeping "separate church and state" by excluding from the legislature ministers of the gospel. One of the most important provisions was the clause concerning slavery. It shows a strong prejudice against the commercial traffic in slaves, and forbids their introduction "into the State as merchandise, and none were to be bought that were imported into America since 1789." It further recommended the legislature to pass laws "permitting the emancipation of slaves under the limitation that they shall not become a charge on the county in which they reside." This clause is indubitable evidence that the slavery problem had already presented itself to the people, and that they apprehended danger, sooner or later, from its influence.

It is a singular fact, and one deserving of some criticism, that this constitution made no reference in any manner to a system of public schools. "In this," says a recent writer, "it differs from the constitution of the Northern States." This is true. But, it must be remembered, that when many of the Northern and all of the Northwestern States were organized, the public school system was better understood than it was when

*These resolutions were framed and adopted by the Kentucky legislature as a protest against what was deemed the "unconstitutional action of the Federal congress in enacting the alien and sedition laws." In her protest, Kentucky intended to manifest her displeasure at the passage of these acts, and also to show unmistakably the interpretation which she put upon the Federal compact. These resolutions, for these reasons, have in Kentucky ever been held of great political importance. (See Appendix A, Note 30.)

Kentucky became a State and framed her first constitution. This neglect, however, greatly retarded the growth and prosperity of the State, and resulted in keeping her in the rear of many of her younger sisters of the Northwest.

Gen. Isaac Shelby was elected the first governor of the State, as already noticed, and was a man well qualified for the position. He was a native of Maryland, born in 1750, and was of Welsh descent, his father, Gen. Evan Shelby, having emigrated from Wales. In 1780, Isaac Shelby, who had removed to western Virginia, found himself a citizen of North Carolina, by the extension of the boundary line of that State. He was a gallant soldier of the revolutionary war, and was second in command at the battle of King's Mountain, where 1,000 British prisoners were captured—an event that served to greatly revive the drooping spirits of the friends of liberty in the South. He came to Kentucky about the close of the war, and pre-empted large bodies of land, some of which, lying in Fayette County, is still in possession of his descendants. His election to the chief magistracy was an act of wisdom on the part of the people, and highly beneficial to the infant commonwealth.

The effect produced in Kentucky by the French revolution, and the extent to which prominent Kentuckians were involved in the intrigue, has been shown. Many believed that Gov. Shelby himself was in sympathy with the movement to open, through the means afforded by the disturbances in France, the navigation of the Mississippi River. To this charge a late writer replies: "The ultra-Federalists of Kentucky believed that Gov. Shelby was conniving with the French party, but it appears, after a careful reading of the evidence, that his action was only the proper caution of a man who had very limited power to act under the circumstances of the situation. The matter was really one that concerned the Federal government alone. The laws that appeared likely to be violated were Federal and not State laws; it would not have been fit that the governor of Kentucky should have strained his limited powers to meddle with the business. As an individual he doubtless sympathized with the project of opening the Mississippi to free navigation; yet he held himself ready not only to enforce the laws of Kentucky, but to perform whatever was constitutionally required of him as governor by the president of the United States. His letter to Washington is admirable in its tone and exhibits more submission to the Federal authority than would now be shown by most governors." This seems to set at rest any charge of unfaithfulness on the part of Gov. Shelby toward the general government.

A great majority of the people of Kentucky, however, sympathized strongly with the French, and to the same extent opposed the Federalist party, then predominant. They cherished considerable distrust of the Federal government, which they believed was tending toward an aristocracy. Their feelings and views were heralded abroad by the democratic societies organized in different parts of the State, the prime object of which doubtless was "to resist the increasing encroachments of the Federal authority on the province of the local governments." This was the almost universal feeling in Kentucky, when Gen. Wayne's great victory over the Indians, followed shortly after by news of the treaty between Spain and the United States, changed somewhat the prevailing sentiment. By this treaty with Spain the right to navigate the Mississippi River to the ocean was conceded to the United States, with other benefits and privileges, among which was the right of deposit at New Orleans. This was all that Kentucky had desired, and yet many of her leading spirits were still dissatisfied. "So much more powerful is passion than interest," says a writer upon the subject, "that the intelligence of this treaty was received with a burst of fury throughout the State that knew no bounds. The people regarded it as a base desertion of an ancient friend struggling with a host of enemies, and a cowardly truckling to England from cold-blooded policy, or a secret attachment to aristocratic institutions." To such an extent was their passions for a time inflamed, that

ISAAC SHELBY.

Humphrey Marshall, United States senator from Kentucky, was subjected to violence by the people for having voted for the ratification of the treaty, contrary to the wishes of a majority of his constituents. But this state of affairs soon settled down into tranquillity.

Kentucky, it would seem, ought now to be satisfied. Peace had been obtained with the Indians by Gen. Wayne; the posts on the northwestern frontier had finally been surrendered by England, and the free navigation of the Mississippi conceded to the United States. But the troubles with Spain were not yet ended, and to more fully understand the intrigue, it is necessary to go back prior to the conclusion of the treaty. It is thus described by Mr. McClung, in Collins' History of Kentucky:

Pending the negotiations with Spain, an intrigue was commenced between the agents of that power and certain citizens of Kentucky, which was not fully disclosed to the country until the year 1806, and the full extent of which is not even yet certainly known. In July, 1795, the Spanish governor, Carondelet, dispatched a certain Thomas Power to Kentucky with a letter to Benjamin Sebastian, then a judge of the court of appeals of Kentucky. In this communication he alludes to the *confidence* reposed in the judge by his predecessor, Gen. Miro, and the *former correspondence* which had passed between them. He declared that his Catholic majesty was willing to open the Mississippi to the *western country;* and to effect that object, and to negotiate a treaty, in relation to this and other matters, Sebastian was requested to have agents chosen by the people of Kentucky, who should meet Col. Gayoso, a Spanish agent, at New Madrid, when all matters could be adjusted. Judge Sebastian communicated this letter to Judge Innes, George Nicholas and William Murray, the latter a very eminent lawyer of Kentucky, of the Federal party, and they all agreed that Sebastian should meet Gayoso at New Madrid, and hear what he had to propose. The meeting accordingly took place, and the outline of a treaty was agreed to, but before matters were concluded, intelligence was received of the treaty with Spain by the United States, by which the navigation was effectually and *legally* secured. The Spanish governor broke up the negotiation, much to the dissatisfaction of Sebastian, who concluded that the *regular* treaty would not be ratified, and preferred carrying out the *irregular* negotiation then commenced.

All communication then ceased, so far as is known, until 1797. The commissioners were busily engaged in marking the line of boundary between Spain and the United States, as fixed by the treaty, when Carondelet again opened the negotiation. His former agent, Thomas Power, again appeared in Louisville, with a letter to Sebastian, and a request that Sebastian disclose its contents to Innes, Nicholas and Murray. Sebastian positively refused to hold any intercourse with Murray, but instantly showed the letter to Judge Innes. The scheme unfolded in this letter was, "to withdraw from the Federal Union and form an independent western government. To effect this object it was suggested that these gentlemen should, by a series of eloquently written publications, dispose the public mind to withdraw from any further connection with the Atlantic States. In consideration of the devotion of their time and talents to this purpose, it was proposed that the sum of $100,000 should be appropriated to their use, by his Catholic majesty. Should any one *in office,* in Kentucky, be deprived thereof, on account of his connection with Spain, the full value of said office was to be paid to him by his majesty." This article was inserted at the suggestion of Sebastian.

To effect these great objects, it was proposed that twenty pieces of field artillery, with a large supply of small arms and munitions of war, together with $100,000 in money, should instantly be furnished to Kentucky by the king of Spain, as his majesty's quota in the aid of the enterprise. Fort Massac was to be seized instantly, and the Federal troops were to be dispossessed of all posts upon the western waters. The only stipulation for the benefit of his Catholic majesty was an extension of his northern boundary, to the mouth of the Yazoo, and thence due east to the Tombigbee. For this miserable pittance of desert territory, this corrupt and worn out despotism was willing to violate its faith recently plighted in a solemn treaty, and by treachery and intrigue, to sow the seeds of discord and revolution, where all was peace and confidence. Such was the morality of courts in the eighteenth century.

This proposal was received by Sebastian with great coolness, and submitted to Innes for his opinion. The testimony of Innes himself is all we have to rely on, as to the manner in which he received the proposition. He declares that he denounced the proposal as dangerous and improper, and gave it as his opinion that it ought to be rejected. Sebastian concurred in this opinion, but desired Innes to see Col. Nicholas, and have a written answer prepared for Power, declaring that whatever they concurred in would be approved by him. Innes saw Nicholas, who wrote a refusal, couched in calm but decisive language, which was signed by them both, and delivered to Power; through the medium of Judge Sebastian. No disclosure was made by either of the parties of this proposal from the Spanish government. Power in the meantime visited Gen. Wilkinson, who still held a eommand in the regular army, and then was stationed in garrison at Detroit. Power's ostensible object in vis-

iting Wilkinson was to deliver to him a letter of remonstrance from Gov. Carondelet, against the United States taking immediate possession of the posts on the Mississippi. His real object was, no doubt, to sound him upon the Spanish proposition. Power afterward reported to Carondelet that Wilkinson received him coldly, informed him that the governor of the Northwest had orders from the President to arrest him and send him on to Philadelphia, and that there was no way for him to escape, but to permit himself to be conducted, under guard, to Fort Massac, whence he could find his way to New Madrid. He states that in their first conference Wilkinson observed, bitterly: "We are both lost, without deriving any benefit from your journey." He pronounced the Spanish proposal a chimerical project; that the West, having obtained by the late treaty all that they desired, had no motive to form any connection with Spain; that the best thing Spain could do would be honestly to comply with the treaty; that his personal *honor* forbade him to listen to the project; *that the late treaty had overturned all his plans, and rendered his labors for ten years useless;* that he had destroyed his *ciphers,* and complained that his secret had been divulged; that he might be named governor of Natchez, and he might *then,* perhaps, have power to realize his political projects.

In his report to Carondelet, Power represents Sebastian as speaking to him in a more encouraging tone of the prospect of a union of Kentucky with Spain. Sebastian expressed the opinion that, in case of war with Spain, Kentucky might be induced to take part against the Atlantic States. In conclusion Power gives his own opinion that nothing short of war with France, or the denial of the navigation of the Mississippi, could induce Kentucky to separate herself from the Eastern States. After visiting Wilkinson, instead of returning to Louisville, as he had at first intended, he was sent by Wilkinson under escort of Captain Shaumberg, of the United States army, to Fort Massac, and thence returned to New Madrid. At Massac he received from Sebastian the letter of Nicholas and Innes. Nothing certain was known of the particulars of this transaction until 1806, when it became public that Sebastian had received a pension from Spain, from 1795 to 1806, of $2,000.

For the prominent part taken in this bit of Kentucky's early history, and particularly for receiving a pension from the Spanish government, Judge Sebastian was arraigned by the legislature, and found guilty of the latter charge. As there was no law to punish him for this act, he was allowed to resign his seat as one of the judges of the court of appeals, and pass into obscurity. The following sketch of Sebastian has been given: "British by birth, he began life as an Episcopalian clergyman. Drifting to this country he became a lawyer, and finally a jurist of excellent ability. Despite his great talents, he seems to have been a man always in straits for money. This led to his fall. It may be said, however, in extenuation, that the position of a foreign pensioner was not regarded with the same abhorrence in the last century that it is in this, and that the beginning of his relations with the Spanish government dates from a time when he was a private citizen."

This intrigue with Spain is one of the darkest pages in the history of Kentucky. The moving spirits on the part of Kentucky were some of the ablest men and most profound lawyers of the young State. Innes, Nicholas and Murray, the compeers of Sebastian, possessed but few equals, intellectually, in the commonwealth. They disclaimed all knowledge of his being a pensioner of the Spanish government, and their greatest error seems to have been their failure to report the whole matter to the Federal government. Innes, at the time, was judge of the United States Court for the district of Kentucky, and as such was bound by his oath of office to guard the government against foreign intermeddling. His conduct was severely criticized, and a committee appointed by the legislature to inquire into the charges made against him. In his defense, before this committee, he gave as the reasons for not communicating the subject to the executive of the United States, the following, which at the time were considered rather lame: "First—It was known that neither of us (Col. Nicholas and himself) approved Mr. Adams' administration, and that we believed that he kept a watchful eye over our actions; that the communication must depend upon his opinion of our veracity, and that it would have the appearance of courting his favor. Second—We both had reason, and did believe, that the then administration were disposed, upon the slightest pretext, to send an army into this State, which we considered would be a grievance upon the people, and therefore declined making any communication on the subject, as we apprehended no trouble from the Spanish government."

Plausible as this may seem, few believed it to be the true reason of their omission to report the matter to the president. There were other reasons, of interest to themselves, which it was believed kept them silent upon the subject. The following view taken of the matter by a recent historian is, perhaps, not far wrong:

We cannot determine how far these men felt these propositions to be attractive, but it is clear that one and all they deemed them entirely impracticable, and that they not only absolutely refused the offer, but kept the proposition from the knowledge of the people. Their statements make it clear that they did not think that at this time it would be possible to form any party in Kentucky to advocate secession. There can be no doubt that the Spanish governor chose his confederates with discretion, and that his offer of immediate money, amounting in value to about the equivalent of $500,000 in our day, and of place and power beyond, was tempting to these men, who were poor and of an adventurous type of mind. Its unhesitating rejection shows clearly that it was not a thing that they deemed in any way possible.

John Adams was elected president, and Thomas Jefferson vice-president, of the United States, in 1796. This election, particularly that of Mr. Adams, was exceedingly obnoxious to Kentuckians. The people of that State, by a large majority, were Republicans or Democrats, as then called, and zealously opposed the Federalist party—the party to which Mr. Adams owed his election. The struggle between these rival political organizations raged fiercely, and was characterized by all the bitter invective of more modern political warfare. Washington's adherence to and his affiliation with the Federalist party made his administration unpopular in Kentucky, while that of Adams, who was known to be a zealous advocate of the Federalist principles, was "absolutely odious" to the people throughout the State. "In no part of the Union," says McClung, "were his measures denounced with more bitterness, nor his downfall awaited with more impatience." When, in 1800, another presidential election came before the people, Kentucky cast her electoral vote for Mr. Jefferson, as against Mr. Adams,* thus clearly and conclusively showing her position in national politics.

The question was now being seriously discussed as to the necessity of revising the constitution of the State. In May, 1797, a vote was taken "for and against" the calling of a constitutional convention, and in the following May a second vote was taken, and a majority of 3,049 given in favor of the convention. But as several counties did not return the whole number of their votes, and several others failed to vote on the subject altogether, some question arose as to whether a majority of the people really desired a revision of the constitution. The constitution required that a majority of the votes in the State should be given for the successive annual elections, or a two-thirds majority of the legislature, to call a convention for constitutional revision. The legislature, in the belief that it was the "will of the majority" to revise the constitution, at the session of 1798–99, called a convention for the purpose. The convention accordingly met in 1799, and adopted the second constitution of the State, which, upon being submitted to a vote of the people, was duly ratified. It remained in force until the adoption of the present constitution half a century later. The most important changes in the new document were in the mode of electing the governor, and a part of the legislature, in the jurisdiction of the supreme court, and the appointment of some of the county officers, who had hitherto been elected

*This was the first case in which the choice of a president went to the house of representatives; and by a singular coincidence, the next and only similar case in the history of the government, was in that of John Quincy Adams, a son of John Adams, in 1824, who was elected president by that house of representatives. The proceedings in the first case were as follows Of 128 electoral votes cast, no candidate received a majority The entire votes of New York, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina and Georgia, with eight from Pennsylvania, five from Maryland and eight from North Carolina—seventy-three in all—were cast for Mr. Jefferson and Aaron Burr each, making a tie, thus devolving the choice upon the house of representatives. John Adams had sixty-five votes, Charles C. Pinckney, sixty-four, and John Jay, one. On Wednesday, February 11, 1801, the house of representatives began balloting, in secret session, having resolved to attend to no other business and not to adjourn until a choice should be effected. Upon the first ballot, eight States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee—cast their one vote each for Thomas Jefferson; six States—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware and South Carolina—gave their six votes for Aaron Burr, and the votes of Vermont and Maryland (because their representatives were divided) were given blank. Neither had a majority. For seven days the house continued in session, nominally without adjournment, and balloted thirty-five times with the same result. On the afternoon of February 17th, Mr. Jefferson was elected president—receiving the votes of Vermont and Maryland in addition to the eight above named, while those of Delaware and South Carolina were given blank. Mr. Burr became the vice-president. (See Collins, Vol. I, pp. 367, 368.)

by popular vote. The first constitution, "like all first instruments of the kind," was soon found to be, in many respects, very defective. Under its provisions, the governor and the upper house of the legislature were chosen by an electoral college, and sheriffs were elected triennially by the people. The new constitution changed these; the governor and senate were made elective by the vote of the people, and sheriffs were appointed by the governor, but in a somewhat roundabout way. The justices of the peace, or, as more commonly called, the magistrates, were appointed by the executive, and the oldest in the county, or the longest in office, became high sheriff, and when his term expired he was succeeded by the next oldest, and so on *ad infinitum*. A writer speaking of the second constitution says: "The immediate jurisdiction of the supreme court in land cases was unsatisfactory; the danger of land suits caused by the rude methods of survey in use was being amply justified. As the land was still of relatively slight value, and the means of communication with the seat of the court limited, this method of procedure was troublesome. With action carried on in a local court the owner and witnesses, even in case of appeal, would have no occasion for resort to the State capital." This led to a change in the constitution of 1799, and the supreme court was given only appellate jurisdiction.

The same session of the legislature that called the convention for a revision of the constitution, made itself memorable by the passage of what has since been known in history as the "Resolutions of 1798," and which have already been incidentally alluded to. These famous resolutions are thus commented on in a recent work:*

It is difficult for us to see in this day the way in which people looked on the Federal government during the tenth decade of the last century. The several colonies had fought their war of separation from Britain as separate political units, each with its own motive, and none with any distinct idea of what the future government was to be. Each had fought for its local rights, for its own hand. The essence of their struggle was for local, as distinguished from external government. The long political struggle of Kentucky for separation from Virginia is in itself a capital instance of the feeling of this time. The better known debates in the convention that adopted the constitution of the United States show that at every point the States fought zealously, even furiously, for their separate rights. No candid person can read these debates without rising from his task with the conviction that the delegates of this constitutional convention failed to determine the precise relation between the States and the Federal government. They were driven farther than the people had gone, or were then prepared to go, in the direction of consolidation by the logic of facts that they only could perceive in their full meaning. If there had been an effort to put the sedition act in the constitution, no one can doubt that it would have been overwhelmingly defeated in the convention. The fate of the Adams party in the next coming election shows plainly that even in the States that inclined most strongly to Federalism, these laws were generally disapproved.

Since the one distinct object of the American revolution had been to secure local government, it is not to be wondered at, that a people who more than any other in the United States were by their history devoted to this end, should have revolted against the alien and sedition laws, which clearly were very dangerous advances in the direction of that consolidation against which they had effectively protested in the convention. In the extremity of their conceived need they naturally turned to the patent omissions in the contract by which they were bound to the Federal government. The convention had studiously refrained from providing any means whereby the States should be coerced into submission to the Union—differing in this regard in a very suggestive fashion from similar constitutions in other countries; and this was no accidental omission, but one that resulted from a careful discussion of the problem. That patriotic men felt this doubt about the conditions of the constitution is well shown by the subsequent proceedings in other States—notably in Virginia and Massachusetts—where men, whose character cannot be impugned without casting a shadow on a whole people, took the same view of the relation between the several States and the Federal government.

We must grant that the seeds of nullification and secession were in these resolutions of 1798, but these germs of trouble were sown in the events that led to the independence of the colonies, and were nourished by the intentional omissions of the constitution itself. The constitution, as we know it, an instrument affirmed partly by assent of the greater part of the States, then by the circumstances of the South Carolina nullification in the fourth decade of this century, and finally by the result of the civil war, did not then exist. All that was before the minds of men was a new and very debatable instrument, concerning whose meaning there was naturally a great difference of opinion. The Ken-

*American Commonwealths, pp. 142, 143.

tucky resolutions were the first production of the great discussion which was destined to continue for two generations, to be in the end decided, by a third, in the most famous civil struggle of all time.

That the resolutions were intended only as the expression of a sentiment, and not as the basis for any contemplated action, is shown by the previous and succeeding course of politics within the State. It would be a distortion of history to look upon this action as if it had been taken in 1860. It was, in fact, only a caveat directed against the course of a party disposed to take an even more unconstitutional view of the Union than was held by those who voted for the resolutions.

There has ever been some question in Kentucky, as to the real author of the resolutions of 1798. Many attribute them to the pen of Thomas Jefferson, while others, and with apparent good reasons, claim their authorship for John Breckinridge, the first of that distinguished family to settle in Kentucky. Mr. McClung says: "Early in the session a series of resolutions, which were originally drawn by Mr. Jefferson, were presented to the House by John Breckinridge, the representative from Fayette, and almost unanimously adopted." The biographer of Mr. Breckinridge* says: "Some twenty years after his death, it began to be whispered, and then to be intimated in a few newspapers, that the Kentucky resolutions of 1798–99, which he offered, and which was the first great movement against the alien and sedition laws—and the general principles of the party that passed them—were in fact the production of Mr. Jefferson himself and not of John Breckinridge; and it is painful to reflect that Mr. Jefferson did certainly connive at this mean calumny upon the memory of his friend. The family of Mr. Breckinridge have constantly asserted that their father was the sole and true author of these resolutions, and constantly defied the production of proof to the contrary, and there seems to be no question that they are right." The question of authorship may never be definitely settled in the minds of every one, but the "preponderance of evidence" seems to point to Mr. Breckinridge as the author.

Gen. James Garrard was elected the second governor of the State in 1796, and was re-elected in 1800. Under the first constitution, there was a governor's secretary instead of a lieutenant-governor; the second constitution created the last named office, and in 1800, Alexander S. Bullitt was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Gen. Garrard. He was the first lieutenant-governor of the State.

Kentucky was thrown into great excitement, in 1802, by the suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, the treaty with Spain, conceeding the right, as well as that of navigating the Mississippi River, having "expired by limitation." The navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans, had been guaranteed by the Spanish treaty for three years, with the provision, that at the end of that time it might be renewed, or should the right of deposit at New Orleans be withheld, some other place in the Spanish territory of Louisiana should be "afforded for the same purpose, near the mouth of the river." While the excitement was at its height, the news was received of the cession of Louisiana back to France. Napoleon Bonaparte was then first consul of France, and upon the eve of war with England. Impressed with the impossibility of retaining so distant a province as Louisiana, while England maintained her supremacy on the seas, Napoleon determined to place it beyond her reach, by selling it to the United States. Accordingly, for the trifling sum of 80,000,000 francs he disposed of this magnificent empire to the United States, thereby assuring, forever, the free navigation of the Mississippi River.

Christopher Greenup was elected governor of Kentucky in 1804, and John Caldwell lieutenant-governor, while Thomas Jefferson was re-elected president of the United States, receiving 162 of the 176 electoral votes cast. During these administrations the Burr conspiracy occurred, an event more intimately connected with the history of Kentucky than with that of any other individual State of the Union. A better sketch of the affair could scarcely be written than that prepared by Mr. McClung, for Collins' History of Kentucky. It is as follows:

Aaron Burr, who had been elected vice-president

*Collins, Vol. II, p. 99.

in 1801, had lost the confidence of his party, and was at variance with the president. In 1805 this extraordinary man first made his appearance in Kentucky, and visited Lexington and Louisville. He then passed on to Nashville, St. Louis, Natchez and New Orleans, and again returned to Lexington, where he remained for some time. Gen. Wilkinson, at this time, commanded the United States troops in Louisiana, and the affairs of the United States with Spain were in an unsatisfactory state. That miserable power resented the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, and assumed a sulkiness of demeanor somewhat resembling Mexico in more modern times. In the spring of 1806 their forces advanced to the Sabine in somewhat hostile array, and Gen. Wilkinson had orders to be upon the alert, and repel them if they should cross that barrier. Such was the aspect of affairs, when, in 1806, Col. Burr again appeared in the West, spending a large portion of his time at Blennerhassett's Island, on the Ohio River, but being seen in Lexington, Nashville and Louisville.

This extraordinary man, having quarreled with the president, and lost caste with the Republican party, endeavored to retrieve his political fortunes by becoming a candidate for the office of governor of New York, in opposition to the regular Democratic candidate. He was supported by the mass of the Federalists, and a small section of the Democrats, who still adhered to him. He lost his election chiefly by the influence of Alexander Hamilton, who scrupled not to represent him as unworthy of political trust, and deprived him of the cordial support of the Federalists. Deeply stung by his defeat, Burr turned fiercely upon his illustrious antagonist, and killed him in a duel. Hamilton was idolized by the Federalists, and even his political adversaries were not insensible to his many lofty and noble qualities. Burr found himself abandoned by the mass of the Democrats, regarded with abhorrence by the Federalists, and banished from all the legitimate and honorable walks of ambition. In this desperate state of his political fortunes, he sought the West, and became deeply involved in schemes as desperate and daring as any which the annals of ill-regulated ambition can furnish.

The groundwork of his plan, undoubtedly, was to organize a military force upon the western waters, descend the Mississippi, and wrest from Spain an indefinite portion of her territory adjoining the Gulf of Mexico. The southwestern portion of the United States, embracing New Orleans and the adjacent territory, was, either by force or persuasion, to become a part of the new empire, of which New Orleans was to become the capital and Burr the chief, under some one of the many names which, in modern times, disguise despotic power under a republican form. These were the essential and indispensable features of the plan. But if circumstances were favorable the project was to extend much further, and the whole country west of the Alleghanies was to be wrested from the American Union, and to become a portion of this new and magnificent empire.

Mad and chimerical as this project undoubtedly was, when the orderly and law-respecting character of the American people is considered, yet the age in which it was conceived had witnessed wonders, which had far outstripped the sober calculations of philosophy, and surpassed the limits of probable fiction. When the historian, Gibbon, was closing his great work upon the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, he expressed the opinion that the age of great and startling revolutions had passed away, never to return; that mankind had sobered down, by centuries of experience, to a tame and moderate level, which would not admit of those brilliant materials for history which the past had afforded. Scarcely had this opinion been recorded, when the great drama opened in France, and for twenty-five years the world stood aghast at the series of magnificent and wonderful pageants which moved before them in the wild confusion of a feverish dream. Kings became beggars, and peasants became kings. Ancient kingdoms disappeared, and new and brilliant republics sprang up in their places. Names, boundaries, ranks, titles, religions, all were tossed about like withered leaves before the wind. A lieutenant in a French regiment had mounted to the throne of western Europe, and drummers, corporals and privates had become dukes, princes and kings.

It was not wonderful, then, that a man like Burr, ostracised in the East, and desperate in his fortunes, abounding in talent, energy and courage, should have determined in the New World, like the Corsican in the Old, to stand the hazard of the die, for empire or a grave. The unsettled relations then existing with Spain afforded a specious cloak to his enterprise, and enabled him to give it a character suitable to the temper of the persons whom he addressed. To the daring youth of the West, desirous of military adventure, he could represent it as an irregular expedition, to be undertaken upon private account, against the possessions of a nation with whom the United States would shortly be at war. It was upon land what privateering was upon the ocean. He could hint to them that the United States government would *connive* at the expedition, but could not *openly countenance* it until hostilities actually commenced. There is little doubt that many concurred in the enterprise without being aware of its *treasonable* character, while it is certain that to others the scheme was exposed in its full deformity.

In the prosecution of this object, he applied himself with singular address to any one who could be useful to him in forwarding the great scheme. Blennerhassett's Island lay directly in his path, and he fixed his keen eye upon the proprietor as one who could be useful to him. This unfortunate man was an Irish gentleman, reputed to be of great wealth, married to a beautiful and accomplished woman, secluded and studious in his habits, devoted

to natural science, and as unfitted for the turbulent struggle of active, ambitious life as Burr was for those simple and quiet pursuits, in which his victim found enjoyment and happiness. Blennerhassett's wealth, though, could be employed to advantage. Burr opened the correspondence by a flattering request to be permitted to examine Blennerhassett's grounds and garden, which had been improved at great expense. Once admitted, he employed all the address and eloquence of which he was master, in turning the whole current of Blennerhassett's thoughts from the calm, sedentary pursuits in which he had hitherto delighted, to those splendid visions of empire, greatness and wealth with which his own ardent imagination was then so fiercely glowing. No better evidence of Burr's power need be desired than the absolute command which he obtained over the will and fortune of this man. He molded him to his purpose, inspired him with a frantic enthusiasm in his cause, and obtained complete command of all that Blennerhassett had to offer.

The scheme of separation from the Atlantic States had been too much agitated in Kentucky not to have left some material for Burr to work upon, and that he neglected no opportunity of rallying the fragments of the old party may be readily believed. There is no doubt that Gen. Adair concurred in his scheme, so far as an expedition against the Spanish provinces was concerned; and it is certain that Burr himself calculated upon the co-operation of Gen. Wilkinson, and held frequent intercourse with him. During the summer of 1806 the public mind in Kentucky became agitated by rumors of secret expeditions and conspiracies, in which Burr and others were implicated, but all was wrapped in mystery and doubt.

At length a paper, entitled the *Western World*, published in Frankfort, by Wood & Street, came out with a series of articles, in which the old intrigue of Sebastian with Power, and the present project of Burr, were blended in a somewhat confused manner, and some round assertions of facts were made, and some names implicated which created no small sensation. Sebastian, then a judge of the supreme court, was boldly asserted to be an intriguer with Spain and a pensioner of the Spanish crown. Innes, then a judge of the Federal court; Brown, a senator in congress from Kentucky; Wilkinson, a general in the regular army, were all implicated. Burr was plainly denounced as a traitor, and the whole of his scheme was unfolded. There was a mixture of truth and error in these articles, which no one was then able to separate, and the public mind was completely bewildered at the number of atrocious plots which were exposed, and at the great names implicated. The friends of some of the parties violently resented the articles, and pistols and dirks were resorted to, to silence the accusation. But the paper sturdily adhered to its charges, and an address was prepared and published to the legislature elected in 1806, praying an inquiry into the conduct of Sebastian, which was circulated among the people for signatures, and was signed by a great number, particularly in the county of Woodford.

In the meantime Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, the attorney for the United States, appeared in open court before Judge Innes on November 3d, and moved for process to compel the attendance of Burr before the court, to answer to a charge of a high misdemeanor, in organizing a military expedition against a friendly power, from and within the territory of the United States. This motion was grounded upon the oath of the attorney, setting forth with great accuracy the preparations then being made by Burr, and imputing to him designs which subsequent events proved to have been well understood by the attorney. This startling affidavit created immense sensation at the time. Burr was then popular in Kentucky, and was caressed and countenanced by her most eminent citizens. Daviess was greatly admired for those splendid powers of eloquence which he possessed in a degree rarely if ever surpassed, but labored under the odium of being an incurable Federalist, and equally bold and eloquent in expressing his opinions. Nine-tenths of the public at the time were startled at the boldness of the accusation, and seem to have attributed it to the well-known hatred of the Federalists to Col. Burr. Be the cause, however, what it might, the public feeling was strongly in favor of Burr and against the attorney, who was boldly and manfully discharging his duty. Judge Innes took time to consider the application, and after two days overruled the motion.

Col. Burr was in Lexington at the time, and was informed of the motion made by Daviess in an incredibly short space of time after it was made. He entered the court house shortly after Innes had overruled the motion, and addressed the judge with a grave and calm dignity of manner, which increased, if possible, the general prepossession in his favor. He spoke of the late motion as one which had greatly surprised him, insinuated that Daviess had reason to believe that he was absent upon business of a private but pressing nature, which it was well known required his immediate attention, that the judge had treated the application as it deserved, but as it might be renewed by the attorney in his absence, he preferred that the judge should entertain the motion *now*, and he had voluntarily appeared in order to give the gentleman an opportunity of proving his charge. Nowise disconcerted by the lofty tranquility of Burr's manner, than which nothing could be more imposing, Daviess promptly accepted the challenge and declared himself ready to proceed as soon as he could procure the attendance of his witnesses. After consulting with the marshal, Daviess announced his opinion that his witnesses could attend on the ensuing Wednesday, and with the acquiescence of Burr, that day, was fixed upon by the court for the investigation.

Burr awaited the day of trial with an easy tranquillity, which seemed to fear no danger, and on Wednesday the court house was crowded to suffocation. Daviess, upon counting his witnesses, discovered that Davis Floyd, one of the most important, was absent, and with great reluctance asked a postponement of the case. The judge instantly discharged the grand jury. Col. Burr then appeared at the bar, accompained by his counsel, Henry Clay* and Col. Allen. * * * Col. Burr arose in court, expressed his regret that the grand jury had been discharged, and inquired the reason. Col. Daviess replied, and added that Floyd was then in Indiana attending a session of the territorial legislature. Burr calmly desired that the cause of the postponement might be entered upon the record as well as the reason why Floyd did not attend. He then with great self-possession, and with an air of candor difficult to be resisted, addressed the court and crowded audience upon the subject of the accusation. His style was without ornament, passion or fervor; but the spell of a great mind, and daring but calm spirit, was felt with singular power by all who heard him. He hoped that the good people of Kentucky would dismiss their apprehensions of danger from him, if any such really existed. There was really no ground for them, however zealously the attorney might strive to awaken them. He was engaged in no project inimical to the peace or tranquility of the country, as they would certainly learn whenever the attorney should be ready, which he greatly apprehended would never be. In the meantime, although private business urgently demanded his presence elsewhere, he felt compelled to give the attorney one more opportunity of proving his charge, and would patiently await another attack.

Upon the 25th of November, Col. Daviess informed the court that Floyd would attend on the 2d of December following, and another grand jury was summoned to attend on that day. Col. Burr came into court attended by the same counsel as on the former occasion, and cooly awaited the expected attack. Daviess, with evident chagrin, again announced that he was not ready to proceed, that John Adair had been summoned and was not in attendance, and that his testimony was indispensable to the prosecution. He again asked a postponement of the case for a few days, and that the grand jury should be kept impaneled until he could compel the attendance of Adair by attachment.

Burr upon the present occasion remained silent, and entirely unmoved by anything which occurred. Not so his counsel. A most animated and impassioned debate sprung up, intermingled with sharp and flashing personalities between Clay and Daviess. Never did two more illustrious orators encounter each other in debate. The enormous mass which crowded to suffocation the floor, the galleries, the windows, the platform of the judge, remained still and breathless for hours, while these renowned and immortal champions, stimulated by mutual rivalry, and each glowing with the ardent conviction of right, encountered each other in splendid intellectual combat. Clay had the sympathies of the audience on his side, and was the leader of the popular party in Kentucky. Daviess was a Federalist, and was regarded as persecuting an innocent and unfortunate man from motives of political hate. But he was buoyed up by the full conviction of Burr's guilt, and the delusion of the people on the subject and the very infatuation which he beheld around him, and the smiling security of the traitor who sat before him, stirred his great spirit to one of its most brilliant efforts. All, however, was in vain. Judge Innes refused to retain the grand jury unless some business was brought before them; and Daviess, in order to gain time, sent up to them an indictment against John Adair, which was pronounced by the grand jury "not a true bill." The hour being late, Daviess then moved for an attachment to compel the attendance of Adair, which was resisted by Burr's counsel, and refused by the court on the ground that Adair was not in contempt until the day had expired. Upon the motion of Daviess the court then adjourned until the ensuing day.

In the interval Daviess had a private interview with the judge, and obtained from him an expression of the opinion that it would be allowable for him as prosecutor to attend the grand jury in their room and examine witnesses, in order to explain to them the connection of the detached particles of evidence, which his intimate acquaintance with the plot would enable him to do, and without which the grand jury would scarcely be able to comprehend their bearing. When the court resumed its sitting on the following morning, Daviess moved to be permitted to attend the grand jury in their room. This was resisted by Burr's counsel as novel and unprecedented, and refused by the court. The grand jury then retired, witnesses were sworn, and sent up to them, and on the 5th of the month they returned, as Daviess had expected, "not a true bill." In addition to this, the grand jury returned into court a written declaration signed by the whole of them, in which, from all the evidence before them, they completely exonerated Burr from any design inimical to the peace and well-being of the country. Col. Allen instantly moved the court that a copy of the report of the grand jury should be

*Before Mr. Clay took any active part as the counsel of Burr he required of him an explicit disavowel, *upon his honor*, that he was engaged in no design contrary to the laws and peace of the country. This pledge was promptly given by Burr, in language the most broad, comprehensive and particular. "He had no design," he said, "to intermeddle with, or disturb the tranquillity of the United States, nor its territories, nor any part of them. He had neither issued nor signed, nor promised a commission to any person for any purpose. He did not own a single musket, nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor did any other person for him, by his authority or knowledge. His views had been explained to several distinguished members of the administration, were well understood and approved by the government. They were such that every man of honor, and every good citizen, must approve. He considered this declaration proper as well to counteract the chimerical tales circulated by the malevolence of his enemies, as to satisfy Mr. Clay that he had not become the counsel of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government or the well being of his country."—Collins, Vol. I, p. 293.

taken and published in the newspapers, which was granted. The popular current ran with great strength in his favor, and the United States' attorney for the time was overwhelmed with obloquy.

Thus ended one of the most renowned trials recorded in the annals of the Kentucky courts. When we consider the magnitude of the charges against Burr, and how nearly, at the time, was the culmination of his treasonable plots, the result of the trial seems almost farcical. The majority of the people had become so infatuated with Burr, that they would scarcely have believed in his guilt, "though one arose from the dead" to proclaim it; and to show their disapproval of the "persecution of an innocent man," a grand ball was given in Frankfort in his honor, and to celebrate his "triumph over his enemies." This ball was followed by another, given by the friends of Col. Daviess, who believed in the truth of the charges made against Burr. At one of these balls the editor of the *Western World* was attacked, and narrowly escaped personal violence. Excitement was aroused to such a height that small cause would have brought on a collision between the parties, disgraceful as it might have proved fatal. These facts show the tone of public feeling at the time.

The treason of Burr, the falsehoods he indulged in to further his ends, and the base treachery with which he treated those who trusted him, have scarcely a parallel in modern history. His declaration to Mr. Clay was made at Frankfort on the 1st of December, 1806. On the 29th of July, preceding, he had written to Wilkinson, one of his associates in treason: "I have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points and on different pretenses will rendezvous on the Ohio on the 1st of November. Everything internal and external favors views ——. Already are orders given to contractors to forward six months' provisions to any point Wilkinson may name. The project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and honor, with the lives, the fortunes of hundreds—the best blood of the country. Wilkinson shall be second only to Burr. Wilkinson shall dictate the rank of his officers. Burr's plan of operations is to move down rapidly from the Falls by the 15th of November, with the first five or ten hundred men, in light boats now constructing, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December, there to meet Wilkinson ☞ there to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance, to SEIZE on, or pass by Baton Rouge!" When we compare this with his solemn declaration to Mr. Clay, nearly six months later, that "he had no design to intermeddle with, or disturb the tranquillity of the United States, nor its territories, nor any part of them;" and that, "he did not own a single musket, nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor did any other person for him, by his authority or knowledge," etc., etc., the treachery and falsehood of the man stand revealed in the most glaring characters. Before he wrote the above letter to Gen. Wilkinson, he had fully unfolded his treasonable plot to Gen. Eaton. The latter gentleman, on the 24th of July, 1806, wrote to Gen. Wilkinson in cypher: "Are you ready? Are your numerous associates ready? Wealth and glory! Louisiana and Mexico!!"

President Jefferson issued his proclamation on the 25th day of November, 1806 (only a week before Burr's declaration to Clay), denouncing the enterprise, and warning the Western people against it. Mr. McClung thus concludes his sketch of the Burr conspiracy: "On the 1st of December (1806), a messenger from the president arrived at the seat of government of Ohio, and instantly procured the passage of a law by which ten of Col. Burr's boats, laden with provisions and military stores, were seized on the Muskingum, before they could reach the Ohio. At the very moment that he appeared in court, an armed force in his service occupied Blennerhassett's Island, and boats laden with provisions and military stores were commencing their voyage down the river, and passed Louisville on the 16th of December. Scarcely was the grand jury discharged, and the ball which celebrated his acquittal concluded, when the president's proclamation

reached Kentucky, and a law was passed in hot haste for seizing the boats which had escaped the militia of Ohio, and were then descending the river. Burr had left Frankfort about the 7th, and had gone to Nashville. The conclusion of this enterprise belongs to the history of the United States. But that portion of the drama which was enacted in Kentucky has been detailed with some minuteness as affording a rich and rare example of cool and calculating impudence, and of truth, loyalty and eloquence most signally baffled and put to shame by the consummate art and self-possession of this daring intriguer." It is only necessary to add, that upon the the failure of his designs on the territory of the United States, Burr continued his intrigue against Mexico, and went to Europe in the furtherance of his scheme. Disappointed at every step, however, he returned disgusted to the United States, and resumed the practice of law in New York. But he never gained his former prestige, and finally died in poverty and neglect.

After the failure of Burr's intrigue, there came a period of peace and tranquillity, in which the material growth and developement of the State were such as it had never before known. Population rapidly increased, manufactories sprang up, and institutions of learning were established in the more thickly settled sections. The political quiet that followed the Burr fiasco was at length broken by the Indian wars of the Northwest, and our second war with Great Britain. These Indian wars, which were carried on for some time, terminated with the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, in which a number of Kentucky troops took part. The battle was a severe one, considering the numbers engaged. Kentucky lost Col. Owen and the talented and brave Col. Daviess, who had taken so prominent a part in the prosecution of Burr.

Gen. Charles Scott succeeded Mr. Greenup as governor of Kentucky in 1808, and Gabriel Slaughter became lieutenant-governor. James Madison was elected president, as the successor of Mr. Jefferson, who had served two terms. The relations between the United States and Great Britain were becoming more and more critical, and the storm of war seemed to be rapidly gathering. "The Indian disturbances that led to the Tippecanoe campaign," says a late historian, "were stimulated by the controversies that presaged the war of 1812. It was only after some years of dispute that trouble came to blows, but the British and Canadians doubtless aroused the spirit of depredation in their willing allies, the savages, long before war actually began." The most intense interest was awakened in Kentucky. Public meetings were held, eloquent and fiery speeches were made, and patriotic resolutions were offered in great profusion. When the attack was made upon the Chesapeake, by the British ship Leopard, the outrage "exasperated the American people almost beyond control, and was nowhere more fiercely resented than in Kentucky."

The history of the war of 1812 belongs more properly to the history of the United States than of Kentucky, but a history of the latter would not be complete or satisfactory without a brief glance at the incidents which led to this war, and the part taken in it by Kentuckians. Briefly summed up, the causes of the war were as follows:*

Being the second maritime power in the world, the United States became the carrier on the ocean of a large portion of the commerce of Europe. Many English seamen, tempted by the high wages given by American merchants, were employed in our commercial marine; and England claimed and exercised the right of impressing her own seamen wherever they might be found. The enormous navy which she maintained, required to be supported by constant impressment; and under color of seizing her own citizens, she was constantly in the habit of stopping American merchantmen and selecting from the crew such men as her subordinate officers chose to consider English, Irish or Scotch, and who were frequently native American citizens. All Americans upon the ocean thus became liable to be seized at the discretion of any British officer, and forced, under the discipline of the lash, to waste their lives in the most unhealthy climates, and in the most degraded stations. This grievance was the subject of protracted and bitter remonstrance, from the administration of Washington to the opening of the war; but Great Britain constantly refused to abandon the right, or rather the exercise of the power. * *

To the embittering grievance of impressment, was added, in 1806 and 1807, a series of paper blockades, by means of which, not only American seamen

*Collins, Vol. I, pp. 296, 297.

but American merchandise afloat, became subject to seizure and confiscation upon the high seas, under circumstances which left the American government no choice but to abandon the ocean entirely, or submit to a wholesale plunder upon the seas, destructive to their property and intolerable to national pride. By these orders in council the whole French empire, with its allies and dependencies, then embracing nearly all of Europe, were declared in a state of blockade. Any American vessel bound to or returning from any port in any of these countries, without first stopping at an English port and obtaining a license to prosecute the voyage, was declared a lawful prize. This was in retaliation of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, wherein he had declared the British Islands, their dependencies and allies, in a state of blockade, and had rendered every vessel liable to confiscation, which either touched at a British port, or was laden in whole, or in part, with British produce. This decree, however, was in retaliation of a previous decree passed by the English government in 1806, whereby the whole imperial coast, from Brest to the Elbe, was declared in a state of blockade.

All these decrees were haughty and high handed violations of [inter]national law, which allows of no mere paper blockades, and requires the presence of a sufficient force to render them legal. Between these haughty belligerents, no American vessel could be free from liability to confiscation. * * Both decrees were equally hostile to American commerce; but the English had set the first example, and the practical operation of their orders in council was far more destructive than Napoleon's decree. One thousand American vessels, richly laden, became the prize of the British cruisers; irritating cases of impressment were constantly occurring; the language of American diplomacy became daily more angry and impatient, that of England daily more cold and haughty, and in June, 1812, the American congress declared war.

The Federalist party, the party to which Washington adhered, and to which Adams belonged, opposed the war of 1812. Its great strength lay in New England, where the principles of the Puritans were strongly engrafted upon the minds of the people. This party, composed at the time of the mass of intelligence and property, and a majority of the religious strength of the country, looked upon France as a power hostile to religion and freedom, and regarded her revolution with horror, and condemned Bonaparte as a usurper and tyrant. The Democratic or Republican party, on the other hand, sympathized with Napoleon, and strongly and zealously advocated and favored the war with England.

When war was declared against England, congress authorized the president to levy 100,000 men. In this levy the quota of Kentucky was 5,500. Fifteen hundred of the number were to be sent to the aid of Hull at Detroit. These were raised without delay, and scarcely had they crossed the Ohio, on their way thither, when news reached them of Hull's surrender. Soon after this Gen. William Henry Harrison, then governor of the Indiana Territory, was commissioned by Gov. Scott, of Kentucky, as major-general, and placed in command of the Kentucky troops. Harrison moved swiftly to the North, receiving additional recruits to his army daily from both sides of the Ohio. The first battle in which the Kentucky troops were engaged, beyond a few unimportant skirmishes with the Indians, was at the River Raisin. Most of the troops engaged in this battle on the American side were from Kentucky, and the sad result of the engagement carried mourning to many a Kentucky family. The Americans were successful in the first battle, but were afterward attacked by a large force of British and Indians, under Gen. Procter, and though they fought valiantly until their amunition was exhausted, they were finally defeated and taken prisoners. Under promise of "honorable conditions" they surrendered; but their wounded, who were left without a sufficient guard, to the shame and disgrace of Proctor be it said, were massacred by the savages of his army. This melancholy event was followed by the more discouraging, and yet more disgraceful, campaign against the Illinois Indians. Two thousand Kentuckians under Gen. Hopkins, in October, crossed the Wabash into the Illinois country and proceeded against the Kickapoo towns. After a long and tedious march, their provisons gave out, and there still being no signs of the Indians, the troops became disgusted, and, in spite of remonstrances of their officers, they returned to Vincennes.

Gen. Harrison's defense of Fort Meigs, and Col. Croghan's* defense of Fort Stephenson retrieved, in some degree, the disaster of

*Pronounced Crawn.

Raisin, and the failure of Gen. Hopkins' expedition against the Illinois Indians. The war in the north, so far as it concerned the Kentucky troops, closed with Com. Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and the battle of the Thames. But 150 Kentuckians served under Perry in his battle on Lake Erie, and as volunteers only for the battle. In the battle of the Thames the British and Indians, about 2,000 strong, commanded by Gen. Proctor and Tecumseh, were opposed by Gen. Harrison, with about 3,000 men, by far the larger part of whom were Kentuckians. The British and Indians were overwhelmingly defeated, and Tecumseh, one of the most renowned Indian warriors since the days of King Philip, was killed. Five brigades of Kentucky troops, under Gens. Trotter, Allen, Chiles, Caldwell and King were engaged in the battle. The brigades of Chiles, Trotter and King formed the division of Maj.-Gen. Henry, those of Caldwell and Allen the division of Maj.-Gen. Desha. The venerable Shelby, who had again been elected governor of Kentucky, was present in person, and at the request of Gen. Harrison commanded the Kentucky troops. He remained on the field during the engagement, and directed all their important movements.

The theater of strife was now transferred to another section of the country. The closing scene of the war took place at New Orleans. On January 8, 1815, the most brilliant engagement of the whole war was fought near that city, between the British, under Sir Edward Pakenham, and the Americans, under Gen. Jackson. The British were 12,000 strong, composed chiefly of the veterans of Wellington, who had measured strength with Napoleon on more than one bloody field. Jackson's army was mostly militia, ragged, and but poorly armed, and numbered less than 6,000 men. The British lost, according to their own account, 2,070, including Gens. Pakenham, Gibbs and Keane, and a host of other gallant officers, while the American loss did not exceed a dozen men, killed and wounded. A large proportion of Jackson's troops were Kentuckians, and it is only necessary to say, they fought as Kentuckians were wont to fight, and covered themselves with glory in the unequal struggle with Pakenham's veterans.

This was the last battle of the war. Peace had been agreed on, and a treaty signed at Ghent, some weeks prior to the battle, but the news had not yet reached this country. It came soon after, however, and was hailed with universal joy, and ratified without opposition. The people returned to domestic pursuits, and peace reigned throughout the land.

In August, 1812, Gen. Isaac Shelby was elected governor for the second time, and Richard Hickman, lieutenant-governor. James Madison was re-elected president of the United States. He carried Kentucky, and in the electoral college received 128 of the 217 electoral votes; the other 89 being cast for DeWitt Clinton. The clouds of war that came with the beginning of these administrations, and that soon burst in wrath upon the country, cleared away before their close, and left the country once more to the blessings of peace.

CHAPTER XIII.

POLITICAL ANNALS FROM THE WAR OF 1812 TO 1860.

THE people of Kentucky have always taken an active interest in the political history of the country. They are naturally politicians. A newspaper article contained recently, the following caustic paragraph: "Kentuckians are too fond of talking politics to kill off anybody who can talk on the other side—they would rather keep him to argue with. Give a Kentuckian a plug of tobacco and a political antagonist, and he will spend a comfortable day wherever he is." This may be tinged with satire, but is not altogether devoid of truth. Nor is it a reproach to the honesty and intelligence of the masses that it is true. The early citizens were brought up to rely upon their own judgment in many things, and to think and act for themselves, and this trait has been transmitted, undiminished, to their posterity.

Political parties in Kentucky assumed a distinctive form during the administration of Gen. Jackson as president of the United States. The events which led to their organization, however, may be traced back to the war of 1812. The old Federal party, which bitterly opposed President Jefferson and his official acts, became extinct during that war, never more to be revived as a political organization. The war measures of President Madison were generally and even earnestly supported by the people throughout the country, and in no section of the republic with greater zeal than in Kentucky. But the close of the war found the country upon the verge of bankruptcy. Not alone in Kentucky, nor in the United States, but in the whole civilized world, financial depression reigned supreme. The French revolution and the wars which succeeded it, were the direct cause of this "monetary disorder." An inflated paper currency had taken the place of gold and silver as a "circulating medium," and, as is ever the case, greatly increased nominal values. But the restoration of peace to Europe, and a revival of industrial pursuits, together with a resumption of specie payments, caused a great decline in the "nominal value of commodities," and spread ruin, desolation and bankruptcy everywhere. In Kentucky was inaugurated the bitterest political warfare ever known in the history of the State.

George Madison was elected governor in 1816, but died shortly after his election, and before he had been installed into the office. The question now arose whether the lieutenant-governor, under the provisions of the constitution, became governor, or whether the legislature had the legal right to order a new election. After a long and heated discussion, the question was decided against the calling of a new election, and the lieutenant-governor-elect (Gabriel Slaughter) became governor for the full term of four years. Under his administration commenced that great political conflict, which agitated the State for more than a decade, and arrayed men against each other in fierce antagonism scarcely equaled by the late civil war. The long financial pressure had loaded the people with debt, and their universal cry was relief from the heavy burden. In answer to their petition, the legislature at a single session (1817–18) chartered forty independent banks with an aggregate capital of $10,000,000. The act creating these banks, with a painful lack of wisdom, permitted them to redeem their notes with the paper of the bank of Kentucky, which was then in good credit, instead of in specie.

Rev. John A. McClung,* writing upon the subject nearly thirty years later, says: "In the summer of 1818, the State was flooded with the paper of these banks. Their managers were generally without experience or knowledge of finance, and, in some instances, destitute of common honesty. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated. Speculation sprang up in all directions. Large loans were rashly made and rashly expended. Most of these bubbles exploded within a year, and few were alive at the end of two years. In the meantime the pressure of debt became terrible, and the power to replevy judgments was extended by the legislature from three to twelve months, by an act passed at the session of 1819–20.† During the summer of 1820, the cry for further relief became overwhelming, and vast majorities of both houses stood pledged to some measure which should relieve the debtor from the consequences of his rashness. The reign of political quackery was in its glory. The sufferings of the patient were too acute to permit him to listen to the regular physician who prescribed time, industry and economy as the only honest and just remedy. He turned eagerly to the quacks who promised him instantaneous relief, by infallible nostrums and specifics, without pain, without self-denial and without paying the penalty which nature always imposes upon any gross violation of her laws."

Gen. John Adair succeeded Mr. Slaughter, in 1820, as governor of the commonwealth. He was a native of South Carolina, and was born in 1757. He grew to manhood amid the stirring scenes of the revolution, and in 1786 came to Kentucky, where he at once took an active part in the Indian wars of that period. He settled in Mercer County. In the campaign of 1813, he served as an aid to Gov. Shelby, and as such, took part in the battle of the Thames. Gov. Shelby afterward appointed him adjutant-general of the Kentucky troops, and in this position he commanded them in the battle of New Orleans. He served repeatedly in the legislature, and was several times elected its speaker. He died May 19, 1840.

Gov. Adair sympathized with the people in their financial distress, and recommended to the legistature further measures of relief. At the session of 1820–21, that body, with the governor's approval, chartered the Bank of the Commonwealth. This new financial prodigy was a kind of State paper-mill, whose chief and sole business was to grind out money in endless profusion. Its paper, with no guarantee of redemption in specie, was made payable and receivable for public and private debts, and for taxes, and the creditor, who refused to receive it, in liquidation of his claim, was forced to await two years, under the new law replevying debts for that length of time. Its only security was certain lands owned by the State, lying south of the Tennessee River, which were pledged for the final redemption of its notes. The writer already quoted from, further says:

But these were not the only acts of this mad session. They had already one bank, the old Bank of Kentucky, then in good credit, its paper redeemable in specie, and its stock at par, or nearly so. By the terms of its charter, the legislature had the power of electing a number of directors which gave it the control of the board. This power was eagerly exercised during this winter. An experienced conservative president and board were turned out by the legislature, and a president and board elected, who stood pledged before their election to receive the paper of the Bank of the Commonwealth, in payment of debts due the Bank of Kentucky. This was no doubt intended to buy up their darling bank and sustain the credit of its paper. But the effect was instantly to strike down the stock of the Bank of Kentucky to one-half its nominal value, and to entail upon it eternal suspension of specie payments. The paper of the new bank sank rapidly to one-half its par value, and the creditor had his choice of two evils. One was to receive one-half his debt in payment of the whole, and the other, was to receive nothing at all for two years, and at the end of that time, to do the best he could, running the risk of new delays, and of bankruptcy of his securities. Great was the indignation of the creditor, at this wholesale confiscation of his property, and society rapidly arranged itself into two parties, called "relief" and "anti-relief." With the first party, were the great mass of debtors, and some brilliant members of the bar, such as John Rowan, William T. Barry, Solomon P. Sharp and Rezin Davidge. A great majority of the voting population swelled the ranks, and

*Collins, Vol. I, p. 318.

†A subsequent act extended the time to two years,

it was countenanced by the governor, and furnished with plausible arguments by the eminent lawyers already named, to whom may be added the name of George M. Bibb.* With the anti-relief party, were ranged nearly all the mercantile class, and a majority of the bar and bench, and most of the better class of farmers. The mass of property and intelligence was drawn up in array, against the mass of numbers, and an angry conflict commenced in the newspapers, upon the stump, in the taverns and highways, which gradually invaded private and domestic circles. Robert Wickliffe, of Fayette County; George Robertson, since chief-justice of Kentucky, then an eminent lawyer of Garrard County, and Chilton Allan, an eminent lawyer of Clark County, were early engaged in the conflict, and were regarded as leaders of the anti-relief party.

This was the beginning of the relief and anti-relief measures, and the origin of the organization known as the old court and new court parties. No stronger partisan feeling, no bitterer political warfare, ever raged in Kentucky, than was inaugurated and carried on under these spirited battle-cries. The reckless relief act of the legislature was condemned by the more calm and conservative element, as unconstitutional. A test case was soon brought before the circuit court, and Judge Clark, an able jurist of Clark County, in whose court it was presented, decided the act in direct violation of the constitution and so rendered his verdict. This decision brought down upon him the indignation of the relief party, and he was soon summoned to appear before the "judgment bar" of the legislature to answer for the offense. A special session was convened in the spring of 1822, and strenuous efforts were made to remove Judge Clark, but he boldly defended his opinion with reason and firmness, and for once, at least, right prevailed over might. But his triumph was of short duration. A lack of the constitutional majority in the legislature, and suggestions from cooler heads to await the decision of the supreme court, alone saved him from a summary dismissal from his office. Judge Clark, amid all this excitement and pressure, adhered to his decision, and stood firmly upon its merits. Judge Blair, of Fayette County, soon came to his support in an able and learned opinion of similar import. This "refractory spirit of the inferior judiciary" enraged the relief people, and called forth still harsher and severer efforts to carry out their views. A recent writer upon this exciting subject says: "No State has made more serious mistakes in governmental affairs than

*George M. Bibb, one of the leaders in the relief party, was a man noted in the political history of Kentucky. As a lawyer, jurist and statesman, he was equally distinguished. He was a native of Virginia, and was born in Prince Edward County, in 1776. He was a graduate of both Hampden Sydney, and William and Mary Colleges. He studied law with Richard Venable, and was admitted to the bar in Virginia. In 1798, he came to Lexington, where he soon distinguished himself as an able lawyer. He was appointed by Gov. Greenup, a judge of the appelate court in 1808, and by Gov. Scott, its chief justice in 1809, but resigned the next year. He was again appointed by Gov. Desha in 1827, and resigned in 1828. He was twice elected to the United States senate, first in 1811, and again in 1829. From 1835 to 1840, he was chancellor of the Louisville Chancery Court, but resigned it for the secretaryship of the treasury in President Tyler's cabinet. From that time until his death in 1859, he practiced law in the District of Columbia.

William T. Barry, the chief-justice of the "new court of appeals" was a Virginian by birth, and came to Lexington in early life, where he soon became a leading member of the bar. In 1820 he was elected lieutenant-governor, under Gen. Adair. While in this position, the old and new court controversy came up, and with all his energies he engaged in the strife. Upon the reorganization of the court of appeals, he was appointed its chief-justice, and although his position proved to be unpopular in the end, he discharged the duties of chief-justice with dignity and honor. He was defeated in 1828 for governor by Gen. Metcalfe. Lexington continued to be his home, until the accession of Gen. Jackson to the presidency, when he removed to Washington City, and became postmaster-general in Jackson's cabinet. In 1835 he was appointed minister to Spain, and on his way there, was seized with a sudden illness at Liverpool, England, which terminated in his death, at the early age of fifty-two years. In November, 1854, his remains were interred in the State Cemetery at Frankfort.

John Rowan, the able coadjutor of Judge Bibb, in the relief measures, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1773. His father came to Louisville in 1783, but the following year removed to Long Falls, on Green River. Young Rowan received his education in a classical school at Bardstown; studied law and was admitted to the bar at Lexington in 1795. He early engaged in politics, and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1799. Gov. Greenup appointed him secretary of state in 1804, and in 1806, he was elected to congress; also served several terms in the State legislature. In 1819, together with Henry Clay, he was appointed by the legislature to defend the "occupying claimant laws" of Kentucky, in the supreme court of the United States. With his characteristic zeal, he threw his great talents into the relief and anti-relief controversy, as the champion of the new court of appeals, and with Bibb, Sharp and others, carried their cause over all opposition. He was elected to the United States senate in 1824. He died in Louisville in 1843, in the seventieth year of his age.

Solomon P. Sharp, another of the active supporters of the new court of appeals, was of humble origin, and his family poor and obscure. They settled in Russellville, when he was but a child, and where he grew to manhood. Through his own exertions mainly, he received a good education, studied law, and at the age of nineteen, was admitted to the bar. He was elected to the legislature, as soon as his age would permit him to take a seat in that body, and at twenty-four, was considered one of the first public men of the commonwealth. After several terms in the State legislature, he was elected to congress, and re-elected to a second term. He was the intimate friend of John C. Calhoun, and stood side by side with him in support of Mr. Madison's administration. He removed to Frankfort, to practice his profession in the higher courts, and in 1825, while still a young man, fell by the hand of an assassin.

John Trimble, one of the associate judges of the new court of appeals, was a native Kentuckian, and was born December 4, 1783. At the age of nineteen, he was appointed secretary to Robert Evans, governor of the Indiana Territory, and resided two years at Vincennes. He returned home and studied law with George Nicholas, one of the most eminent jurists of Kentucky. He practiced at Paris from 1807 to 1816, when he was appointed to the circuit bench, and removed to Cynthiana. Gov. Desha appointed him the third judge of the new court of appeals, but he soon resigned the position. He was tendered the appointment of United States judge for the district of Kentucky, by President John Quincy Adams, but declined it. He died in 1852, at the age of sixty years.

Judges Haggin and Davidge, the two remaining judges of the new court of appeals, were able lawyers and jurists. They never, however, attained to as high judicial, or political distinction, as some of their colleagues in these exciting times. Judge Davidge occupied the circuit bench for many years, and died in Hopkinsville, at an advanced age. Judge Haggin filled no prominent public station, except that of judge of the court of appeals. He died in Lexington in 1835, while still in the prime of life.

Kentucky. We shall see that, one by one, she exhausted the follies that it was possible for a developing community to commit, but we shall also see that they profited by their painful experience." So it was in this case. The relief party persisted in their policy until the State was brought to the brink of ruin, and then came the reaction.

After the failure on the part of the legislature to remove Judge Clark, all parties awaited, with intense interest, the decision of the supreme court. That august body was composed of John Boyle, chief justice, and William Owsley and Benjamin Mills, associate judges. The friends of the relief measures endeavored to frighten them into a decision favorable to their party, but to their credit, be it spoken, without success. At the fall term of the court in 1823, the question came before them in the case of Lapsley *vs.* Brashear, and disregarding the threats of vengeance hurled at them, should they dare to thwart the "will of a majority of the people," they delivered separate opinions, but all concurring with their brethren in the circuit court, in the conclusion, that "those statutes, so far as they retroacted on contracts depending for their effect on the law of Kentucky, were inconsistent with that clause in the Federal constitution, which prohibits the legislature of the several States in the Union from passing any act 'impairing the obligation of contracts,' and also, of course, with the similar provision in the constitution of Kentucky, inhibiting any such enactment by the legislature of this State. A more grave and eventful question could not have been presented to the court for its umpirage. It subjected to a severe, but decisive ordeal, the personal integrity, firmness and intelligence of the judges, and the value of that degree of judicial independence and stability contemplated by the constitution. The question involved was new and vexed; and a majority of the people of the State had approved, and were, as they seemed to think, vitally interested in maintaining their constitutional power to enact such remedial statutes."* This opinion was received by the relief party with a tempest of rage, and the conflict was renewed with greater fury than before. Efforts were made to remove the judges by act of the legislature, and the issue involved in the election of 1824 was made upon these grounds.

The judges composing the court of appeals, John Boyle, William Owsley and Benjamin Mills, were among the ablest lawyers, and jurists of Kentucky. Of them, the Rev. Mr. McClung remarked: "These gentlemen had passed the meridian of life, and had been drilled for a long series of years to the patient and abstract severity of judicial investigation. In simplicity and purity of character, in profound legal knowledge, and in Roman-like firmness of purpose, the old court of appeals of Kentucky have seldom been surpassed."

John Boyle, the chief justice, was born in Virginia, in 1774, and like many of the great men of the country, he rose to eminence, principally through his own exertions, from the humblest circumstances. His family was poor and obscure, and he was early thrown upon his own resources. In 1779 his father came to Whitley's Station in Kentucky, but soon after removed to Garrard County. Young Boyle's education was good for that early period. He received instruction in the languages from Rev. Samuel Finley, a Presbyterian minister. He studied law with Thomas Davis, and was admitted to the bar in Mercer County. In 1802 he was elected to congress, and twice afterward reelected, declining the canvass for a fourth term. He was appointed by President Madison the first governor of Illinois after its organization into a territory, but declined the appointment. In 1809 he was placed upon the appellate bench, and in 1810 became the chief justice of the appellate court, which trust he held with honor for sixteen years. Upon the reorganization of the court, and the accession to power of the new court party, Judge Boyle resigned, but was soon after appointed, by the national government, district judge of Kentucky. This position he held until his death, which occurred in 1835. During the last year of his life he was pro-

*Judge Robertson in Collins' History, Vol. I, p. 495.

fessor of law in the Transylvania University.

William Owsley was a native of Virginia, born in 1782, and the year following, his father emigrated to Lincoln County, Ky. His advantages were limited, but by energy and industry he succeeded in obtaining a good common school education. He taught school, became deputy county surveyor, deputy sheriff, and held other positions of importance. He studied law with Chief Justice Boyle, and commenced practice in Garrard County; was everal times sent from that county to the legislature, and at the age of thirty-one was appointed by Gov. Scott, a judge of the court of appeals. He resigned in a short time, but was reappointed by Gov. Shelby in 1813. In 1844 he was elected governor over William O. Butler, after a most exciting campaign, and by the largest vote polled in the State up to that time. He moved to Frankfort for the purpose of practicing his profession in the higher courts of the State, but finally purchased a farm in Boyle County and retired from active life. He died on December 9, 1862, at the age of eighty years.

Benjamin Mills was born in Maryland, 1779, and received a liberal education. While still a mere youth, he was called to the presidency of Washington Academy, at Washington, Penn., which institution soon after became Washington College. He came with his father's family to Bourbon County, and relinquishing the study of medicine, which he had begun sometime before, took up the profession of the law. He was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice at Paris, about the year 1806. He represented Bourbon County several terms in the legislature, and in 1817 was appointed to the circuit bench. In 1820 he was appointed a judge of the appellate court, a position he held until 1828, when he retired. He removed to Frankfort the better to enable him to devote his time to practice in the superior courts, and continued to reside at the capital, until his death, which occurred in 1831, from a stroke of apoplexy.

The great excitement which followed the decision of the court of appeals is very graphically described by Mr. McClung in Collins' History, from which article quotations have already been made. The following extract, not only readable but interesting, is from the same source:

> The great majority had been accustomed to make and unmake, to set up and pull down, at its sovereign will and pleasure. Presidents, governors, senators, representatives, had long been the creatures of its power, and the flatterers of its caprice. James I had not a more exalted notion of his divine prerogative than the great majority had of its undoubted right to govern. The power of the judiciary had heretofore been so unobtrusive, that its extent and importance had escaped attention, and the masses were startled to find three plain citizens could permanently arrest the action and thwart the wishes of that majority, before which, presidents, governors, and congresses, bowed with implicit submission. Many good, honest citizens looked upon it as monstrous, unnatural, unheard-of, in a Republican government. It shocked all the notions of liberty and democracy which had grown with their growth, and violently wounded that sense of importance allied to arrogance, which always attends a long exercise of unresisted power.
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> The judiciary, by the constitution, held their offices during good behavior. Nothing less than two-thirds of both houses could remove them. Could they hope to obtain this majority? The canvass of 1824 was conducted with the hope of such result. Gen. Joseph Desha was the candidate of the relief party for governor, and canvassed the State with that energy and partisan vehemence, for which he was remarkable. He was elected by an overwhelming majority.* A vast majority of both houses were of the relief party. The governor and the legislature met in December with passion heated by the fierce canvass through which they had passed, and the unsparing wounds which they had received from their enemies. The sword was fairly drawn, and the scabbard had been thrown away by both parties. So exasperated were the passions, that the minority was as little disposed to ask quarter, as the majority was to give it. The three judges were summoned before the legislative bar, and calmly assigned reasons at length, for their decision. These reasons were replied to with great speciousness and subtlety; for the great talents of Rowan, Bibb and Barry were at the command of the relief party, and their manifestoes were skillfully drawn. A vote was at length taken, and the constitutional majority of two-thirds could not be obtained. The minority exulted in the victory of the judges.
>
> But their adversaries were too much inflamed to be diverted from their purpose by ordinary impedi-

*Gen. Desha received 38,378 votes, and his opponent, Christopher Thompson, 22,499 votes.

ments. The edict "*Delenda est Carthago,*" had gone forth, and the party, rapidly recovering from their first defeat, renewed the assault in a formidable direction, which had not been foreseen, and when success was clearly within their reach. The majority could not remove the judges by impeachment or address, because their majority, though large, was not two-thirds of each house. But they could repeal the act by which the court of appeals had been organized, and could pass an act organizing the court anew. The judges would follow the court, as in the case of the district court and court of quarter sessions, and a bare majority would suffice to pass the act. A bill to this effect was drawn up, and debated with intense excitement, during three days and three protracted night sessions. Wickliffe denounced the party with fierce and passionate invective, as trampling upon the constitution, deliberately, knowingly and wickedly. Rowan replied with cold and stately subtlety, perplexing, when he could not convince, and sedulously confounding the present act with the repeal of the district court, and with the action of congress, in repealing the Federal court system, and displacing its judges by a bare majority. On the last night the debate was protracted until past midnight. The galleries were crowded with spectators as strongly excited as the members. The governor and Lieut.-Gov. McAfee were present upon the floor, and mingled with the members. Both displayed intense excitement, and the governor was heard to urge the calling of the previous question. Great disorder prevailed and an occasional clap and hiss were heard in the galleries. The bill was passed by a large majority in the house of representatives, and by a nearly equal majority in the senate. No time was lost in organizing the new court, which consisted of four judges. William T. Barry was chief justice, and John Trimble, James Haggin and Rezin Davidge were associate justices. Francis P. Blair was appointed clerk, and took forcible possession of the records of Achilles Sneed, the old clerk. The old court, in the meantime, denied the constitutionality of the act, and still continued to sit as a court of appeals and decide such causes as were brought before them. A great majority of the bar of Kentucky recognized them as the true court, and brought their causes by appeal before their tribunal. A great majority of the circuit judges, also, obeyed their mandates as implicitly as if no organizing act had passed. A certain proportion of cases, however, were taken by the new court, and some of the circuit judges obeyed their mandates exclusively, refusing to recognize the old court. A few judges obeyed both, declining to decide which was the true court.

This judicial anarchy could not possibly endure. The people, as the final arbiter, was again appealed to by both parties, and the names of relief and anti-relief became merged in the title of old court and new court. Great activity was exerted in the canvass of 1825, and never were the passions of the people more violently excited. The result was the triumph of the old court party by a large majority in the popular branch of the legislature, while the senate still remained attached to the new court; the new popular impulse not having had time to remove it. In consequence of this difference between the political complexion of the two houses, the reorganizing act still remained unrepealed, and the canvass of 1826 saw both parties again arrayed in a final struggle for the command of the senate. The old court party again triumphed, and at the ensuing session of the legislature, the obnoxious act was repealed, the opinion of the governor to the contrary, notwithstanding,* and the old judges reestablished, *de facto* as well as *de jure*. Their salaries were voted to them, during the period of their forcible and illegal removal, and all the acts of the new court have ever been treated as a nullity.

Thus, after a brief season, peace and tranquillity had been restored. For months the State was trembling upon the brink of a heaving volcano, and but for the "considerate prudence" of the old court leaders, there might have been precipitated upon the people a bloody revolution. The struggle between the contending elements had certain very important effects upon the political life of the commonwealth. Upon this exciting and agitating question, Chief Justice Robertson said: "The memorable contest between the constitution and the passions of a popular majority—between the judicial and legislative departments—proves the efficacy of Kentucky's constitutional structure, and illustrates the reason and the importance of that system of judicial independence, which it guarantees. It demonstrates that, if the appellate judges had been dependent on a bare majority of the people, or their representatives, the constitution would have been paralyzed, justice dethroned and property subjected to rapine by tumultuary passions and numerical power. And its incidents and results not only commend to the gratitude of the living and unborn the proscribed judges and the efficient compatriots who dedicated their time and talents for years to the rescue of the constitution, but also impressively illustrate the object and efficacy of the fundamental limitations of the will of the majority—that is, the ultimate prevalence of reason over passion, of truth over error,

*The act was passed over Gov. Desha's veto.

which, in popular governments, is the sure offspring only of time and sober deliberation, which it is the object of constitutional checks to insure." Another writer upon the subject, nearly forty years later, says: "The question before the court, in its legal aspect, turned upon the clause of the Federal constitution that forbade the impairment of contracts, though the immediate victory was gained on other and more special legal grounds. But there was a nearer and simpler question, one of honesty in the management of public affairs, which was the part debated before the people, and on which they gave their decision in an unmistakable way. This debate may be fairly regarded as a turning point in the politics of the State. The election, which gave the relief party its overwhelming majority in the legislature of 1824, and elected Desha governor by a vote of 38,000 to 22,000 for his opponent, represents the uninformed and rash state of public opinion. The reversal of this vote in the following year shows an extraordinary revolution of sentiment. It shows a moral awakening which was full of promise, and one that time has justified. From this time on, the State has always inclined to conservative ways. In the end the controversy between the old and new courts was very wholesome, since it showed the people the way in which grave dangers lay. That the people of the commonwealth met the emergency in a manly fashion, promptly reconsidering their first steps when they had a chance to see whereto they led, and in the end found a position on firm ground, is a matter of satisfaction to all who hold the name of Kentucky dear."

George Robertson and Robert Wickliffe were among the most eminent and zealous advocates of the anti-relief party, and to their exertions was due, in no small degree, its ultimate success. Mr. Robertson was a native of the State, and was born in 1790, in Mercer County. After receiving a liberal education he studied law with Samuel McKee, and in 1809 was licensed to practice by Judges Boyle and Wallace. He served repeatedly in the State legislature, and in the lower house of the Federal congress, and declined many high and important positions, preferring to devote his talents to the practice of his chosen profession, rather than to breast the storms of political life. For fourteen years he was chief justice of the court of appeals, and his judicial decisions are the embodiment of profound learning and research. Says his biographer: "His law lectures and political essays, his legal opinions as contained in the Kentucky Reports, speak for themselves, evincing at once depth of thought, laborious research, accurate discrimination and sound philosophy." He was a member of the legislature during the relief and anti-relief party. Judge Robertson was a great lawyer, a profound jurist and a wise statesman. He died at his home in Lexington, May 16, 1874, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

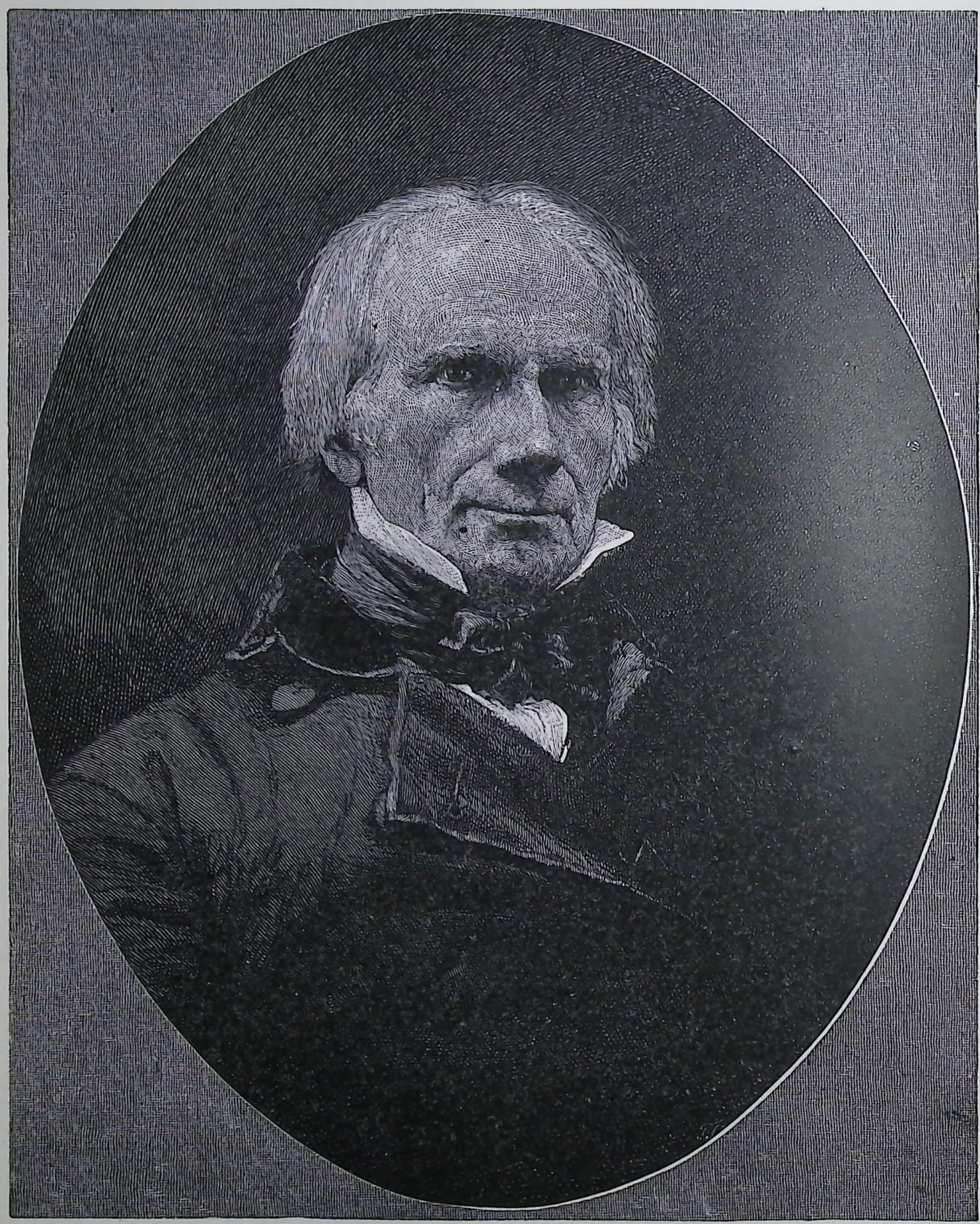
Robert Wickliffe belonged to one of the most distinguished families of Kentucky. He was born in 1775 at Redstone, Penn., during the stay of his parents there, on their way from Prince William County, Va., to Kentucky. He studied law with George Nicholas, was admitted to practice, and soon became a leading lawyer at the bar. He, like Judge Robertson, preferred the practice of law to the excitement of political life, and so far as possible shunned its fitful honors. But notwithstanding his distaste for politics, he was elected to the legislature from Fayette County several successive terms, and to the State senate. In the latter body, he served from 1825 to 1833. His legislative service embraced one of the stormiest periods in the political history of the State—the relief and anti-relief warfare. Mr. Wickliffe distinguished himself as a leader and champion of the anti-relief and old court parties, and contributed largely to the overthrow of the new court of appeals. He was an able and successful lawyer, and amassed a handsome fortune. He diedin 1859 at an advanced age.

The final triumph of the old court party occasioned a feeling of relief and satisfaction throughout the State. The factions quietly acquiesced in the verdict of the people, and for some time party lines stood near where

they had been placed by this spirited conflict. But the people soon turned their attention from local questions to the more extended field of national politics. The presidential campaign of 1824 had been the most exciting since the formation of the republic, excepting perhaps that of 1800, which resulted in the election of Mr. Jefferson over the elder Adams, and to the questions awakened by that campaign they now turned with an interest but little diminished from that they had displayed in the contest between the old and new courts. The candidates for president in the election of 1824 were Henry Clay, Gen. Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams and William H. Crawford, of Georgia. Each of these distinguished gentlemen had his friends, who supported their favorite candidate from personal preference and not from party predilection. None of them, however, had a majority of the votes of the electoral college,* and under the constitutional rule, upon the house of representatives devolved the duty of making choice of president, each State, by its delegation in congress, casting one vote. Gen. Jackson led Mr. Adams in the electoral college by a small plurality; Mr. Crawford was third on the list of candidates, and Mr. Clay, who was the hindmost man, was dropped from the canvass. Mr. Adams was chosen president by the casting vote of the State of Kentucky. Mr. Clay was a member of the national house of representatives, and its speaker, and it was at once claimed by many of his political enemies that it was through the influence of the State of Ohio, which, as well as his own State, Mr. Clay had carried in the presidential contest, that the delegation from Kentucky was induced to cast the vote of the State for Mr. Adams, an eastern man, in preference to Gen. Jackson, a southern and western man. By that *coup d'etat*, Mr. Clay was instrumental in organizing political parties that survived the generation of people to which he belonged, and ruled in turn the destinies of the republic for more than a quarter of a century.

Mr. Clay was not a native of this State, yet he was so long identified with its political history, as to become more warmly endeared to the people than any other citizen of the commonwealth. He was born in Hanover County, Va., April 12, 1777, and was the son of a Baptist clergyman. His early years were marked by poverty and toil, and his educational facilities confined to a limited attendance at the log schoolhouse of the neighborhood. About the age of fifteen he was appointed to a deputy clerkship in the clerk's office of the high court of chancery, where he attracted the attention of the chancellor, Wythe. That gentleman engaged him as an amanuensis, and assisted him in mental culture and improvement. Through his influence, Clay studied law in the office of Robert Brooke, then attorney-general of Virginia, and in due time was admitted to the bar by the Virginia court of appeals. He came to Kentucky in 1797, and at once entered the political arena of the State. An important election was approaching—an election for delegates to a convention to frame a new constitution. One feature or clause of the plan presented to the people was a provision for the final emancipation of the slave population. The measure was vigorously opposed in every part of the State, but Mr. Clay, regardless of his popularity, boldly took ground in its favor, and exerted his influence toward the election of men to the convention who would contend for the eradication of negro slavery. His efforts, however, failed, and the young champion of "liberty and equal rights" became somewhat unpopular on account of the part he had acted. But this partial unpopularity did not last long. His position on the alien and sedition laws of 1798–99, and his zealous advocacy of the rights of the people, restored him to their confidence and affection, and obtained for him the title of the "great commoner." In 1803 Mr. Clay was elected, for the first time, a representative in the legislature, and was re-elected

*The electoral vote stood, Jackson 99; Adams 84; Crawford 41; Clay 37; Delaware gave one vote for Adams and two for Crawford; Maryland divided the vote between Adams and Jackson; Virginia cast her vote for Crawford; Kentucky cast hers for Mr. Clay; Maine gave nine votes to Adams; New Hampshire and Vermont voted the same way; New Jersey and Pennsylvania cast their vote for Jackson; Georgia voted for Crawford; North and South Carolina voted for Jackson; Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut voted for Adams; New York gave Jackson one vote, Adams twenty-six, Crawford five and Clay four; Tennessee, Indiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana voted for Jackson; Illinois gave two votes to Jackson and one to Adams; Ohio gave sixteen and Missouri three votes to Clay.



HENRY CLAY.

every succeeding term until 1806, when he was chosen United States senator to fill out the unexpired term of Gen. Adair, who had resigned. He was elected to the legislature again in 1807, and chosen speaker; he remained a member of the house until 1809, when he was again elected to the United States senate, this time to fill out the unexpired term of Buckner Thurston.

In 1811, Mr. Clay was elected to the national house of representatives and entered upon the great political period of his life, which commenced with his election as speaker of that body, and terminated with his death forty years later. He had never before been a member of the lower house of congress, and this fact renders it still more remarkable that he should have been elected its speaker, on the day he took his seat, by a majority of nearly two to one over two opposing candidates. This was an honor that body had never before bestowed on any individual, nor has it done so to the present day. He was elected speaker six times, and after occupying the position for about thirteen years, he resigned it, in 1825, to become secretary of State in Mr. Adams' cabinet.

Mr. Clay, as we have seen, had been a presidential candidate in the contest of 1824, and when his own defeat was assured, had been instrumental in the election of Mr. Adams. Accepting, then, the first place in his cabinet gave rise to the charge of "bargain and sale" between the president and his chief secretary, that caused great excitement throughout the country. These aspersions were without foundation in truth, and at this day no one will dare to question Mr. Clay's patriotism or honesty. But so persistent were the charges made by the partisans of Gen. Jackson that they injured Mr. Clay, somewhat, in the public estimation, and contributed largely to the General's success in the next presidential contest. In 1828, party lines were closely drawn between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams, and the result of a hot and bitter canvass was the triumphal election of the hero of New Orleans, both by the electoral and popular vote. The defeat of Mr. Adams at this time was a severe blow to the popularity of Mr. Clay, and threatened to end forever his political career. But the personal and moral intrepidity that made him a leader by right soon recovered for him his wonted place in the affections of his people. It has been thought by some of his friends, that, in the presidential contest of 1828, Mr. Clay was by far the strongest candidate in his party, and that in the substitution of John Quincy Adams he lost the most favorable opportunity of his life of becoming the chief magistrate of the nation. The revulsion of sentiment evoked by a mature consideration of the charges brought against him, for his action in the election of Adams in 1824, was at the flood tide, and would more probably have contributed to his success at this time (1828) than four years later, when he again opposed and was defeated by Gen. Jackson. It was the custom—and except in the case of the elder Adams had been observed up to this time—to elect a president to a second term as an "endorsement of his administration," and to this questionable custom may be attributed the substitution of Mr. Adams as a candidate in this campaign.

The old court party had now assumed the name of "National Republicans," and had, at the August election of this year, put forward Gen. Thomas Metcalfe, known throughout the State as "Old Stone Hammer" (from the fact of his being a "stone mason") for governor. The opposition, or new court party, adopted the name of "Democratic Republicans" and selected as their standard-bearer in the gubernatorial contest, against Gen. Metcalfe, William T. Barry, late chief justice of the new court of appeals. Metcalfe had been a representative in congress several terms. He possessed great popularity —having risen from the humblest walks of life—and was a man of more than ordinary ability. He was born in Fauquier County, Va., in 1780, and five years later his parents immigrated to Kentucky. They were poor but highly respectable people, and young Thomas, after a few years' attendance at the neighborhood schools, was apprenticed to an elder brother who was a stone mason. He became a proficient in the trade, and built

many of the early court houses, both in Kentucky and Ohio. He was elected to the legislature in 1812, and re-elected five times thereafter. He was a captain in the war of 1812, and served with gallantry. In 1818, he was elected to congress, serving six terms consecutively. He resigned in 1828, before the close of his last term, to make the race for governor, in which he was successful, defeating his opponent, Mr. Barry, by 709 votes. But Joseph R. Underwood, who was associated with him, was defeated by John Breathitt for lieutenant-governor, thus presenting the novel situation of a governor and lieutenant-governor of opposite political principles. The Democratic Republicans secured a majority in the legislature. In November following, Jackson carried the State by a popular majority of 7,934 over Mr. Adams.

The old court party thus drifted into National Republicans, and the new court party into Democratic Republicans. The latter became the zealous supporters of Gen. Jackson, and for several years succeeded in maintaining supremacy in the legislature, and of electing a majority of the representatives to congress from the State. During the period from 1828 to 1832, they were most generally known in Kentucky as the "Jackson party," while the National Republicans were called the "Clay party." Throughout the country at large, they became, during the campaign of 1832, the "Jackson" and "anti-Jackson" parties. In 1831 the Jackson party lost control of the State legislature, but retained a majority of the members of congress from Kentucky. As a result of the success of the Clay party or National Republicans, Mr. Clay was elected to the United States senate in 1831 over Richard M. Johnson, a strong adherent of Gen. Jackson.

The gubernatorial and presidential campaigns of 1832 were spirited, and hotly contested in Kentucky. The Clay, or National party put forward Judge Buckner for governor, while the Jackson or Democratic party nominated John Breathitt, the then lieutenant-governor. He was elected over Buckner by 1,242 majority. The presidential candidates were Mr. Clay and Gen. Jackson. Although the Jackson party was successful in the State election in August, in November following Mr. Clay carried the State over Jackson by a popular majority of 7,324 votes. But in the national contest he was defeated by a large majority, Jackson receiving 219 of the 286 electoral votes. Mr. Clay was defeated for the presidency, but he now held his own commonwealth in the "hollow of his hand," as it were, and he long ruled it wisely and well. Says a recent writer: "In founding and strengthening the conservative spirit that began to come with the greater wealth and culture of the State, he did a great work. From the time of his local victory over Gen. Jackson to the present day, the conservative element of Kentucky has never lost its hold upon the State. Parties have changed names, political issues have come and gone, but the conservative power, that came from the bank question and was affirmed by Clay, still firmly holds the commonwealth." The Clay party for many years, with but one or two exceptions, carried the State in all important political contests, and became, after the election of 1832, the Whig party, while the Jackson became the Democratic party.

But now another dark era in the financial history of Kentucky was at hand, second only to that of the relief and anti-relief period. The repeal of the charter of the United States Bank, without any "provision for its replacement in the system of American commerce," was a blow from which the State did not soon recover. Upon the eve of this crisis the campaign of 1836 opened. James Clark was the Whig candidate for governor. He it was whose decision from the circuit bench created such an intense excitement during the relief and anti-relief war, and whom the relief party strove so hard to displace for that decision. He was a native of Virginia, and came to Kentucky with his father's family in an early day, and located in Clark County. He studied law with his brother, and was admitted to the bar in Virginia, when he returned to Kentucky and began practice. He served several terms in the legislature and in

congress, and in 1817 was appointed to the circuit bench. He was elected governor over Matthew Flournoy, the Democratic candidate, by 8,096 majority. Gen. William H. Harrison was the presidential candidate of the Whigs, and carried the State by 3,520 votes over Martin Van Buren, but was defeated in the national election. The financial policy of the administration, inaugurated during President Jackson's last term, had resulted in a return to the worthless paper money of the relief and anti-relief period. Hundreds of banks were started up, and the mania for speculation again ran riot. There was no difficulty in finding banks to lend money to those who desired to borrow, for "the more of their paper they could set afloat, the larger would be their profits." The matter culminated in 1837, and all the banks of the United States were forced into a "suspension of payments." Not only were the people involved in debt, but the State had undertaken a vast system of internal improvement on its own credit, and was as deeply involved as the people themselves. The following extract, from a sketch written upon this gloomy period, shows the critical state of the times: "Nearly every business man of the State and many of the farmers were rendered bankrupt or burdened by debt to the point of virtual insolvency. In this time of trial the people showed the profit of the lessons of the preceding ten years. There was a general effort to mitigate the evils by mutual help, rather than by legislation. The State refused to forfeit the charters of the suspended banks, or to compel them to resume specie payments. The brief breathing-time of 1838, when for a few months the banks tried to resume payment, revived the hopes of the people; but the burden of unliquidated debt rested too heavily on them for an enduring revival of business, so that the banks were compelled again to suspend their proper functions. The years 1840-41-42 were the most hopeless this people ever have known. * * * * It is not surprising that this time of trial led to the revival of the 'relief party,' which grew rapidly to formidable dimensions. But the conservative element was bold, and readily met their scheme. The legislature refused to take any unreasonable steps. The most they did was to modify the system of the courts, so as to give the creditor a little more time in which to meet the actions brought against him. Gradually, through infinite suffering that is recorded in the long dockets of the courts of that time, and the cloud of judgments that fell on all forms of property, the people won their way back to commercial prosperity."

The "hard cider" campaign of 1840 came on in the midst of this financial depression. In the State election, which took place in August, Robert P. Letcher was the Whig candidate for governor, and was elected over Judge Richard French by 15,720 majority. Gen. William Henry Harrison was again at the head of the Whig ticket for president, with John Tyler for vice-president. Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson, president and vice-president, were the Democratic candidates for re-election. The contest was an exciting one, and created intense interest throughout the State, as well as the country at large. Like the first campaign (successful one) of Gen. Jackson, it was decided principally on the memories of the war of 1812. Harrison was a great favorite with the people of Kentucky, and had been called to lead the Kentucky troops—contrary to the law, which required that the militia of the State should be commanded by one of its own citizens—to Detroit, after the disgraceful surrender of Hull, to defend our northern frontier. Col. Johnson, the Democratic candidate for vice-president, was a Kentuckian, a man of great popularity, and the supposed slayer of the renowned Indian chief, Tecumseh, in the battle of the Thames. He was a lawyer, statesman and soldier, and in each profession had won fame. He was born in 1781, educated in Transylvania University, and studied law with the celebrated George Nicholas. He served in the State legislature, in congress, in the national senate and as vice-president, and in all these positions acquitted himself with honor and credit. It was probably owing to these considerations that Gen.

Harrison's majority in the State was not larger. The vote was Harrison and Tyler, 58,489; Van Buren and Johnson, 32,616; majority, 25,873 for the Whig candidates.

No presidential campaign since that of 1824 had so excited the people as the present one. Gen. Harrison had been defeated by Van Buren in 1836, and now they were arrayed against each other a second time. Edward Stanwood, in his history of presidential elections, says: "The Whig party went into the campaign of 1840 without positive principles or definite policy. The platform was opposition to the party in power, without any specific promises of something better, and the appeal for support was based on the theory that they had tired of the long continuance of Democratic rule. Clay was set aside because he was a Free-Mason, and, therefore, objectionable to an element the opposition wanted in the East, and because he favored the protective tariff, which was unpopular in the south Atlantic States. Gen. Harrison was open to neither of these objections, and the convention nominated him by a vote of 148 to 90 for Mr. Clay, and 16 for Gen. Scott. At the end of four days the convention adjourned without formulating any platform. In all the speech-making there was no assertion of distinctive principles, nothing but expressions of hatred and opposition to "Van Buren and the locofocos." Indeed, the "old hero of Tippecanoe" was put forward as the candidate of the "Anti-Van Buren party." The campaign which followed was marked by extraordinary enthusiasm among young men for a candidate who was nearly seventy years old. It was a campaign of noise and demonstrations. There were endless processions, with representations of "Old Tip," log-cabins, coon skins, the candidate drinking mugs of cider, etc. Van Buren was renominated, and a long declaration of principles set forth against assumption of State debts, against a United States bank, against "fostering one branch of industry to the detriment of another," against a policy of general internal improvements, in favor of economy, against interference with slavery, and so on. The Democrats had been in power since the beginning of the century, unless the four years of the second Adams be excepted. Their party was closely organized. They were intrenched in the offices, and used the public patronage without scruple. They affected contempt for the shouting campaign of the Whigs, and met the noise and demonstrations with ridicule, declaring Harrison was so ignorant that the Whigs had to shut him up in a log-cabin, and dare not give him pen and ink. The Whigs, however, kept up their songs:

> Farewell, old Van,
> You're not the man;
> To guide the ship
> We'll try old Tip, etc. etc.

The popular vote stood: Harrison, 1,275,016; Van Buren, 1,129,102; James G. Birney (the Abolition candidate), 7,069. The electoral vote was much more significant. Mr. Van Buren carried only the States of New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas and Illinois—sixty electoral votes. Harrison carried nineteen States, and received 234 electoral votes."

In the gubernatorial contest of 1844, William O. Butler was the Democratic candidate and William Owsley the Whig candidate. Mr. Owsley was elected by a majority of 4,624. Archibald Dixon, his associate, received a majority of 11,081 for lieutenant-governor over William S. Pilcher, the Democratic candidate. In the presidential campaign Mr. Clay was again put forward by the Whigs, while the Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee. As soon as the latter nomination was made Mr. Clay predicted his own defeat, and when asked upon what grounds, replied that his opponent was "unknown as a public man." The result of the election in November proved the truth of his prophecy. He carried the State by a majority of 9,267 over Mr. Polk, but was defeated by a majority of sixty-five votes in the electoral college.

The defeat of Mr. Clay in 1844 may be attributed mainly to his opposition to the annexation of Texas, which was the most important question involved in the campaign. Mr. Polk's indorsement of that issue secured

to him the presidency. Mr. Clay believed that the annexation of Texas would involve the country in foreign war, and create internal discord by the extension of slavery, and his great energies were aroused to avert such dreaded evils. His defeat was the final blow to the long deferred hopes of his friends of seeing him president. He still remained first in the hearts of his people, but this defeat considerably lessened his influence among them, and when the presidential convention of 1848 was held, Gen. Zachary Taylor, the old "rough and ready" soldier, the hero of Buena Vista, received the nomination of the Whigs. Mr. Clay's political career now seemed closed forever. He was growing old. The storms of political life had battered his "decaying tabernacle," and the twilight shadows were gathering around him. For fifty years he had served the State and nation, and much desired to spend the remainder of his life with his family and friends. But this was to be denied him. Already the low mutterings of the storm that burst upon the country in 1860–61 could be heard in the distance, and all eyes were once more turned to Mr. Clay, the great pacificator. Says his biographer, Conwell: "He had

"ASHLAND"—THE HOME OF HENRY CLAY.

calmed the storm raised by the Missouri question; his wisdom had averted the civil war proffered by the Nullifiers, and it was believed he could again tranquilize and restore peace and harmony to the country. He yielded to the voice of patriotism, and his State returned him to the theater of his past glories."

Mr. Clay was again elected to the United States senate, and in December, 1849, took his seat in that body. The compromise measures* of 1849–50 were the all-absorbing questions before the senate, and he entered into their discussion heart and soul. He undoubtedly cut his life short by this last mighty and triumphant effort in behalf of his country. After the close of the session he visited his home at Ashland, near Lexington, and returned in 1851 to Washington, "broken with the storms of state and scathed with many a fiery conflict." Early in the next year he commenced to fail rapidly. During the spring he gradually sank, and for weeks lay patiently awaiting the stroke of death, which came June 29, 1852, and the "Sage of Ashland" was no more.

We tell thy doom without a sigh,
For thou art Freedom's now and Fame's;
One of the few immortal names
That were not born to die.

His funeral obsequies and the honors paid to his memory throughout the country are a part of the nation's history. His remains repose in the cemetery at Lexington, and a lofty monument tells to the passer-by where the great "commoner" sleeps.

In 1848, John J. Crittenden was the Whig candidate for governor, with John L. Helm upon the ticket with him for lieutenant-governor. Next to Henry Clay, no man, living or dead, perhaps, possessed a larger share of the affections of the people of Kentucky than Mr. Crittenden. He was a native of the State, and was born in Woodford County, in 1786. He was educated in the schools of Kentucky, completing his studies in Washington Academy and William and Mary College in Virginia. On his return to Kentucky, he began the study of law with Hon. George M. Bibb, and after being licensed to practice located at Russellville, then the center of the Green River bar. As early as 1811, he was elected to represent Logan County in the legislature, serving six terms from that county, and the last term as speaker. During his last year in the legislature from Logan County, he was elected to the United States senate, and was the youngest member of that august body. He removed to Frankfort in 1819, to practice his profession in the higher courts of the State. He was several times elected to represent Franklin County in the legislature, and was a member during the old and new court controversy, and was an able and zealous champion of the old court. In 1835, he was elected for the second time to the United States senate, which position he held until President Harrison appointed him attorney-general of the United States. Upon the death of Mr. Harrison he resigned, and was soon after elected to fill out the unexpired term of Henry Clay in the Federal senate. In 1843 he was reelected to a full term, but resigned in 1848 to make the race for governor. He was opposed in this contest by Lazarus W. Powell, an able Democratic statesman, and whom he defeated by 8,521 majority. Upon the death of Gen. Taylor and the reorganization of the cabinet under Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Crittenden was appointed attorney-general, and resigned as governor to accept the position. Mr. Helm, the lieutenant-governor, filled out his unexpired term. At the close of Fillmore's administration, he was again elected to the United States senate, and served until 1861. Upon the dissolution of the Whig party, Mr. Crittenden acted with the Know-nothing or American party, and in opposition to the Democrats. He was elected to the lower house of congress in 1861, and was serving in that body when the war commenced. He opposed the secession of the Southern States, and was one of the stanchest Union men of Kentucky. He made strenuous efforts to effect a compromise whereby the war might be averted, but failed in its accomplishment.

*The admission of California into the Union without the restrictions of slavery, and the extension of the Missouri line of 36° 30′ through the new territories—north of which slavery was interdicted, and south of which the people were permitted, in organizing their State governments, to decide the question for themselves.—Hodge. (See Collins, Vol. I, p. 332.)

He died in Louisville, July 25, 1863, while still a member of congress.

Following the election of Mr. Crittenden as governor in 1848, Gen. Taylor received a majority of 17,524 in the State for president over Gen. Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate. Gen. Taylor was recognized as a Kentuckian, though really born in Virginia, and brought to Kentucky by his parents when but an infant. With the laurels of Buena Vista —in which battle the Kentucky troops distinguished themselves—blooming upon his brow, he was highly esteemed throughout the commonwealth. Gen. William O. Butler, a gallant soldier of the Mexican war, and an honored citizen of Kentucky, was the Democratic candidate for vice-president, and doubtless to some extent reduced the Whig vote in the State. Gen. Taylor was elected by a majority of thirty-six electoral votes.

A new era was now approaching in the political history of Kentucky. After the lapse of nearly half a century, the question of revising the State constitution began to be seriously agitated by the leading men and politicians. The constitution adopted in 1799 was objectionable in some of its features, and to remedy apparent evils it was proposed to form a new one. Under the law, the question calling a convention for the purpose had to be submitted to the people at two annual elections, and a majority of the legal voters cast their ballots in its favor. The legislature, at its session of 1846–47, authorized the submission of the question to the people, and at the August election, in 1847, out of a total of 137,311 votes, 92,639 were cast in favor of a constitutional convention. In August, 1848, the question was again submitted, and carried by a majority of 39,792 in favor of the convention. In 1849 (at the August election), members to the convention were chosen, and the result was forty-eight Whigs and fifty-two Democrats. They met on the 1st of October following, and continued their deliberation to the 21st of December. On May 7, 1850, the new constitution was submitted to the people for their approval, and was adopted by a majority of 51,351 out of a total of 91,995 votes cast. The convention assembled again on the 3d of June, and adopted some amendments to the newly constructed document, and on the 11th adjourned, after having "proclaimed the present or third constitution."*

The most important changes made in the revision of the constitution regarded the judiciary, the finances, and further changes or amendments to it. It is a matter of grave doubt whether or not all these changes were well advised. The great "underlying cause of dissatisfaction" with the constitution of 1799, was that of filling the most lucrative offices, such as judges and clerks of the courts, justices of the peace, and through them the sheriffs,† etc., etc., by appointment, and not by popular vote of the people. Chancellor Kent said that the great danger to this country is "the too frequent recurrence to popular election." This is made more manifest every passing year. No longer the office seeks the man, but the man the office, and it is often the case, that the man with no qualification for the place he seeks, save his money-bags, is the successful competitor for public position, over men much better qualified to discharge the duties of the office. Should the fabric of this government ever fall, it will require but little wisdom to trace the cause of its wreck to the corruption of popular elections. The appointing power, although anti-Republican in principle, seems to be, judging from the experience of the past, the best calculated to secure efficiency and competency in office. The first constitution (1792) made the office of sheriff elective; the framers of the second abrogated that clause, believing, as Mr. Butler in his History of Kentucky expresses it, "that such elections are almost sure to make the sheriff and his securities the victims of indulgence, inconsistent with private safety and the punctual collection of taxes." Another authority‡ says: "Under that plan (the elective) it was found, in numerous instances, that the public revenue was continually squandered, and thousands

*See Appendix A, Note 31.

†Every two years the oldest justice of the peace in each county, by right of seniority, became high sheriff.

‡Allen's History of Kentucky, p. 438.

of dollars annually lost to the State; and I have heard it said, by men of those days, that there were a greater number of defaulters among sheriffs during that period than there was under the second constitution during the whole time of its existence. I believe with Mr. Butler, when he says 'that the necessary courting of the people for their favor for every public employment, eventuates in corruption.' There are hundreds in Kentucky, at this day, who can bear testimony to the fact in the operations of the present constitution." Under the appointing power (the second constitution) the offices were generally filled by faithful and competent men, and the records of that period show but few changes. Striking instances of this fact are found in the cases of Jo Allen, who held the offices of county and circuit clerks of Breckinridge County successively for over fifty years, and of Judge Benjamin Shackelford, of Christian County, who occupied the circuit bench of the Seventh Judicial District uninterruptedly for thirty-six years.

The strongest objection to the elective clause of the present constitution regards the judiciary. Mr. Allen, in his History of Kentucky, published in 1782, upon this subject says: "I was ever opposed to an elective judiciary; and more so since the test which has been made under our present constitution than before. Opinions expressed by me twenty years ago have been fully verified. I then believed, and still believe, that impartial justice will not at all times be administered by those who depend for their stations upon the sycophancy which they breathe toward the wealthy, influential and the powerful; and who, instead of reading their books and qualifying themselves for the stations, are electioneering and swaggering in grog-shops and groceries. The judiciary, as one of the three great departments of the government, deserves as much, if not more, to be preserved than either of the other two. Unlike the legislative or executive department, it possesses neither power nor patronage; neither sword nor purse. Of all the departments it is the feeblest by far; for it neither makes laws nor does it execute them. Its powers are merely to decide and declare what the law is, when proper cases are brought before them by others; and yet feeble as their power is, it is one of the most important stations in our government; and to insure justice, all must admit, should be the most independent. Their independence is the strongest support to our liberty, and the safest guard to our happiness; nay, it is the best armor and ablest tower of protection to any government. The independence of the judiciary alone preserved the liberty of England amidst divers changes; it has preserved our country, and it will ever do so whilst its independence is maintained. My observation and experience within the last twenty years have satisfied my mind that the election of judges by the popular vote is not the surest protection to the poor or to the fallen in fortune; a leaning is often discoverble on the side of wealth and influence. Under the former constitution, though salaries were far lower than at present, the wisest and the best men of the legal profession occupied seats on the bench, especially of the court of appeals. It is not always the case now; nay, it is but seldom the case; and it is to be feared that no better condition can exist in Kentucky as long as the present system continues." Upon the same subject a more recent writer says: "It seems impossible to resist the conviction that the system of appointing the judiciary machinery is, on the whole, the best that can be contrived; yet it is perfectly clear that it does not recommend itself to the mass of American citizens. One by one the States have fallen away from it, until at present there are but two that retain this feature, which they inherited from their British ancestors."

The powers of the legislature under the former constitution, "to raise money on the credit of the State," had led to the accumulation of debt, which, in 1849 (at the time of revising the constitution) amounted to $4,500,000. The greater part of this sum had been squandered on internal improvements of no practical value, which had been inaugurated during the speculative period of the preceding ten or fifteen years. To extin-

guish this debt and guard against a repetition of it, some very stringent clauses were engrafted in the new constitution, that have proved of great value, and been the means of clearing away the burden placed upon the people by the reckless spirit of internal improvement, so that at the present time there is no actual State debt.

To call a "revising convention" the new constitution provides, that after a resolution to that effect has been adopted by both houses of the general assembly, the question shall be submitted to a vote of the people at two annual elections for representatives to the legislature; and at each of these elections, a majority of the votes cast for representatives at the preceding election shall be required to call "the revising convention into existence." This is a wise provision, as it compels the people to continue in one mind for at least two years regarding the necessity of changes, and hence avoids any risk of hasty action.

With the adoption of the new constitution the State entered upon a short season of prosperity. Indeed, it has been said, that from 1848 to the panic of 1857, it saw its richest years, and the most prosperous period of its existence.

The first election of State officers under the new constitution occurred in August, 1851. There were three tickets for governor and lieutenant-governor placed before the people, viz.: Archibald Dixon and John B. Thompson were the Whig candidates; Lazarus W. Powell and Robert N. Wickliffe, Democratic candidates, Cassius M. Clay and George D. Blakey, "Liberty" or emancipation candidates. Powell, the Democratic candidate, was elected over Dixon by 850 majority, while Thompson, the Whig candidate for lieutenant-governor, was elected over Wickliffe by 6,145 majority—thus giving the State a Democratic governor and a Whig lieutenant-governor.* Clay, the anti-slavery candidate, received 3,621 votes in the State, and in this vote is partially explained the defeat of Dixon. The Whigs as a party opposed the extension of slavery, and favored final emancipation. This led many of the more ultra to vote for Clay, while those who conscientiously supported the institution of slavery, deserted the party and voted with the Democrats. Although the "Liberty" party had been organized in 1840, it cut no figure in Kentucky politics until at this election, when its candidate for governor—Cassius M. Clay—received over 3,000 votes in the State. At this election five Whigs were elected to congress from the State, and five Democrats, while the legislature, on joint ballot, counted 75 Whigs to 63 Democrats. Kentucky, at the presidential election in 1852, again showed her loyalty to the Whig party by giving Gen. Winfield Scott and William A. Graham (Whigs) a majority of 3,262 over Franklin Pierce and William R. King (Democrats). John P. Hale and George W. Julian, the anti-slavery candidates, received 265 votes in the State. Pierce and King were elected, receiving a majority of 212 electoral votes. This was the last national contest in which the Whig party was known. Four years later it appeared under the name of the Know-nothing or American party.

The organization of the Know-nothing party presents an interesting phase in the political history, not only of the State, but of the nation. A late writer† says: "The curious student, who will take the trouble, may easily trace something of a connection from the old Federal party down to the Know-nothingism of half a century later. The former culminated under the elder Adams in disaster and disgrace, by the enactment of the alien and sedition laws and its final overthrow in the election of Mr. Jefferson. From that time, however, *nativist* organizations existed more or less in the larger cities of the Union, where their contests were

*Lazarus W. Powell was born in Henderson County, October 6, 1812. He graduated with honor from St. Joseph College, Bardstown, a renowned Catholic institution of Kentucky; studied law with John Rowan, and attended a course of law lectures at Transylvania University. In 1836 he was elected to the legislature, and in 1844 was a Democratic elector for Polk and Dallas. He was defeated for governor in 1848 by John J. Crittenden, but in 1851 was elected the first governor under the new constitution of the State. The most eventful episode in his life, was his service in the United States senate. He was elected to that body in 1859, and participated in the most important discussions incident to the late civil war. He was of undoubted loyalty, but his colleague, Garrett Davis, questioned his good faith, and presented a resolution to the senate to expel him. The judiciary committee reported against the resolution, but Mr. Davis strongly advocated it; the resolution was defeated, and Davis afterward retracted the charge. Mr. Powell was defeated for a second term in the senate. He died July 3, 1867, at his home in Henderson.

†Stuve, in History of Illinois, p. 646.

mostly personal and local, meeting with varying success and failure. Later, in State and national elections, they mostly co-operated with the Whig party, and occasionally sought to commit it to their narrow doctrines. Upon the dissolution of the Whig party this element devised a new secret organization more subtle in its operations, and by its mysterious ways enticing the young and unwary (for the human mind loves mystery) with principles proscriptive of foreigners and intolerant of Catholics. The dark ceremonies of the order, conducted with mysterious secrecy, were peculiarly impressive. In this feature of the institution is found the meaning of the name "Know-nothing." It was significant of their obligations. The local organizations were denominated lodges, the meetings of which were usually held under cover of night, as if their deeds were evil, by aid of dark lanterns in lonely and unfrequented places, in the recesses of forests, hollows, deserted, or untenanted buildings, unfinished attics, etc., repairing thither stealthily, though none pursued—conduct most unbecoming patriotic citizens of a free country. Lodges sent delegates to the council, which nominated candidates, designated other delegates to other councils or conventions, issued orders, etc., all of which, the members had solemnly sworn to implicitly support and obey, under penalty of expulsion, proscription, personal indignity, if not outrage. At first their nominations were made from the other political parties, and by their secret and united weight they would generally turn the scale as to them seemed meet. Thus emboldened, the operations of the order were extended, and finally its own distinctive nominations openly announced for either local or other offices. Advancing with clandestine and rapid strides, it attained political supremacy in several States, and cast a large vote in many others. Still aspiring, in 1856 a presidential ticket was put forth. But it may be said that the Know-nothing order lost power so soon as it openly made separate nominations from its own party, and quit secretly espousing the nominations of other parties. While many of the pretensions of all parties are hollow—advanced to make political capital among the masses—the cry of "Americans to rule America" by the ostracism of foreign born citizens and proscription in religion, the two cardinal tenets of the party, was both unrepublican and unconstitutional—unrepublican, because in conflict with the Declaration of Independence; and unconstitutional, because that instrument says: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States." Further, the constitution not only permits, but fosters the freest discussion. With frequent appeals to the people, a tribunal than which none is higher, with the duty of the citizen to arraign and investigate the conduct of government, and scrutinize the operation of the laws, what can justify political organizations which avoid the open day, meet in darkness and seclusion, which offer no ground to open combat, whose principles are a sealed book, and whose adherents, under sworn obligations, "know nothing?" It tended to segregate foreign born and Catholic residents into communities distinct in feeling and in political and religious interests, and to excite in their breasts the animosities and hatreds of race by fastening upon them politically the brand of "Helots."

In no part of the Union was the feeling against the Catholics or the foreign element more pronounced than in Kentucky. This is rather a strange phase in the political history of the State, when it is remembered that the foreign population was few in numbers, and the great majority of native Catholics among the most honorable and respectable citizens of the commonwealth. At the August election, in 1854, which was for county officers only, the Whigs, under the new name of Know-nothings, were victorious throughout the State, with few exceptions. In August, 1855, the election was for State officers, members of congress and of the legislature, and partisan feeling was at fever heat. The Know-nothing, or American party, elected six members of congress, and the Democrats elected four; while the general assembly

stood: senate, thirteen Americans and seven Democrats;* representatives, sixty-one Americans and thirty-nine Democrats. Charles S. Morehead was elected governor on the Know-nothing or American ticket, by a majority of 4,403, over Beverly L. Clarke, Democrat. He was a man of wide popularity, and in every position he filled gained honorable distinction. He was a native of Kentucky, and was born in 1802 in Nelson County. He graduated from Transylvania University with the highest honors, studied law and was duly admitted to practice. He served in the legislature and in congress several terms, and in all his public acts a sense of duty guided him above selfish and personal considerations. After the expiration of his term as governor he retired from public service, and declined all further official honors until the war clouds of 1861 began to gather, when he accepted the responsible position of a delegate from Kentucky to the "Peace Conference" at Washington. Mr. Morehead died in 1868 in his sixty-sixth year.

On the day of the election (August 6, 1855) the most disgraceful riot took place ever known in the city of Louisville. The day is still "painfully remembered," and quoted in the annals of the city as "Bloody Monday." Twenty-two persons were killed outright, or died of wounds received, many others were injured, while some twenty houses or more were burned, and a great deal of other property destroyed. The riot was precipitated by the rough element of the Know-nothing party, who, laboring under intense political excitement, occasioned by distorted reports that the Catholic people meditated serious disturbances on election day, attacked them in various parts of the city, but more fiercely in the First and Eighth Wards. The most deplorable scenes were enacted, and violence and bloodshed followed the track of the ruffians. They paraded along the streets with a cannon at their head, and set fire indiscriminately to the houses of foreigners. Several persons, who were concealed in the fated buildings, or fled to them for safety from the infuriated mob, were burned to death, while others were shot while attempting to escape from the flames. The riot continued far into the night, and serious fears were entertained of the total destruction of the city. But through the exertions of the mayor, police, and influential citizens, such a catastrophe was prevented. The disgraceful affair brought considerable discredit to the Know-nothing party and contributed in no small degree to its ultimate defeat in Kentucky. In the campaign of 1856 the Whig element was not strong enough in it, or past mistakes had so enfeebled the party, that the Democrats carried the State. The result of a spirited contest was that James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge, Democratic candidates for president and vice-president, received a majority (in the State) of 6,118 over Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson, the American candidates.* John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton, Republicans, received 314 votes. At the State election, in 1858, the Democrats were victorious by an overwhelming majority, electing eight Democrats to two Americans to congress; sixty-one Democrats to thirty-nine Americans to the State legislature, and thirteen Democrats to seven Americans to the State senate. The power of the American party, which, under its first organization, carried everything in Kentucky, was now broken. The Democrats were again successful in 1859, and elected Beriah Magoffin governor, over Joshua F. Bell, the American candidate, by 8,904 majority. Linn Boyd, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, was elected over Alfred Allen (American) by 11,713 majority. The delegation to congress was divided, five of each party being elected.

The dark clouds, that had long been gathering on the political horizon, were soon to overshadow the country and plunge it in civil war. North and south of Mason and Dixon's line the low rumbling of the thunder

*Eighteen senators held over, one-half being elected every four years.

*Buchanan and Breckinridge were elected president and vice-president by 173 electoral votes, to 114 cast for Fremont and Dayton, and 8 for Fillmore and Donelson, the latter carrying only the State of Maryland.

could be heard. With prophetic knowledge, Prentice had beheld the coming storm long before it broke, and strove to avert it. Clay, bowed in body beneath the weight of years, but as erect in soul as "any spire that ever rose from a temple of God toward heaven," had stepped forward, and by Titanic strength and exertion turned aside, for the time, the fury of the tempest. But with deeper gloom and more portentous threatenings the clouds were again closing over, and there seemed to be none to rise up and command—"Peace, be still." In 1860 the storm came.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to enter upon a discussion of the issues that led up to the civil war, nor to paint the horrors of its dismal and shifting scenes. These questions are treated at length in their proper places. The presidential election of 1860 from the beginning was contemplated by all men of reflection with the most profound solicitude. The canvass opened with quite a medley of political parties. Four able tickets, any of whom were eminently capable of administering the affairs of the nation, were put forward by the respective parties and factions, viz.: John Bell and Edward Everett, were the American candidates; John C. Breckinridge and Joeeph Lane, Southern Democrats; Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson, Western Democrats; Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, Republicans. Owing to the split in the Democratic party, Bell and Everett carried Kentucky, the vote in the State being as follows: Bell and Everett, 66,016; Breckinridge and Lane, 52,836; Douglas and Johnson, 25,644; Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,366. Bell's majority over Breckinridge was 13,180; over Douglas, 40,372. Breckinridge's majority over Douglas was 27,192. Lincoln and Hamlin were elected, receiving in the electoral college, 180 of the 303 votes. Bell received the electoral votes of Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, amounting to 39; Breckinridge received those of Delaware, Maryland, the Carolinas, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, 72; Douglas, although receiving the largest popular vote next to Lincoln,* carried but one State, Missouri, in the electoral college; Lincoln received the electoral votes of all the other States—eighteen in number.

The Whig party, as we have seen, was the ruling party in Kentucky from its organization to the time of its change of name to the Know-nothing or American party. The "Liberty" or anti-slavery party was organized in 1840, and a presidential ticket placed in the field. The small vote polled by this ticket throughout the country was drawn mainly from the Whigs. The Temperance party, even then quite an element in politics, drew its greater number of adherents also from the Whig party. But, notwithstanding all these drains upon the Whig masses, it continued one of the great ruling parties of the country, as well as the dominant party in this State, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, which led to the formation of the Republican party. The latter, in its organization, absorbed the Whig and Liberty or Abolition parties. With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, the national government passed into the control of the Republican party, and so remained until 1884, when the Democrats, after having been out of power for a quarter of a century, again triumphed.

The Democratic party dates its birth back to that of the Whigs. It originated or assumed a distinctive form during the presidency of Gen. Jackson, and is still one of the great ruling parties of the country. Since its triumph over the Know-nothing party, in 1856, it has been the dominant party in Kentucky. For fifty years, or more, it has maintained its organization without change of name, a fact remarkable in the history of political creeds in America. The discord in its ranks, which, in 1860, lost it national control, had well nigh resulted in its total disruption. But after twenty-four years of defeat and disaster it is again restored to power.

*The popular vote of the United States stood: Lincoln, 1,866,452; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckinridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND WAR WITH MEXICO.

TEXAS, during the Mexican revolution and the civil wars of that period, assumed its independence and set up a government of its own. Its territory extended from the Sabine to the Rio Grande, and was an empire in itself. Situated in the mildest part of the temperate zone, it presented attractions that allured in vast numbers adventurous pioneers to its rich domain. Most of these early colonists had been citizens of the United States, born and bred amid the wild scenes of the western frontier and of the far south mainly, and were dependent on the trusty rifle for their very subsistence. The trapper, the buffalo hunter, the restless, roving backwoodsman, who, like the Indian, moved westward as civilization encroached on his solitudes, and a few master-spirits were there grouped together in one heterogeneous mass. They formed a community that was not perfect in its moral symmetry, but all powerful in its rough strength, as proven in the contest with the veteran soldiers of Santa Anna. There were those of every national prejudice. All the marked characteristics of men met their opposites, and there was no law to restrain or govern either, except that public judgment that was crystallized into a resistless force. This wonderful alembic, where were fused normal and abnormal humanities, thoughts, false educations and prejudices into a molten stream, scorched everything along its way, as the volcanic eruption does the debris over which it flows. It was the untrammeled school of attrition of every variety of mind with mind—the rough diamond that gleams and dazzles with beauty only when rubbed with diamond dust.

The adventurers, who flocked to Texas from the States, increased rapidly, until they became more numerous than the Mexicans, who previously inhabited the country. The difference of race, religion and laws was soon apparent in diversities of sentiment and objects between the old and new inhabitants. The Texan of the United States brought with him, not only greater energy and industry, but a wild and restless ambition—a more intense and speculative pursuit of future objects. When differences so deep and original as these exist among different classes of people, they will soon become manifested in external action. The new inhabitants soon seized the direction of all public affairs, and Texas became, in fact, the possession of these adventurers from a foreign land, rather than of those ancient citizens, to whose government it had once professed allegiance. The power thus obtained was soon manifested in other acts. It is not in the nature of things, that a country should change its inhabitants and not also change its government. The new possessors will assume the laws and institutions to which their habits have been used and their sentiments assimilated.* So it was with Texas. The American population had increased, in 1831, to about 20,000, and though immigration from the United States had been prohibited by Mexico, it still continued to increase. Steps were taken to separate Texas from Coahuila, which was accomplished in 1833,† and application made to the Mexican government as a distinct State, and for admission as such into the

*Mansfield's History of the Mexican War.

†Texas, from 1727 to 1824, was a separate province, and in no wise connected with any other political division of Mexico. But in 1824 it was, as a province, united with Coahuila, neither being sufficiently populous to form a State of itself. From this time to 1833 the combination was known as the "State of Coahuila and Texas."—H. Yoakum.

Mexican Union.* But their petition was unheeded, and their commissioner—Stephen F. Austin—detained at the Mexican capital awaiting the answer of the dilatory government. Austin, wearied with the delay, wrote home to the people, advising them to organize their State government without waiting further consent of the Mexican authorities.† His letter was intercepted, himself seized and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained incarcerated nearly a year without even knowing the cause of his arrest and imprisonment. Austin was among the early immigrants to Texas, a man of more than average ability, and the ablest leader the Texans then had. His father, Moses Austin, had obtained a large grant of land from Mexico, to which, at his death, Stephen succeeded. For the latter's eminent services, and in recognition of his exertions in planting a colony in Texas, his name has been attached both to a county and to the capital of the State. He was finally released by the Mexican government and permitted to return home. Such in general was the condition of Texas, when it knocked for admission at the door of the American Union.

In the meantime, Mexico had been reduced to a military despotism, with Santa Anna at its head. In September, 1835, he sent Gen. Cos into Texas with a large force to coerce the rebellious Texans into submission to his will. A battle was fought on the banks of the Rio Guadalupe, in which a part of the Mexican force was defeated. Soon after the Texans captured Goliad, and with it a large quantity of arms and military stores. Gen. Austin, at the head of the Texan army, in October laid siege to the strong town of Antonio de Bexar. During the progress of the siege Cols. Fannin and Bowie, with less than a hundred men, gained a brilliant victory over 400 Mexicans. Gen. Austin's army was poorly equipped. He was without cannon suitable for the reduction of so strong a place, but he stormed it on the 5th of December, forcing Gen. Cos with his garrison to retire within the fortress of the Alamo, where he was at length obliged to capitulate.*

Santa Anna now determined to proceed against the Texans in person. With an army of 10,000 men and a large train of artillery, he entered their country, early in 1836, and on the 21st of February arrived before the town of Bexar. He surprised the garrison and drove them into the Alamo without provisions. They numbered but 150 men, including a re-enforcement of thirty-two received from Gonzales. The battle which followed is thus described by Frost, in his history of the war between Texas and Mexico: "For ten days the air was darkened by the shot and shells poured into the fort at Santa Anna, yet not a man of the Texans had fallen, while the ground was strewed with hundreds of their enemies, pierced by the ball of the unerring rifle. At length, on the night of the 5th of March, they beheld the enemy advancing to assault the place. With their artillery the gallant defenders beat whole battalions to the earth, yet the Mexican pushed on his men, confident of ultimate success. The scaling-ladders were planted, and the Mexicans poured into the fortress. The men of the garrison, looking more like spectres than men, still dealt death upon the enemy. They sold their lives dearly, but the immense numbers of their assailants made their destruction certain. Seven of them, finding their companions all dead, asked for quarter, but were refused. They retired to a corner of the fortress, placed their backs to the walls and fell, each upon a pile of his fallen foes. Such was the victory of the Alamo, the Thermopylæ of Texas, which cost the victor 1,500 of his bravest men."

Thus the Texan revolution raged. The war continued with varying fortune until the battle of San Jacinto, on the 21st of April, 1836, when the Mexican power was broken, resulting in their authority over the Texans being finally destroyed. This was the most remarkable battle of the war, and the most important in its results. Santa Anna's army numbered more than 1,500 men, and was composed of veterans who had grown gray in the

*This was several years prior to any advances being made by Texas toward the United States government.

†Yoakum's History of Texas.

*History of the Texan Revolution, p. 167.

numerous wars of Mexico. Gen. Houston, who commanded the Texans, had 700 infantry and sixty-one cavalry. But, nothing daunted, "the gallant Texans charged the enemy's lines until within a few yards, when they delivered their fire with dreadful effect, shouted their war-cry, 'Remember the Alamo,' and rushed upon the foe with the bayonet—and the contest was decided."*

The battle was disastrous to the Mexicans, and the destruction of their army was complete. More than 600 were killed in the fight, 280 wounded and 730 captured. Gens. Cos and Almonte were among the prisoners, as well as Santa Anna, who was taken the next day after the battle. A treaty was now effected between the two countries, and Santa Anna, as president of Mexico, signed it on the 14th of May, acknowledging "the full, entire and perfect independence of Texas." By this treaty, the boundaries of the new republic were defined as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Rio Grande; thence up the principal stream of the said river to its source; thence due north to the forty-second degree of north latitude; thence along the boundary line as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain (February, 1819) to the beginning."†

It was agreed on the part of the Texans that the lives of their prisoners should be spared, and that Santa Anna should be sent to Vera Cruz, and thence to the United States. He arrived in the latter country in December, 1836, and visited the president at Washington. He returned to Mexico in 1837, and retired in solitude to his hacienda of Magno de Clava.

In violation of every principle of honor, the republic of Mexico disregarded the treaty with Texas, and, as before, continued to treat the Texans as rebels. It was contended that the treaty had been made by Santa Anna while under constraint, and was, therefore, of no effect until ratified by the government of Mexico. Taking advantages of the existing dificulties, Bustamente, who had been banished from Mexico, now returned and placed himself at the head of affairs. Having seized upon the presidency, he repudiated the Texan treaty and recommenced the war. It was continued in predatory incursions on both sides until Texas became one of the United States, and thus engaged the attention of Mexico at home.

*Texan Revolution, p. 169.

†These boundaries constituted one of the grounds of claim against Mexico, on the part of the United States, in the subsequent troubles between those powers.

Texas, at a very early period of her struggle, expressed a desire to be admitted as a State into the American Union. She had applied for admission into the Mexican confederation in 1833, and on August 4, 1837, made a formal proposition to the United States. Most of the early citizens were from the States, and had imbibed the principles of liberty in their broadest sense; so it is but natural that they should desire to remain politically and socially connected with the land of their birth. They had battled, apparently, not so much for absolute independence, as for emancipation from Mexican tyranny, and, in order to secure this object, they had laid less stress on national sovereignty, than upon a state of dependence, which would insure them safety. Of a government of rigid laws and stern police regulations, they knew nothing, but they were shrewd, active, alert and rich in animal life and energy. Among the denizens of the forest they were irresistible, but to meet in organized convention to form laws for a new nation, were labors utterly above their abilities. With some few allowances for manner of life they could accommodate themselves to almost any old government, but to originate a new one, or to execute it after its origination, was the point at which they failed. This disposition in a people whom past adversities or future hopes had impelled to this new region in pursuit of fortune or adventure, seems a little strange. Most nations, however small, glory in their independence of foreign control, especially if that independence has been achieved by their own efforts. But the burden of self-government, it was thought by the Texans, was too great for a young and irregularly settled country.* The proposition of Texas to become a member of

*Frost's History of the Mexican War.

the American Union was declined by President Van Buren, on the ground that it would be "an act of injustice to a sister republic." He declared that so long as we were bound by a treaty of amity and commerce with Mexico, to annex Texas would necessarily involve the question of war, and that a disposition to espouse the quarrel with Mexico was at variance with the spirit of the treaty, and with the policy and welfare of the United States.* The application was not pressed at that time, and Texas still remained exposed to the guerrilla warfare carried on by Mexico. But negotiations were continued with the United States, and with England and France, for loans and troops, the object of which was to force from Mexico an acknowledgement of Texan independence.

This unsettled state of affairs—a partial war at one time, and a series of negotiations at another—continued to exist in Texas until the accession of Mr. Tyler to the presidency revived the plan of annexation. The question, though very cautiously handled by the politicians of that day, was a growing one, and did not fail to impress its importance upon a number of leading men, among whom was the president himself. Mr. Tyler had begun his administration with the settled intention of making Texas a part of the United States as soon as circumstances would permit. During the first two years of his term, however, his time was too much taken up with the tariff question, and other important subjects causing acrimonious discussion, to allow him to force the issues of the Texan question. Circumstances continued unfavorable, and Mr. Webster, the secretary of state, was opposed to the policy. In 1842, Texas, having once more applied for admission, the danger became imminent lest, disgusted with her treatment, she might never again propose terms for annexation. From this time it became the leading question in the mind of the president, resulting in the withdrawal of Mr. Webster, in May, 1843, from the cabinet, though on every other question he agreed with the executive.† The position of Mr. Tyler, at this time, attracted the notice of both the great political parties, and drew out the opinions of leading men and the criticisms of the press. As his official term approached its close, it became more and more evident that annexation would be one of the rallying points on which, during the national election, the opposing masses would test their strength. Mr. Upshur, who had succeeded Mr. Webster as secretary of State, was killed on February 28, 1844, by an explosion on board the steamer "Princeton," and the president appointed John C. Calhoun, with whom the annexation of Texas was a favorite project, to succeed him. Together, the president and his secretary labored assiduously to accomplish annexation.

Mexico, in the meantime, had aroused herself to action. Fearful of losing so large a portion of her ancient territory, she awoke to the necessity of protecting her interests and of defending her honor, though it should be at the expense of war. On August 23, 1843, Mr. Bocanegra, the Mexican minister of foreign relations, addressed a note* to Waddy Thompson, our minister to Mexico, from which the following is taken: "If a party in Texas is now endeavoring to effect its incorporation with the United States, it is from a consciousness of their notorious incapability to form and constitute an independent nation without their having changed their situation, or acquired any right to separate themselves from their mother country. His excellency, the provisional president, resting on this deep conviction, is obliged to prevent an agression, unprecedented in the annals of the world, from being consummated, and if it be indispensable for the Mexican nation to seek security for its rights at the expense of the disasters of war, it will call upon God, and rely on its own efforts for the defense of its just cause." As if to prevent any misunderstanding of the meaning of Mexico, Gen. Almonte, Mexican minister at Washington, wrote to the secretary of state, under date of November 3d as follows: "But if, contrary to the hopes and wishes entertained by the government of the undersigned for the

*State Papers.
†American History, Vol. VIII, p. 380.

*State Papers.

preservation of the good understanding and harmony which should reign between the two neighboring and friendly republics, the United States should, in defiance of good faith, and the principles of justice which they have constantly proclaimed, commit the unheard-of act of violence of appropriating to themselves an integrant part of the Mexican territory, the undersigned, in the name of his nation, and now for them, protests in the most solemn manner against such an aggression; and he moreover declares, by express order of his government, that on sanction being given by the executive of the Union to the incorporation of Texas into the United States, he will consider his mission ended, seeing that, as the secretary of state will have learned, the Mexican government is resolved to declare war as soon as it receives intimation of such act."

Thus it will be seen that the United States did not enter blindly into negotiations with Texas, nor in ignorance of what the result of annexation would be. Long prior to the admission of Texas, she had been officially informed by the Mexican government that war must inevitably follow such act. Unheeding the solemn protest of Mexico, negotiations were continued and even pressed to an experimental test. Gen. Almonte's letter of remonstrance had been written to the secretary of state in November, 1843. On April 22, 1844, President Tyler submitted to the senate a "treaty of annexation," accompanied by an elaborate message. It was the signal for a violent explosion against the administration, and the result was, after a bitter debate, the rejection of the treaty by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen.* The question was thus left open for discussion, and was one of the leading issues, as predicted, before the people in the presidential contest of 1844. "Polk, Dallas and Texas" was the battle-cry of the Democrats, and their candidates, Polk and Dallas, being elected by a large majority, this was taken as a public declaration on the subject. President Tyler now directed all his efforts to effect another treaty before the close of his official term, and so successfully, that, on March 1, 1845, congress passed the joint resolution annexing Texas to the United States. On the same day the president affixed his official signature to the document, and on the 4th of July following, the treaty was ratified by the Texan government. Thus the signal was given for one of the most unjust and unnecessary wars of modern times—a war that proved but the prelude of another far more dreadful. Had the war with Mexico been avoided, as it well might have been, by a refusal to recognize the "Lone Star" republic, and receive it as a State into the American Union, it is possible that the civil war, which followed a decade and a half later, might not have occurred. Thus one event leads to another, and

> One woe doth tread upon another's heel,
> So fast they follow.

Time has healed the breach made by this national robbery, and years of peace have softened the angry feelings then aroused. The annexation of Texas precipitated the war between Mexico and the United States, but there were more important questions involved, which the unjust act developed. An eminent American statesman has said that, "the commencement of the Mexican war was the opening of a new volume of American history." This is quite true. The contest with Mexico is merely the preface to that volume—the production of the civil war of 1861–65. To protect slavery, and to extend the baleful institution, was the ruling idea with the great majority of those in the United States, and particularly in the South, who favored annexation, and may thus be considered the direct cause of the Mexican war, and which culminated finally in the war between the States. The Whig party in politics opposed annexation on the ground that the acquisition of new territory would but result in the extension of slavery. One of the great exponents of the party thus expressed its general sentiment* on the subject:

> If further acquisition of territory is to be the result either of conquest or treaty, then I scarcely know which should be preferred, eternal war with

*Public Documents of 1844.

* Thomas Corwin in a speech in the United States senate opposing the Mexican war.

Mexico, or the hazards of internal commotion at home, which last, I fear, may come if another province is to be added to our territory. There is one topic connected with this subject which I tremble when I approach, and yet I cannot forbear to mention it. It meets you in every step you take. It threatens you which way soever you go in the prosecution of this war. I allude to the question of slavery. Opposition to its further extension, it must be obvious to every one, is a deeply rooted determination with men of all parties in what we call the non-slaveholding States. New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, three of the most powerful, have already sent their legislative instructions here—so it will be, I doubt not, in all the rest. It is vain now to speculate about the reason of all this. Gentlemen of the South may call it prejudice, passion, hypocrisy, fanaticism. I shall not dispute with them now on that point. The great fact that it is so, and not otherwise, is what it concerns us to know. You nor I cannot change this opinion if we would. These people only say, we will not, cannot consent that you shall carry slavery where it does not already exist. They do not seek to disturb you in that institution, as it exists in your States. Enjoy it if you will and as you will. This is their language, this their determination. How is it in the South? Can it be expected that they will expend in common their blood and their treasure, in the acquisition of immense territory, and then willingly forego the right to carry thither their slaves, and inhabit the conquered country if they please to do so? Nay, I believe they would contend to any extremity for the mere right, had they no wish to exert it. I believe, and I confess I tremble when the conviction presses upon me, that there is equal obstinacy on both sides of this fearful question. If, then, we persist in war, which, if it terminate in anything short of a mere wanton waste of blood as well as money, must end (as this bill proposes) in the acqisition of territory, to which at once this controversy much attach—this bill would seem to be nothing less than a bill to produce internal commotion. Should we prosecute this war another moment, or expend $1 in the purchase of a single acre of Mexican land, the North and the South are brought into collision on a point where neither will yield. Who can foresee or foretell the result?

This was the position, these the sentiments, of one of Ohio's greatest statesmen, and like views were entertained by a majority of his people and his party. Henry Clay, the great "commoner," took the same ground, as did Daniel Webster and most of the leading Whigs of the country. They opposed the extension of slavery as a national evil, and to avert such evil, they opposed the annexation of Texas. Had slavery not become aggressive for territorial expansion, it would doubtless have taken a long time for the slow process of political policy to have accomplished its final extinction.

Upon the passage of the joint act admitting Texas into the sisterhood of States, Mexico immediately broke off all diplomatic intercourse with the American government, called home her minister, and began preparations for war. War soon followed. The army of occupation, under Gen. Zachary Taylor, was ordered to Corpus Christi, in July, and during the winter following, it was ordered to a point opposite Matamoras, to take possession of the territory in dispute.* * * * The Mexicans occupied the territory at the time, with a military force stationed at Brazos Santiago, which, on the approach of Gen. Taylor to Point Isabel, withdrew west of the Rio Grande. * * * On the 28th of March, 1846, Taylor, with about 4,000 men, took possession on the left bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, and within cannon shot of that place. April 24th, Gen. Arista arrived in Matamoras and assumed command of the Mexican forces. On the same day Gen. Taylor, having learned that a large body of Mexicans had crossed the river twenty miles above, dispatched Capts. Thornton and Hardee with sixty men to reconnoiter their movements. They fell in with what they supposed was a scouting party, but which proved to be the advance guard of a strong force of the enemy posted in the chaparral. The Americans charged and pursued the guard across the clearing, and in an instant their forces were surrounded by the main body of Mexicans, who fired upon them, killing sixteen and taking the remainder prisoners.†

Although it had been more than a year since the passage of the act of annexation, this slight skirmish may be regarded as the commencement of hostilities between Mexico and the United States. The report of the capture of Thornton and Hardee did not reach Washington until the 9th of May, one

*The Texans claimed the whole country east of the Rio Grande. Mr. Slidell was appointed an envoy by the United States and sent to the Mexican government to settle all questions of boundary between the two countries, but his mission was unsuccessful.

†Stuve's sketch of the Mexican war in History of Illinois.

day after the opening battle of Palo Alto. As the news spread over the country it created the most intense excitement. Public meetings were held, and the indignation of the people gave vent to warlike speeches and resolutions. Governors tendered the services of their militia to the president, and issued proclamations to their people to organize and enroll themselves in readiness for emergencies. The excitement was at fever heat. The president sent in a special message to congress, and two days later that body passed an act authorizing him to accept the services of 50,000 volunteers, and appropriating $10,000,000 to carry on the war. Military organizations began now in earnest. But while these scenes were transpiring in the United States, more thrilling ones were being enacted in Mexico. The battle of Palo Alto, the first actual battle of the war, occurred on the 8th of May, 1846, followed on the next day by the battle of Resaca de la Palma, in both of which the Americans, though confronted by largely superior numbers, were victorious.

A call for volunteers soon followed, and in the apportionment of troops among the States, the South and West came in for the largest quotas. The patriotism of Kentucky blazed out from one end of the commonwealth to the other. The governor, anticipating the call, issued his proclamation for volunteers, and more than 13,000 responded. Under the first requisition for troops, the State was required to furnish 2,400 men—two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. Notwithstanding the ascendancy of the Whig party in Kentucky, and the general opposition of that party to the war, 10,000 more volunteers reported for duty than could be accepted. The quota was filled, and the surplus companies were disbanded and furnished transportation to their homes at the expense of the State.

The Louisville Legion, a military organization now nearly half a century old, were among the first troops to tender their services to the governor. Composed of the flower of Louisville manhood, the Legion, ten companies strong, commanded by Col. Ormsby, was accepted by the State, and became the First Kentucky Infantry. It was mustered into the United States service, and at once embarked for the seat of war.

The history of the Louisville Legion dates back to 1837. In that year a company was organized, called the "Louisville Guards," Thomas Anderson, captain, and Charles Tilden and John Barbee, lieutenants. The "Washington Blues," under Capt. W. L. Ball; the "Kentucky Riflemen," under Capt. Thomas J. Martin, and the "Louisville Grays," under Capt. J. Birney Marshall, were organized in 1838 and 1839. These four companies, in 1840, were formed into a battalion under the charter of the "Louisville Legion," with Thomas Anderson, colonel; Jason Rogers, lieutenant-colonel; Humphrey Marshall, major, and John Barbee, adjutant.

In 1846, after war had been declared against Mexico, the strength of the Louisville Legion was increased to nine companies of infantry and one of artillery, thus forming a full regiment. Upon the offer of their services to the governor, they were accepted, and in four days were on the way to Mexico. They were mustered into service on the 17th of May, 1846, with the following regimental officers: Stephen Ormsby, colonel; Jason Rogers, lieutenant-colonel; John B. Shepherd, major; William Riddel, adjutant, and T. L. Caldwell and J. J. Matthews, surgeons. The company commanders were: First Company—C. H. Harper, captain; Second Company —— Sanders, captain; Third Company —E. B. Howe, captain; Fourth Company—F. Kern, captain; Fifth Company — Godfrey Pope, captain; Sixth Company—John Fuller, captain; Seventh Company—Conrad Schrœder, captain; Eighth Company—F. F. C. Triplett, captain; Ninth Company—W. L. Ball, captain; Tenth Company — C. W. Bullen, captain.

After the close of the war, the Legion, as an organization, became somewhat lukewarm, if it did not wholly disband, and at the outbreak of the civil war, many of the surviving members entered into the service, some into the Federal and some into the Confederate

army. During the labor troubles of 1877, when it became evident to the people, throughout the country, that effective State organization was necessary at times to preserve the civil authorities, the Louisville Legion was reorganized and put on an effective footing. The Mexican veterans of the old Legion turned over their charter to the new organization, and since then its history is familiar to the people of the city and the State. The two regiments additional to the Legion, embraced in the first call for troops, were officered as follows: Second Infantry—William R. McKee, of Lexington, colonel; Henry Clay, Jr., of Louisville, lieutenant-colonel; Cary H. Fry, of Danville, major; First Company—William H. Maxey, of Green County, captain; Second Company—Franklin Chambers, of Franklin County, captain; Third Company—Phil B. Thompson, of Mercer County, captain; Fourth Company — Speed Smith Fry, of Boyle County, captain; Fifth Company—George W. Cutter, of Kenton County, captain; Sixth Company—William T. Willis, of Jessamine County, captain; Seventh Company—William Dougherty, of Lincoln County, captain; Eighth Company—William M. Joiner, of Kenton County, captain; Ninth Company—Wilkerson Turpin, of Montgomery County, captain; Tenth Company—George W. Kavanaugh, of Anderson County, captain.

First Cavalry—Humphrey Marshall, of Louisville, colonel; E. H. Field, of Woodford County, lieutenant-colonel; John P. Gaines, of Boone County, major; and E. M. Vaughn, of Fayette County, adjutant. First Company—William J. Heady, of Jefferson County, captain; Second Company—A. Pennington, of Jefferson County, captain; Third Company—Cassius M. Clay, of Fayette County, captain; Fourth Company—Thomas F. Marshall, of Woodford County, captain; Fifth Company—J. C. Stone, of Madison County, captain; Sixth Company—J. Price, of Garrard County, captain; Seventh Company—G. L. Postlethwaite, of Fayette County, captain; Eighth Company—J. S. Lillard, of Gallatin County, captain; Ninth Company—John Shawhan, of Harrison County, captain; Tenth Company—B. C. Milam, of Franklin County, captain.

A company had been recruited by John S. Williams, in Clark County, but, through some misunderstanding between the governor of Kentucky and the United States secretary of war, it had been excluded from regimental organization. Capt. Williams applied at once to the war department to have it mustered into service as an independent company. While this application was pending, Capt. Williams marched them to the rendezvous at Louisville, and uniformed them, and where an order was soon received by Gen. Wool to muster it in. It was accordingly mustered into the service of the United States, and ordered to report to the colonel of the Sixth United States Regular Infantry, then *en route* for Mexico. It served with this regiment until its term (one year) expired, and participated in the battle of Cerro Gordo, where it received the highest praise for its bravery. Capt. Williams was soon after appointed colonel of the Fourth Kentucky Infantry, a regiment organized under the second call for troops.

On the 31st of August, 1847, a second requisition was made on Kentucky for troops, and two regiments asked for. They were organized and ready for service by the 20th of September, and were numbered and officered as follows: Third Infantry—Manlius V. Thomson, of Georgetown, colonel; Thomas L. Crittenden, of Frankfort, lieutenant-colonel; John C. Breckinridge, of Lexington, major; ——— Bradly, adjutant. First Company—A. T. Caldwell, of Laurel County, captain; Second Company—W. P. Childs, of Estill County, captain; Third Company—Thomas Todd, of Shelby County, captain; Fourth Company—William E. Simms, of Bourbon County, captain; Fifth Company—John R. Smith, of Scott County, captain; Sixth Company—James Ewing, of Bath County, captain; Seventh Company—Leander M. Cox, of Fleming County, captain;*Eighth Company—Leonidas Metcalfe, of Nicholas County, captain; Ninth Company—J. A. Pritchard, of

*It is reported of Capt. Cox's company, that twenty-five of his men were over six feet high.

Boone County, captain; Tenth Company—L. B. Robinson, of Fayette County, captain.

Fourth Infantry—John S. Williams, of Winchester, colonel; William Preston, of Louisville, lieutenant-colonel; William T. Ward, of Greensburg, major; William E. Woodruff, of Louisville, adjutant. First Company—J. S. Corum, of Caldwell County, captain; Second Company—G. B. Cook, of Livingston County, captain; Third Company—D. McCreery, of Daviess County, captain; Fourth Company—P. H. Gardner, of Hart County, captain; Fifth Company—T. Keating, of Jefferson County, captain; Sixth Company—John C. Squires, of Adair County, captain; Seventh Company—John G. Lair, of Pulaski County, captain; Eighth Company—M. R. Hardin, of Washington County, captain; Ninth Company—B. Rowan Hardin, of Nelson County, captain; Tenth Company—A. W. Bartlett, of Henry County, captain.

Twelve other full companies reported, one from each of the following counties: Mason, Montgomery, Fayette, Madison, Bullitt, Campbell, Hardin, Harrison and Franklin, and three from Louisville, besides several fragmentary companies that were never completed, the filling of the quota rendering further recruiting unnecessary. Prior to the second call being made, four companies for the war were enlisted in Kentucky, and March 1, 1847, mustered into the regular army of the United States.

Gen. Zachary Taylor, commander-in-chief of the army in Mexico, at the commencement of the war, is claimed as a Kentuckian, though really born in Virginia. His father removed to Kentucky, in 1785, when Zachary was but nine months old, and settled in the present county of Jefferson. Born at the close of the revolution, young Taylor grew to manhood amid the Indian wars, which raged for years upon the frontiers, and were particularly severe in Kentucky. As he grew up he developed a fondness for arms, and at the age of twenty-three was commissioned a lieutenant in the United States army. From this subordinate position he rose by regular gradation to the rank of major-general, and second in command in the regular army. He was no "carpet knight," but his promotions were all won by hard service in the field. He was one of the foremost soldiers of the age, and his biographer does him but justice when he says: "No man but Gen. Taylor could have won the victory of Buena Vista." Shortly after Gen. Scott was ordered by the government at Washington to Mexico, to take command of the army, Gen. Taylor resigned and returned to the United States. He was elected president in 1848, by the Whig party, over Gen. Lewis Cass, but died in July, 1850, a little more than a year after his inauguration. He lies buried near Louisville, where recently a handsome monument has been placed at his grave, to mark the spot where the old hero sleeps.

William O. Butler was commissioned a major-general by President Polk, June 29, 1846, for service in the Mexican war. He was born in Jessamine County, Ky., in 1791, and was educated in Transylvania University. He entered the army before he was twenty-one years old, and served in the war of 1812. He was at the battle of the river Raisin, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Subsequently he was with Gen. Jackson in the battle of New Orleans, and for his gallantry received the commendation of his commanding general. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in Carroll County, Ky. In 1844 he was the Democratic candidate for governor, but was defeated. He served with distinction in the Mexican war and was severely wounded at the siege of Monterey. When the troubles arose between Gen. Scott and his officers, after the capture of the city of Mexico, Gen. Butler was promoted to the chief command of the army, which position he retained until the conclusion of peace. He was a candidate for vice-president of the United States in 1848, on the ticket with Gen. Cass, but they were defeated by Taylor and Fillmore. He was one of the six commissioners from Kentucky, in 1861, to the "Peace Conference" at Washington. He died at his home, in Carroll County, a few years ago.

Of the field and staff officers of the Kentucky regiments many of them attained to

the highest distinction, civil and military. They were the very flower of Kentucky chivalry, and those still surviving bore a prominent part (most of them) in the late civil war, both in the Federal and Confederate armies.

Humphrey Marshall was a member of one of the most noted families of Kentucky. He was a lawyer, statesman and soldier, and in each profession he was pre-eminently great. He served in the United States congress, and was a major-general in the Confederate army. William R. McKee and Henry Clay, Jr., the latter the favorite son of the "sage of Ashland," were killed in the battle of Buena Vista. M. V. Thomson was lieutenant-governor of the State under Gov. Letcher, from 1840 to 1844. Thomas L. Crittenden is a son of the Hon. John J. Crittenden—Kentucky's distinguished senator—was a major-general in the Federal army, and is now an officer in the United States army. John C. Breckinridge was vice-president of the United States under James Buchanan, was a candidate for the presidency in 1860, was a major-general in the Confederate army, and later, secretary of war in the Confederate cabinet, and after the close of the war was elected to the senate of the United States. John S. Williams was a major-general in the Confederate army and has since served with distinction in the United States senate—his services terminating March 4, 1885. William Preston has been a member of congress, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1849, minister to Spain under President Buchanan, and was a major-general in the Confederate army. Stephen Ormsby was one of the most prominent and public-spirited men of Jefferson County, but was neither statesman nor politician. He loved the Louisville Legion as his children, and his affection was fully returned by them. William E. Woodruff is a lawyer, still resides in Louisville, was colonel of the Second Kentucky (Federal) Infantry, and was promoted to brigadier-general. He and Gen. Preston, Senator Williams and Gen. Crittenden, are all of the list (the field and staff) known to be now living.

It is impossible to follow the Kentucky troops all through their service in Mexico. The record of both officers and men was such as to cast no reflection upon the high standard of excellence attained by the soldiers of the commonwealth in the early Indian wars and the war of 1812. There were but few battles or even skirmishes of any importance, in the early part of the war, in which Kentucky troops did not participate, but by far their largest representation was in the battle of Buena Vista. Their decimated ranks were an eloquent but mournful tribute to the part they bore in that terrible and unequal struggle.

The Kentucky volunteers, except the Legion, which had already left for the front, rendezvoused at Louisville, and on the 9th of June, 1846, were mustered into the United States service by Col. George Croghan. On the 4th of July following they embarked for Memphis, and from there proceeded overland to Little Rock, thence through Texas to Camargo, on the Rio Grande, where they crossed into Mexico. They did not reach the scene of active operations until several months after the battle of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and the fall of Matamoras.

The first fighting in which any of the Kentucky troops were engaged was at the siege of Monterey, in September (1846), and but few of them, except the Louisville Legion, were engaged there. The Legion was posted to guard a battery, and for twenty-four hours maintained its position, holding the enemy in check without being able to return their fire, and exhibiting the courage of tried veterans. For the part they took in the protracted fighting around this stronghold of the enemy, the Kentucky legislature passed resolutions complimentary to them, and voted thanks to Gens. Taylor and Butler, and a sword to each of these officers. Maj. Philip N. Barbour of the Third United States Regular Infantry, a gallant Kentuckian, was killed during the siege, thus marring the joy of his victorious comrades in arms. He was a brave officer, and the legislature, on the 23d of February, 1847, ordered his remains brought home, and interred in the State cemetery at Frankfort.

Maj. Gaines and Capt. Clay, of the First Kentucky Cavalry, with thirty men, were surprised on the 22d of January (1847) by a large force of the enemy at Encarnacion, and captured. Five days later Capt. Heady and Lieut. Churchill, of the same regiment, with seventeen men, were captured. The prisoners were marched off to the City of Mexico, where most of them remained in captivity until their comrades had served out their term of enlistment and returned home. About a month after his capture, Maj. Gaines withdrew his parole as a prisoner of war, and succeeded finally in making his escape to the American Army. He gained the lines in time to take a gallant part in the battles of Churubusco, Chapultepec, and in the fighting around the walls of the Mexican capital.

After the fall of Monterey, the next important military operations were at Buena Vista. On the 12th of November (1846) Gen. Worth was ordered from Monterey to Saltillo with two regiments of infantry, a company of volunteers, eight companies of artillery and a field battery. About the 17th of December, Gen. Taylor received a dispatch from Worth, stating that Santa Anna threatened an attack upon Saltillo. Gens. Butler and Wool were ordered to re-enforce Worth, and Gen. Taylor set out a few days later himself for the same point. Saltillo is the capital of the State of Coahuila and an important place, and, once in possession of the Americans, it was highly necessary to hold it. Gen. Taylor had proceeded but a short distance on his march, when he was met by a messenger from Worth announcing that the rumored attack of Santa Anna was unfounded. Deeming his presence there now unnecessary, Taylor returned to Monterey, but soon after, accompanied by Gen. Twiggs' division, moved toward Victoria, where he arrived on the 4th of January.*

It was about this time that Gen. Taylor received a demand from Gen. Scott for a part of his troops to aid him in his operations against Vera Cruz. He immediately returned to Monterey to comply with the request of Gen. Scott, though to do so deprived him of nearly all his regulars, and the volunteer divisions of Worth and Twiggs, and the brigades of Quitman and Patterson. In the latter part of January, Taylor received information from Gen. Wool, encamped in the neighborhood of Saltillo, that rumors were again prevalent of an attack on that place by Santa Anna. Leaving 1,500 men at Monterey, Gen. Taylor, on the 31st of January, marched for Saltillo, determined, if practicable with his small force, to anticipate the attack of Santa Anna. He reached the strong mountain pass of La Angostura, three miles from Buena Vista, and after a short halt proceeded to the camp of Gen. Wool, now at Saltillo. Upon concentrating the troops, Gen. Taylor found he had an effective force of less than 5,000—all volunteers, except about 500. This handful of comparatively raw troops was confronted by Santa Anna with an army of 20,000 veterans. Frost thus describes the field of Buena Vista:

Buena Vista is a small village or rancho, situated five miles southwest of Saltillo, on the road between that place and San Luis Potosi. The American and supply train were here stationed during the whole battle, and upon the small force left to guard it, a portion of the Mexican cavalry from their right wing charged late on the 23d. On each side of the San Luis Potosi road, precipitous mountains rose to a great height, thus forming a narrow valley very difficult for the movements of a large cavalry force. On the west side of the road, and extending to the foot of the mountains, was a labyrinth of deep and impassable gullies, which rendered all traveling on that part of the valley impossible. Three miles below Buena Vista these gullies approached so near the base of the eastern ridge of the mountains, as to narrow the valley to the width of the road, from which it received the name of the pass La Angostura, or the narrows. A small force placed at this spot would be utterly inaccessible from the west, almost equally so from the mountains of the east, and could hold the road against a direct attack from a vastly superior foe. In this strong defile was placed Washington's battery of three guns, supported by two companies of the First Illinois Volunteers. West of this pass the right wing of the American army was drawn up on the sides of the mountains, their eastern extremity stretching toward the pass. On a broad plateau or table-land formed by extensions of the eastern mountain chain was the left of the army, their east flank covered by cliffs, and their west by Washington's battery. On the extreme east, among the high mountains, were situated, on the evening of the 22d, the

*Frost's Mexican War, p. 341.

American light troops, with whom and the Mexican light infantry the skirmish of that day took place.

Two months before the battle of Buena Vista, Gen. Wool, on a trip to Saltillo, pointed out this defile as the spot of all others for a small army to fight a large one. It was upon his suggestion that Gen. Taylor, on the 21st of February, fell back to the cliffs and gorges of Buena Vista, there to measure strength with the greatest general of Mexico. Gen. Taylor had an able and efficient second in Gen. Wool. In his report of the battle, he thus recognized the ability of Wool as a commander and his valor as a soldier: "The high state of discipline and instruction of several of the volunteer regiments was attained under his command, and to his vigilance and arduous services before the action, and his gallantry and activity on the field, a large share of our success may justly be attributed." He intrusted the immediate command of the American army to Wool, who planned the action, and stationed the troops in their respective positions, which was somewhat as follows: On a plateau, directly east of Washington's battery, were six companies of Col. Hardin's First Illinois Regiment, flanked on the left by the Second Kentucky Infantry under Col. McKee, and the Second Illinois Infantry, covering Sherman's battery. East of these troops, on another plateau, was the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry. North of these, on the broad table-land, Col. Davis' Mississippi riflemen were drawn up in battle array, with artillery in the center and on each flank. On the afternoon of the 22d, the enemy attacked the American light troops, stationed on the left, with considerable spirit. Gen. Wool immediately sent information to Gen. Taylor, who was at Saltillo, and ordered the troops stationed in the village of Buena Vista to be brought forward.*

Soon after the arrival of Gen. Taylor upon the field he received a summons from Santa Anna to surrender. The following is the note of the Mexican commander: "You are surrounded by 20,000 men and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout and being cut to pieces with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice, in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character, to which end you will be granted one hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment when my flag of truce arrives in your camp. With this view, I assure you of my consideration." To this imperious summons Gen. Taylor responded: "In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request." *

The American commander now expected that an attack upon him would immediately begin, and preparations were made to meet it. Changes were ordered in the positions occupied by the Kentucky and Illinois troops, so as to secure the plateau east of Washington's battery, which commanded the road to Saltillo, the key to the position of the American army. Contrary to the general expectation, however, no attack was made beyond light skirmishing, and about sunset Gen. Taylor, with Col. Davis' regiment of Mississippi riflemen and a squadron of dragoons, returned to Saltillo, leaving Gen. Wool in command.

The heaviest fighting on the 22d occurred on the American left, where were stationed the First Kentucky Cavalry, under Col. Marshall, the Arkansas Cavalry, under Col. Yell, and a battalion of Indiana riflemen, all under the immediate command of Col. Marshall. Santa Anna early in the afternoon of the 22d pushed forward a large force of infantry against these troops, while at the same time he made a feint upon the American right. Gen. Wool in his official report thus describes the engagement that ensued: "At 2 o'clock, as the enemy's light infantry were moving up the side of the mountain, and in the ravines, they opened fire on our riflemen from a large howitzer posted on the road, and between 3 and 4 o'clock Col. Marshall engaged

*Mansfield's History Mexican War.

*Gen. Taylor's Report.

the Mexican infantry on the side of the mountain, and the firing continued on both sides at intervals until dark. In this our troops sustained no loss, while that of the enemy is known, by subsequent inspection of the ground, to be considerable." This skirmish closed the battle of February 22. To the greater part of the Americans it was their first experience in actual war. Although the night was cold, they slept on their arms, ready for a renewal of the fight in the morning. Without fires, they bivouacked on the bleak rocks, around which rose tall cliffs almost shutting out the twinkling of the stars. A highly descriptive writer speaks of their situation in the following terms: "Thick darkness gathered around the little army, the air seemed clothed with vapors, and a silence, that pained the ear more than the jarring of cannon, hung around. Now and then a solitary vulture moved heavily through the gloom, making the stillness more awful by his foreboding scream. Many a young soldier, whose heart beat high with the longings of ambition, looked up fearfully that night through the frowning shade, and turned away to dream of home and sleep his last sleep."

Few great battles have been won under more unfavorable circumstances than that of Buena Vista. Gen. Taylor's army had been reduced to a few thousand raw troops, and a few hundred regulars, by the requisition made upon him by Gen. Scott. Deprived of the veterans who had stood by him at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and at Monterey, he pondered anxiously the chances against him. Says an eloquent writer* on the subject: "Santa Anna, whom he was to meet for the first time, had a world-wide fame for courage and for strategy; he was supported by Ampudia, who had already proved himself determined and crafty; by Arista, who with his magnetic physique and strong personal influence, cemented many conflicting elements in the Mexican army; by Lombardini, his second in command, whom he greatly trusted; by Pacheco and Perez; by Mora y Villamil, whose scornful dispatch to Gen. Taylor some weeks earlier stung the old soldier into an indignant reply; by Ortega, whose division was to be held like a whip with which Santa Anna would scourge the defeated Americans from the soil of Mexico; and Minon, whose cavalry should drive the fugitives back to the lash of Ortega. He had, too, Torrejon, with his brilliant lancers, the pride of the Mexican forces. It was, indeed, a fine army, officers and men treading their own soil, inspired by sentiments of patriotism and religion, while their confidence in the skill and courage of their leader, Santa Anna, gave stability to their enthusiasm. The little army awaiting them may be viewed at a glance:—the commander-in-chief, resolute to obstinacy, careless of life in the heat of action, both for himself and for his soldiers, yet tender-hearted and self-sacrificing; liable to make mistakes, yet cool, ready and invincible in his ability to escape from their effects. Wool, his second in command, an experienced soldier, brave, ambitious and sanguine; Lane, an untried brigadier-general of volunteers; besides these a few colonels, captains and lieutenants. As events proved, each of these minor officers became in turn a commander, and few generals of the line could have excelled them in bravery, skill and discretion. Capts. Bragg and Sherman, and Lieut. O'Brien, with their batteries, seemed ubiquitous during the whole contest, while Washington, with his few guns, held the left wing of the Mexican army in check from the beginning to the end of the battle. Col. May's name became a synonym for dashing bravery; Gen. Lane, wounded, but still fighting, led his heroic Indiana men on; Col. Davis displayed ability that was considered an evidence of military genius; McKee and Clay, in one of the Kentucky regiments, were graduates of West Point, and fulfilled the expectations that their training inspired; Cols. Marshall and Yell led their mounted men with great gallantry. Yell had left his seat in congress for the dangers of the field. Bissell, a former member of congress, was a man of fine attainments and excellent judgment; Hardin had stimulated the pride and interest with which Col. Churchill, inspector general, United States army, had regarded

*American History, Vol. III, p. 714.

the Illinois regiments. His name had been urged at Washington for brigadier-general of volunteers, but his political antecedents prevented such an appointment. He had seen service in the Black Hawk war, and for several years was general-in-chief of the Illinois militia at a time when it was not merely a nominal position." Such was the *personnel* of the opposing armies on the eve of the battle of Buena Vista.

The battle was continued on the morning of the 23d—where it had closed on the previous evening—in front of Col. Marshall's position. During the night a re-enforcement of about 1,500 of the enemy had been thrown forward, and at 2 o'clock in the morning, they drove in Marshall's pickets. At dawn of day the action began in earnest. Hard pressed by the immense masses of the enemy, the intrepid riflemen, animated by their commander, received them with coolness, and poured into them the contents of their unerring rifles, which heaped the hillside with piles of the slain. At an opportune moment Marshall was re-enforced by Maj. Trail, of the Second Illinois Volunteers, with a battalion from that regiment, and with this addition to his force he continued to hold the enemy in check. Covering themselves behind rocks and ridges of the mountain the troops were secure from artillery, and met every charge of the enemy with advantage. No part of the field was more sternly contested. More than 300 Mexican dead strewed the ground in front of Marshall's position, thus showing the deadly aim of his riflemen. From daybreak until 10 o'clock they fought, in the rugged passes of the mountains, often ten times their own force, never quailing before the superior numbers assailing them. When the Second Indiana Infantry gave way, Col. Marshall was compelled to fall back to prevent being cut off from the main army. In the encounter with Torrejon's lancers at the village of Buena Vista, he fought with the same courage and with less than 400 Kentuckians and Arkansians, defeated and routed 1,500 of the enemy.

At 9 o'clock Santa Anna formed his army in three columns of attack, to overwhelm Taylor and his little band of Spartans. The first column under Gen. Mora y Villamil, composed of a number of the finest regiments in the Mexican army, was ordered to move down the road and carry the Angostura Pass. A battery of eighteen guns was placed upon the eminence above to assist in this movement. The second column comprised Lombardini's and Pacheco's heavy infantry, ordered to advance in two divisions; Lombardini's over the base of the southern hill and around the head of the front ravine to gain the plateau, while Pacheco was to push up through the ravine, and unite with Lombardini, when they were to attack in force the left of the American center. The third column, Ampudia's light infantry, was sent to the support of the force already engaged on the mountain with the Kentucky, Illinois, Arkansas and Indiana troops. The reserves, under Ortega, remained in the rear on the road.*

From Frost's history of the Mexican war, one of the best on the subject extant, is taken the remainder of the sketch of this battle. Commencing with the struggle on the American left, it is described as follows:

The position of affairs was most critical, for if the Mexicans succeeded in forcing the American position the day was theirs. There being no artillery opposed to them but O'Brien's section and another piece, it was all important for him to maintain his ground until guns could come round the ravine to join him. He determined, therefore, to hold this position until the enemy reached the muzzles of his guns. The struggle was a terrible one. Each party put forth its utmost strength, and the feelings of the soldier were wound to a pitch of enthusiasm, that made him reckless of death itself. The enemy sunk down by scores, and a body of lancers charging the Illinois troops were compelled to fall back. Still the main body rushed on, shaking the mountain passes with the trampling of their armed thousands, and shouting above the uproar of battle. The wounded and dying were crushed in their furious charge, and soon their horses were within a few yards of O'Brien's pieces. Here they received the last discharge, and as the driving hail smote their columns, a groan of anguish followed, and horse and rider sank down and rolled over the rocky surface in the arms of death. It was a dreadful moment, and as the column swayed to and fro beneath the shock, and then sternly united for

*E. H. Walworth's sketch in American History, Vol. III, p. 726.

the headlong leap, companies that were mere spectators grew pale for the result. Although O'Brien was losing men and horses with alarming rapidity, he gave orders to again fire, when suddenly the few recruits who were fit for duty lost their presence of mind, and with all his efforts they could not be kept to the guns. After staying at his post to the last, he retired slowly and sullenly. He lost his pieces, but by his gallant stand he had kept the enemy in check long enough to save the day.

About the same time the Second Illinois Infantry, under Col. Bissell, having become completely out-flanked, were compelled to fall back. Col. Marshall's light troops, on the extreme left, came down from the mountainous position, and joined the American main army. Masses of cavalry and infantry were now pouring through the defiles on the American left, in order to gain the rear north of the large plateau. At this moment Gen. Taylor arrived upon the field from Satillo. As the Mexican infantry turned the American flank, they came in contact with Col. Davis' Mississippi riflemen, posted on a plateau, north of the principal one. The Second Kentucky Infantry, under Col. McKee, and a section of artillery, under Capt. Bragg, had previously been ordered to this position from the right, and arrived at a most important crisis. As the masses of the enemy emerged from the defiles, to the table-land above, they opened upon the riflemen, and the battle became deeply interesting. The lancers, meanwhile, were drawing up for a charge. The artillery on each side was in an incessant blaze, and one sheet of sparkling fire flashed from the small arms of both lines. Then the cavalry came dashing down in a dense column, their dress and arms glittering in the sun, seemingly in strange contrast with the work of death. All around was clamor and hurry, drowning the shouts of command, and groans of the dying. Davis gave the order to fire; a report from hundreds of rifles rang along his line, and mangled heaps of the enemy sank to the ground. Struck with dismay, the lacerated host heaved back, while, in mad confusion, horse trod down horse, crushing wounded and dying beneath their hoofs in the reckless rushing of retreat. The day was once more saved.

At the same time Col. McKee's Kentucky regiment, supported by Bragg's artillery, had driven back the enemy's infantry, and recovered a portion of the lost ground. The latter officer then moved his pieces to the main plateau, where, in company with Capt. Sherman, he did much execution, particularly upon the masses that were in the rear. Gen. Taylor placed all the regular cavalry and Capt. Pike's squadron of horse under the orders of Lieut.-Col, May, with directions to hold in check the enemy's column, still advancing to the rear along the base of the mountain. May posted himself north of the ravine, through which the enemy were moving toward Buena Vista, in order to charge them as they approached that place. The enemy, however, still continued to advance, until almost the whole American artillery were playing upon them. At length, unable to stand the fearful slaughter, their ranks fell into confusion, some of the corps attempting to effect a retreat upon their main line of battle. To prevent this, the general ordered the first dragoons, under Lieut. Rucker, to ascend the deep ravine, which these corps were endeavoring to cross, and disperse them. The squadron, however, were unable to accomplish their object, in consequence of a heavy fire from a battery covering the enemy's retreat.

Meanwhile, a large body of lancers assembled on the extreme left of the Americans, for the purpose of charging upon Buena Vista. To support that point, Gen. Taylor ordered forward May, with two pieces of Sherman's battery. The scattered force at the hacienda were collected by Majs. Monroe and Morrison, and uniting with some of the troops of the Indiana regiment they were posted to defend the position. Before May could reach the village, the enemy had begun the attack. They were gallantly opposed by the Kentucky and Arkansas cavalry, under Cols. Marshall and Yell. The shock was a heavy one. Col. Yell fell at the head of his column, and the Kentuckians lost Adjt. Vaughn, a young officer of much promise. The enemy's column was separated into two portions, one sweeping by the American depot under a destructive fire from the Indiana troops, until they gained the mountains opposite, the other portion regaining the base of the mountain to the west. Lieut.-Col. May now reached Buena Vista, and approaching the base of the mountain, held in check the enemy's right flank, upon whose masses, crowded in the narrow gorges, and ravines, the artillery was doing fearful execution. The position of that portion of the Mexican army which had gained the American rear, was now so critical as to induce the belief that it would be forced to surrender. At the moment, however, when the artillery was thinning its ranks and May, after much maneuvering, was about charging their flank, a white flag was observed approaching the American head-quarters, and Gen. Taylor ordered the firing to cease. The message was simply a demand from Santa Anna, requesting to know what the American general wanted. Gen. Wool was sent to have a personal interview with the Mexican general, but on reaching his lines was unable to stop his further advance, and returned to head-quarters. The object of the Mexicans had, however, been accomplished—their extreme right moving along the base of the mountains, and joining the main army.

The roar of artillery, which had lasted from before sunrise, now partially ceased on the principal field, the enemy apparently confining his efforts to the protection of his artillery. Gen. Taylor had just left the main depot, when he was unexpectedly recalled by a heavy fire of musketry. On regaining his position, a stirring scene was presented. The Illinois troops and the Second Kentucky Infantry, had been attacked in a rugged defile by an over-

whelming force of both cavalry and infantry, and were now struggling alone against fearful odds. Could the enemy succeed in defeating these troops, they might renew the main attack with great advantage, and perhaps gain the day. To prevent the catastrophe, Capt. Bragg, who had just arrived from the left, was immediately ordered into battery. Feeling how important was every moment, that brave officer abandoned some of his heaviest carriages, and pushed forward with those that could move most rapidly. Gaining a point from which they could be used, he placed them in battery, and loaded with canister. His position was one of imminent peril. The supporting infantry had been routed by the superior numbers hurled against it, the advanced artillery captured, and the enemy, flushed with victory, were throwing their masses toward him. He appealed to the commanding-general for help—none was to be had. Nerving himself for his terrible duties, he returned to the battery, and spoke a few low, hurried words to his men. Silently, but firmly, they gathered around their pieces, and awaited orders. The commanding-general sat on horseback, gazing with thrilling intensity upon that handful of troops. After all the losses and triumphs of the day, victory had eluded their grasp to hang upon the approaching struggle. The cavalry were almost near enough to spring upon his guns, when Bragg gave the order to fire. Suddenly they halted, staggered a few paces, and then closed for the charge. The shouts of their supporting infantry followed the roar of artillery, and they again advanced. The cannoneers had marked the effect with feelings too intense to admit of outward expression, and rapidly reloading, they again poured forth a shower of grape. The effect was fearful; and Gen. Taylor, as he beheld the bleeding columns, felt that the day was his own. A third discharge completed the rout. Discipline gave way among the enemy to the confused flight of terrified hosts, as, pouring through the rugged passes, they trod each other down in their hurried course. One wild shout went up from the American army, broken at short intervals by the thunder of Bragg's artillery.

This final repulse was not accomplished without a melancholy loss. It fell heaviest on the Kentuckians, of whom Cols. McKee and Clay, of the Second Infantry, were both killed. The former fell amid some rocks, pierced with a mortal wound, and was subsequently hacked and mutilated by the enemy's bayonets. Lieut.-Col. Clay was wounded in the leg, and sat down near a rock. But his sorrowing followers rushed from their ranks, amid the enemy's fire, and bore him in their arms. Although the Mexians pressed closely behind, the soldiers carried him until the road became so rugged, that two could scarcely walk together. He then begged them to leave him and take care of themselves, which they were at length compelled to do; two brave fellows remaining with him, and sharing his fate. The Mexicans surrounded them, and as Clay defended himself with his sword, was stabbed to death with bayonets. The brave Col. Hardin, the pride of the Illinois troops, was killed in the same charge with McKee and Clay.

In the retreat of the enemy, a portion of the American infantry pursued them through a ravine so far, that they got out of supporting distance. On seeing this, the Mexicans suddenly wheeled round and attacked them. The infantry were in their turn driven back, taking the course of another ravine, at the end of which a body of the enemy were waiting to intercept them. Fortunately, while the cavalry were pursuing, they came within range of Washington's battery, which opening upon them with grape, drove back their column in confusion, and saved the exhausted fugitives.

This was the last struggle on the well-fought field of Buena Vista. For ten hours the battle had raged with unmitigated fury, and yet, strange to say, each army occupied the ground that it had early in the morning. As night crept among the rocky gorges, the wearied soldiers sank down on their arms upon the field. Although the air was very cold, the American army slept without fires, expecting a renewal of the attack early on the following morning. The night was one of horror. On every rock and in every defile, piles of dead and wounded lay, the latter writhing in torture, their wounds stiff and clotted with the chill air, while their piercing shrieks for aid, and supplications for water, made the night hideous. The whole medical staff were busy until morning, dressing wounds, amputating limbs, and removing the dead to Saltillo. The wolves and jackals stole from the caverns of the mountains, and howled in startling chorus over the banquet prepared for them by man.

The forces engaged in the battle of Buena Vista, according to the official reports, were, to be exact, on the American side, 4,760 men, of whom 344 were officers. The entire regular force was two squadrons of cavalry, and three batteries of light artillery—in all about 450 men. Mexican force, as stated by Santa Anna himself, was 20,000. The Americans lost 267 killed, 456 wounded, and 23 missing. Santa Anna admitted a loss of 1,500, which doubtless was far below the actual number. More than 500 of his dead were left upon the field unburied. A writer, speaking of the loss sustained in the battle by the Americans, said: "The list of the killed and wounded on the American side, is a mournful proof of the ferocity and violence which characterized this severe conflict, and a sad testimonial of the chivalry and fearlessness of the American soldiery. Sixty-five commissioned officers killed and wounded in so small an army exhibits a proportion

and result unparalleled in the history of war."

Considerable space has been devoted to the battle of Buena Vista. This is deemed appropriate, and but a simple act of justice to the large number of Kentucky soldiers who participated in it. No troops bore a more prominent and important part in the stubbornly contested struggle, than the First Kentucky Cavalry, and the Second Kentucky Infantry. The first left its brave young adjutant dead on the field, and the latter its first and second officers in command, while the rank and file were piled, in slaughtered heaps. The charge in which McKee and Clay fell was the saddest event in results of the battle-fatigued day, and their death was a melancholy blow to their comrades, and a serious loss to their State. Of Col. Marshall's cavalry, Gen. Taylor, in his official report of the battle, said: "The Kentucky cavalry, under Col. Marshall, rendered good service, dismounted, acting as light troops on our left, and afterward, with a portion of the Arkansas regiment, in meeting and dispersing the column of Mexicans at Buena Vista village." Of the same regiment, Gen. Wool in his report said: "Col. Marshall rendered gallant and important service both as commander of the riflemen in the mountain, where he and his men were very effective, and as the commander of his own regiment, in connection with those of the Arkansas regiment, under Col. Yell, after the latter's death under Lieut-Col. Roane, in their operations against the enemy's lancers." But Kentucky troops need no argument to prove their valor—it has been tested upon too many bloody fields. In Marshall's regiment (330 strong) 27 were killed, and 34 wounded; in Mc Kee's regiment (571 strong) 44 were killed, 57 wounded. This sad record tells the story of their part in the battle.

While the battle of Buena Vista was raging a portion of the Louisville Legion and a portion of Col. Morgan's Second Ohio Infantry was fighting Gen. Urrea at Mier, twenty-five miles from Monterey. The Mexican general had attempted to cut off and destroy a heavy wagon train belonging to the army at Buena Vista, and the Kentucky and Ohio troops had been ordered to its rescue. The Mexicans succeeded in capturing and burning 300 wagons, but the re-enforcements arrived in time to save the balance of the train.

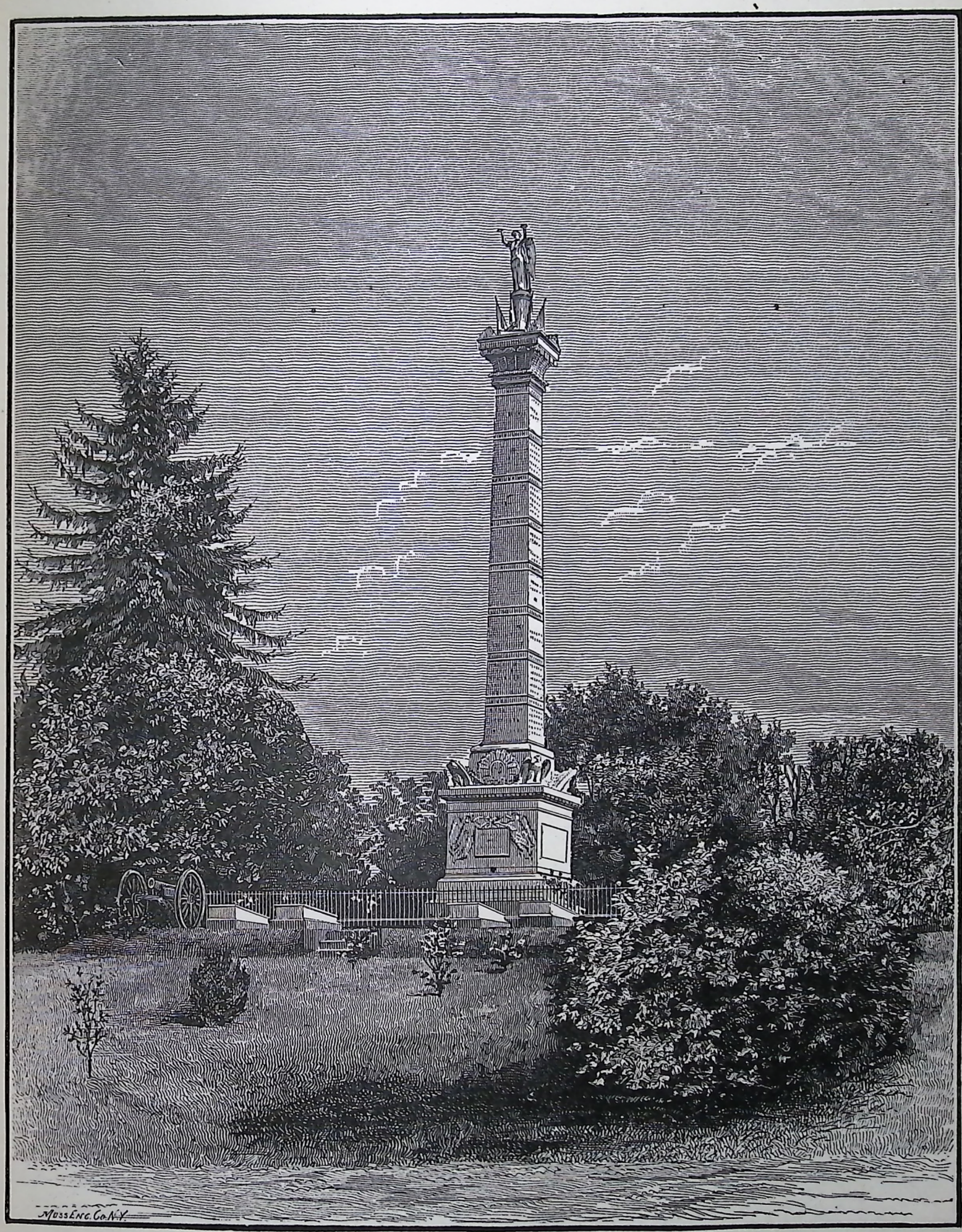
After the battle of Buena Vista, the Kentucky troops took no active part in the Mexican war, except the company of Capt. Williams, which was attached to the Sixth United States Infantry. It participated in the battle of Cerro Gordo, and for its gallant conduct and that of its commander, won the highest praise. He attained and still bears the sobriquet of "old Cerro Gordo" Williams. The term of service of the first regiments expired some time after the battle of Buena Vista, while those recruited under the last call for troops did not arrive in Mexico until the hard fighting was over. Hence the remainder of the war has but little interest in the history of Kentucky. The city of Mexico fell in September, 1847, but the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was not consummated until February 2, 1848, and peace reigned once more between the two countries.

On their return home the soldiers were received with every mark of affection, and tendered, as they well deserved, the enthusiastic welcome of the people. Public dinners, old-fashioned barbecues, flattering eulogiums and patriotic speeches were profusely showered upon them; the press vied with the orators of the period in praises of the heroic deeds of our volunteer soldiery. But the joy of the returned warriors was marred by the absence of many of their comrades who came not back; whose bones they had left to molder into dust on the banks of the Rio Grande, at Monterey, in the gorges of Buena Vista, on the heights of Cerro Gordo, and around the walls of the City of Mexico. Most of the Kentucky dead, however, were afterward brought home for interment, especially those who fell at Buena Vista, under an act of the legislature. In the summer of 1847, they were buried in the State Cemetery at Fankfort, with the honors of war. Included in the proceedings, was the recitation of a poem written especially for the occasion by Theodore O'Hara, and which has since im-

mortalized his name. The first stanza of this poem (which is entitled "The Bivouac of the Dead") is familiar to thousands of people throughout the country, who do not know its origin or author. It is as follows:

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
The brave and daring few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

A magnificent monument—one of the handsomest soldiers' monuments in the United States—has been erected to their memory and that of other Kentucky heroes, by the State in the public cemetery. Upon the four sides of the stately column are inscribed the names and battles of the heroic dead, whose graves are grouped around its base. The monument stands upon one of the loveliest spots in the cemetery (a high bluff) and overlooks the beautiful river which bears the name of the State. It is a loving tribute to heroic worth.



SOLDIER'S MONUMENT, FRANKFORT.

CHAPTER XV.

FIRST PHASES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN KENTUCKY.

THE "cause" which led to the war of the rebellion has been so elaborately discussed by its friends and opponents as to embalm it in the minds of the whole people. However fallacious may have been the arguments used by the prime movers to bring about the secession of those States which declared themselves free and independent prior to the inauguration of President Lincoln, they proved effective in producing that result. Thenceforth the "cause" was the cause of State sovereignty, and those who favored as well as those who opposed secession as a means for redressing grievances, were united in the attempt to form a confederacy in order that they might the more effectually resist coercion.

Thus the primal evil, slavery, depending upon the principle of State sovereignty and the right of secession, was followed by the organization of the Confederacy, and when, in resistance to the proclamation of the president of the United States commanding them to return to their allegiance, they defied his authority, the "cause" assumed the name and character of a war for independence.

It is worse than folly to ridicule the uprising of a great people to assert their independence, and, if need be, to die in the defense of their homes and firesides. Hallowed in the memories of thousands of hearts by the blood of loved ones sacrificed upon its altar, the "lost cause" is to-day, after the lapse of many years, loved as fondly and enshrined as truly as when its brave and devoted adherents bore its tattered banner through four years of carnage, furling it at last amid the desolation of ruined homes and fair fields laid waste, and embalming it in the tears of a proud though prostrate people.

It is the purpose of the pages which follow to confine the narrative strictly to the relation of events in the order in which they occurred, relying for their accuracy upon contemporaneous records now on file in the war department at Washington. The history of these events cannot be written without bringing into prominence the courage and fidelity of Kentuckians, whose graves billow nearly every battle-field from the Mississippi to the sea; but the object will be to allow their glorious record to speak for itself, confident that the highest praise that can be awarded them will be a faithful chronicle of their heroic achievements. While many will doubtless regret that the lives of the Kentuckians sacrificed in the cause of the Confederacy were not given to the Union, and that the Breckinridges, Marshalls, Johnstons, Clays, Williamses and Buckners, names illustrious in the annals of the State and nation, did not present themselves, a living wall, against the tide of secession, which beat against but never submerged Kentucky, still, in the picture, as it presents itself, they will recognize the well known features of Nelson, Crittenden, Jackson, Harlan, Watkins, Rousseau, Whitaker, Price, Croxton, Kelly and a host of others, who stood in solid phalanx, breasting the assault until the State took its place in line in favor of the Union; while outlined against the sky, at the head of the nation, struggling to establish its authority over a re-united country, is the loved and honored form of that other Kentuckian, Abraham Lincoln.

Fondness for military distinction has always been a characteristic of the American people. Service in her armies at all periods having been voluntarily performed, the uniform of the soldier had come to be regarded as the insignia of

heroism, rather than the badge of servitude. The national flag had waved over many a hotly contested field, but had always pointed to ultimate victory, and wars had been sufficiently frequent to secure to the survivors of one, promotion in the one succeeding, and to preserve the traditions of military prowess fresh in the memory of a brave and grateful populace. The commander-in-chief of the United States army was himself the hero of two wars, and many of his comrades in arms were still living, the honored patriarchs of cities and towns that had succeeded the savage wilderness in which many of their deeds of prowess had been performed.

The period which followed the war with Mexico had witnessed the organization of military companies in all parts of the country, fostered by the State, and commanded by the veterans of Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo and Chapultepec which, in point of discipline, drill and martial bearing, were the pride and glory of the people at large. To these organizations the thoughts of the people of both sections now naturally turned, and their confidence was not misplaced, for many a regiment, which gained distinction in either army for efficiency upon the field and good conduct in the camp, owes its success to the faithful drilling it received at the hands of the officers furnished by the militia of the States. Every State was provided with a staff department, appointed by the governor, and an arsenal of military stores.

Notwithstanding the fact that John C. Breckinridge was the favorite son of Kentucky, a member of one of its prominent and influential families, and a man of most winning address and persuasive eloquence, the official record of the votes polled in his native State, when he was a candidate for the presidency, shows that the people had already begun to distrust the wing of the party of which he was the especial champion. The vote stood:

For Bell	65,913
For Douglas	25,442
For Breckinridge	52,936
For Lincoln	1,366
Total	145,657

—a majority of nearly two to one against him. The proclamation of President Lincoln, calling for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, had the effect to determine the political bias of every thinking mind in the United States, except in Kentucky. Yet the facts were unmistakable that a rebellion had been inaugurated by the secession of six States; that the flag at Fort Sumter had been fired upon; and that the president of the United States had determined to restore the supremacy of the national government over all the territory of the United States. In response to the call upon the State for its quota of troops, on the 15th of April, 1861, Gov. Magoffin said: "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." This action of the governor was endorsed at an immense meeting held on the 20th, at Louisville, where speeches were made by the Hon. James Guthrie, Hon. Archie Dixon, Hon. John Young Brown, Judge Bullock and Judge Nicholas, and a resolution was unanimously adopted encouraging him to resist the general government. On the 24th, Gov. Magoffin issued a proclamation calling on the State to place herself in a condition of defense, and convening the legislature on the 6th of May following, "to take such action as may be necessary for the general welfare."

A period of intense anxiety intervened between the date of the proclamation of the governor, convening the legislature, and its meeting on the 6th of May. Public meetings were held at Lexington and other places, at which members of the legislature were instructed as to the wishes of their constituents, while the question of union or secession became the all absorbing topic of conversation at every fireside. The position as idle spectators of a conflict in which each had an interest, a position they were compelled to occupy by the action of the apostles of peace, was exceedingly distasteful to the youth of the State, whose martial tastes were inherited from a bold, spirited ancestry. They were the descendants of the pioneers whose inflexible courage in wresting Kentucky from the grasp of the savages had been

displayed in deeds of daring, fresh in the memories of men still living. Their sires had borne an honorable part in all the struggles in which their country had engaged, and to be kept at home like women, while their neighbors in other States were winning fame at the cannon's mouth, was a position which they regarded as pusillanimous and unworthy of a Kentuckian.

Fearing that their native State might succeed in maintaining its neutrality, large numbers of young men about this time, instigated by the leaders of the secession movement, left the State under command of Thomas Taylor and Blanton Duncan, and offered their services to the Confederate States. They were, for the most part, sons of slaveholders, whose interest in the institution of slavery prompted in their minds a profound distrust of the party at the north, whose chief design they believed to be to subdue the Southern States, hold them as conquered provinces, and liberate the slaves. In wealth, courtesy of manner, and social standing, they were the peers of any in the land, while in intellectual endowments they ranged from the alumni of Yale and Harvard down to the youngster, whose most noteworthy accomplishments were to read and write and ride a horse. They had many of the attributes of knight-errantry. Brave, even to recklessness, faithful to the cause they espoused, and true to their leaders, they followed the fortunes of the Confederacy, from the opening gun at Fort Donelson to the surrender of Johnston's army, with a steadfastness of purpose never excelled.

Viewed from the standpoint of unconditional loyalty to the national government, it appears incredible that intelligent men should have held the opinion and openly proclaimed it, that a single State could be able to hold 700 miles of border, lying between two immense contending forces, sacred from the tread of hostile feet. Yet facts warrant the belief that some regarded the position tenable. Encouraged by the attitude assumed alike by friends of the Union and of the Confederacy, united upon a platform of neutrality in the approaching struggle, Gov. Magoffin, on the 20th of May, issued a proclamation forbidding any movement of troops upon Kentucky soil, or the occupation of any part or place therein for any purpose whatever. The Kentucky senate indorsed the position, taken by the governor on the 24th, by resolving that "the State will not sever her connection with the general government, nor take up arms for either belligerent party, but will arm herself for the protection of peace within her borders, and tender her services as a mediator to effect a just and honorable peace." But the advocates of neutrality at the capital "builded wiser than they knew." Time was gained by the Union men to place themselves in a position of defense against any forcible means that might be adopted by the governor and his secession advisers to consummate their designs.

The latter, headed by John C. Breckinridge and other prominent men, were untiring in their efforts to induce the legislature to inaugurate the measures which had proved effectual in other States, confident that if the question could be brought for decision at the polls, the State militia, under command of Gen. S. B. Buckner, would secure favorable action. Meanwhile the people of eastern Kentucky, unlike the masses in the Gulf States, accustomed to think and act for themselves, had ignored the neutral position adopted by the politicians, and had taken sides either with the Union or the Confederacy, and an overwhelming majority were unconditionally in favor of the national government. The eyes of these people had turned with grave apprehension to the position of their neighbors in east Tennessee, whose steadfast loyalty no threats had been able to shake, and, profiting by the experience of that State, determined that Kentucky should not be bound hand and foot before she had had an opportunity to assert herself at the polls.

On the 27th a border State convention, composed of leading men from Kentucky and Missouri, met at Frankfort, Ky., and on the 8th of June issued two addresses: one to the people of the United States, and the other to the people of Kentucky. In the address first

mentioned the convention said: "The obligation exists to maintain the constitution of the United States, and to preserve the Union unimpaired," and suggested that something ought to be done to "quiet apprehension in the slave States that already adhere to the Union." The address was signed by Hon. J. J. Crittenden, president, and James Guthrie, R. K. Williams, Archibald Dixon, F. M. Bristow, Joshua F. Bell, C. A. Wickliffe, G. W. Dunlap, J. F. Robinson, John B. Huston, and Robert Richardson, of Kentucky; H. R. Gamble, W. A. Hall, J. B. Henderson and W. G. Pomeroy, of Missouri; and John Caldwell, of Tennessee.

The Kentucky members then united in an address to the people of their own State. After endorsing the action of the governor and the legislature, and denying that the position of neutrality resulted from timidity, for proof of which they appealed to history, the delegates say: "It is a proud and grand thing for Kentucky to say, as she can truthfully in the face of the world—'we had no hand in this thing, our skirts are clear,' and asks: 'Is this not an attitude worthy of a great people, and do not her position and safety require her to maintain it?'" But the people were fast deciding the question otherwise. Families were divided in sentiment, fathers against sons, brothers against brothers, and ties of friendship, which had existed for a life-time, were powerless to restrain the demon of discord that reigned supreme. Self-constituted recruiting officers for each side hoisted the banner of their choice, often in the same town, and the strange and unnatural spectacle was presented of brothers enlisting under opposing flags. In fact, there is scarcely a family of prominence in the State that did not contribute soldiers to both armies. It has been well said that "the outposts of an army mark the lines where the sphere of party politics ends." The time for action had come; the people had chosen sides.

The anomalous position of the neutrality party in Kentucky, in 1861, has made it the subject of much unfavorable comment. As a party it never had an existence. The discordant elements that composed it in April and May had produced disintegration in June. Its waxen wings, union and secession, had melted beneath the penetrating sunlight of a heated political contest for control of the legislature, and, while both thereafter used it as a shield, neither had any confidence in the ability of the State to maintain her neutrality by force of arms. The Union portion again divided after the election—which resulted in seating a majority of Union men in the legislature—into active and passive Union men. The former were willing to make any sacrifice to support the national government in the struggle for life, while the latter, preferring the Union to the Confederacy were still anxious to preserve the State from the horrors of civil war. Chief among the former were Hon. Garrett Davis, Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, Lieut. William Nelson, James S. Jackson, S. G. Burbridge, Hon. John W. Finnell, Thomas L. Crittenden, Joshua F. Speed, Hon. Joseph Holt, Judge Goodloe, Hon. C. C. Burton, W. T. Ward, J. T. Boyle, Alfred Allen, John B. Bruner, John M. Harlan, James Speed, and many others.

Hon. John J. Crittenden, a life-long Whig, the cherished friend of Henry Clay, was the acknowledged leader of the peace party. As a man he was loved and honored, and as a statesman he was held in reverence by the people of his State and nation. During a long public career his voice had never sounded an uncertain note when the honor of is country had been involved. Untainted by the political atmosphere of the capitol at Washington, he had preserved his integrity and led a blameless life in the midst of a conspiracy that impatiently bided its time to accomplish its ends. The siren songs of the secessionists, that had ensnared many weaker men from the border States, had no charms for this incorruptible patriot; the dogma of "State rights," which precipitated ten States into rebellion against the authority of the national government, formed no part of his political creed. He loved the Union as only a great-hearted statesman can love his country, recognizing no section as paramount in his

affections, and from the first approach of the night of rebellion, which now enveloped the South, his influence had been exerted toward conciliating the men whom he still regarded as his misguided brethren. Animated solely by the lofty purpose of reuniting the North and South, Mr. Crittenden and his co-workers hoped and believed that a general war could be avoided. That they continued to believe so long after the fact was patent to every one else that the war had actually begun must be attributed to the inflexibility of purpose that had always been a characteristic of the courageous leader. The war was deemed so causeless, so wicked, and without the shadow of provocation, that the masses that followed Mr. Crittenden believed, with him, that something might be done to avert the horrible calamities that all felt must follow a general war; but there was a time when these men hesitated as to the duty of Kentucky and her purpose, when the time for action should come, if come it must. The following extract from a recent letter, written by Gen. John. W. Finnell to the author, conveys an intelligent idea of the estimation in which the followers of Mr. Crittenden are still held:

The love for the Union, which filled the hearts of the old Whig or Union and Douglas democrats of Kentucky, was unspeakably ardent and earnest, and at no period was it more intense and abiding than at this time. The position of the Union men in Kentucky was exceptional, the entire military organization of the State was under the control of the rebel interest; and with the exception of 5,000 muskets, furnished by the government, they were without arms, and totally without organization.

They were strangers to war. While their faith in the good sense and patriotism of the great mass of the people had been realized at the polls, the conviction that the war was a struggle for the existence of the nation came upon them but slowly. Besides, it very soon became manifest that, to a vast number of Union men, it meant the sacrifice of nearly every tie of interest and consanguinity. Neutrality, therefore, was an expedient, and deemed of value, in the hope—in the poetic and fervid imagination of that day—that there, "on the bosom of the first born of the Union, unstained by fratricidal blood, the altar might be built upon which the mad passions of both sections might be burned to ashes;" and it is altogether possible that less imaginative patriots regarded it as an exceedingly proper thing, until they could obtain another supply of "Lincoln guns."

There never was in all history a more heroic spirit of self-sacrifice than that which animated the Union people of Kentucky in that struggle, from the attack upon Fort Sumter to the surrender of Fort Donelson. There never was a wiser statesmanship or more masterly diplomacy than was displayed by the Union leaders during the long season of doubt in the summer of 1861. Nothing was clearer, even then, than that, if the war became general, national success meant the sacrifice of an immense property interest; that the position of the State with the national government involved the sacrifice of friends, the separation of families, possibly to the Union people a surrender of their homes, the work of a lifetime of care and labor, and with that, expatriation from the land they dearly loved.

Stigmatized as Abolitionists and Submissionists, and with every epithet made hateful by their education, history and traditions, the Union men worked steadily on, until by their wisdom and courage they were able at last to encircle the commonwealth within the arms of her loyal people, and thus save her to the nation.

Another formidable class of people, by reason of their wealth and influence, was composed of citizens who, while they had no intention of taking up arms for the secession of the State or for the Southern Confederacy, sympathized with the cause for which the South had rebelled, and were styled Southern-rights people. This class comprised a large portion of the slaveholders in central Kentucky, and became more numerous toward the southwest, until in that portion of the State bordering upon Tennessee, and lying between the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, known as the "Purchase," almost the entire population were in full sympathy with the rebellion. To this class either government was acceptable, provided their right to hold slaves was guaranteed. The establishment of a southern confederacy, based upon this right, had at first presented the attractive feature of permanent protection to this species of property. The conciliatory measures adopted by State and national legislative assemblies toward the South, followed by the spontaneous uprising of the northern people in response to the call of the president, without regard to the former political alliances, convinced many that, in the event of a general war, self-interest pointed to a passive resistance to the appeals of either party to the contest.

A proclamation of emancipation at that time would have precipitated Kentucky into secession, with no power in the hands of the Union men to avert it. But thus far, the slavery question had been ignored in the measures adopted by Mr. Lincoln for the suppression of the rebellion, and the belief that the ultimate triumph of the national government would leave slavery untouched, at least in those States that had not taken up arms against the government, prompted many slaveholders to remain neutral, and even to discourage enlistments in the Confederate army, while they cordially sympathized with the cause for which the Southern States contended.

This belief, however, was by no means general. The prophetic soul of Mr. Yancey and other southern orators, who from time to time visited Kentucky, aided by native secessionists, scouted the idea that the Republican party of the North, having elected a president by an overwhelming majority, would accept half-way measures in dealing with slavery, if they should in the end find themselves in position to dictate terms of peace to a vanquished enemy. The advocates of secession, appealing to the chivalric impulses of their hearers, urged upon them their duty to stand by their "southern brethren who were engaged in battling for rights that were as dear to Kentuckians as to themselves," and asked if they were indeed degenerated sons of the brave pioneers who had shouldered their trusty rifles and marched through the pathless wilderness northward to the great lakes to avenge the atrocities of the Indians commited upon the infant settlements in Ohio.

It will thus be seen that the people in this portion of the State were divided into discordant factions. The masses, distracted by alternate hopes and fears, doubtful as to their duty, were subjected by the constant harangues of some who pleaded with them to stand by the national government at all hazards, and of others to join the fortunes of the young Confederacy, in whose cause they had an equal interest. They were urged by the secession wing of the neutrality party to maintain an attitude of armed resistance to national authority, but to remain in the Union wing of the same party, to remain true to the Union and to the government, but to abstain from any act that would invite invasion of the State from either side.

It now became the fixed purpose of the general government to protect the loyal citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee in their constitutional rights, and to this end, on the 27th of June, an order was issued at the war department forming the States of Kentucky and Tennessee into a military district, under command of Brig-Gen. Robert Anderson, who was directed to send an officer to east Tennessee to muster into the service of the United States 10,000 men. Arms and accoutrements and an ample supply of ammunition were ordered to Cincinnati, for the use of that number of men; and to transport their equipments to their destination, he was authorized to muster into the service of the United States four regiments in southeast Kentucky. The officer designated for this duty was Lieut. William Nelson, of the United States navy.

After conference with prominent national Union men in the adjoining counties, Nelson determined to locate his camp of instruction in Garrard County, on the farm of Mr. Dick Robinson (a firm adherent to the government), at the junction of the Danville turnpike, with the pike leading from Nicholasville to Crab Orchard, in the direction of Cumberland Gap. A rich and fertile country under a high state of cultivation surrounded the camp. A fair proportion of the inhabitants were friendly to the enterprise, many of whom were ardent supporters of the national government. Nicholasville, eight miles distant, was the southern terminus of the Kentucky Central Railroad, connecting it with Cincinnati, while only twelve miles farther north, on the line of the same road, is the city of Lexington, located in the center of that beautiful portion of Kentucky known as "the Blue Grass Region."

From Lexington, two railroads were in operation—the one to Louisville and the other to Cincinnati—while broad turnpike

roads led by various routes to the Ohio River. With these separate routes for the transportation of supplies, communication with the base at Cincinnati was regarded as secure. In case the railroad bridges should be burned by the secessionists, the turnpikes to Maysville and other points afforded access to the north. Between the camp and Nicholasville is the Kentucky River, the precipitous banks and deep gorges of which afforded many good positions for successful resistance in case an attack from a superior force, advancing from the southeast, made it necessary for the recruits to fall back before they were sufficiently well organized to protect themselves in the open country.

Lieut. William Nelson, United States navy, the officer chosen to perform the delicate and difficult task of establishing a camp and organizing a brigade of Union soldiers on Kentucky soil in opposition to the judgment of avowed Union men, was a man eminently fitted for the undertaking. The times were turbulent; murder, unwhipt of justice, stalked through the land. The State guard, 10,000 strong, under the leadership of Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner, was under a high state of discipline, thoroughly equipped and ably commanded. Many of the companies comprised in the organization would have responded to the call of the commander to disperse the newly organized camp, and this order doubtless would have been issued if troops from the northern States had joined the camp.

By virtue of authority vested in him by the war department, Nelson issued commissions, bearing date July 15, 1861, to William J. Landrum, of Lancaster, Ky., to raise a cavalry regiment, and to Theophilus T. Garrard, Thomas E. Bramlette and Speed S. Fry to raise three regiments of infantry. Messrs. W. A. Hoskins, G. C. Kniffin and George L. Dobbins were subsequently commissioned as staff officers.

Soon after the preliminary meeting at Lancaster, where the above-named gentlemen were empowered to raise regiments for the United States service, Nelson returned to Cincinnati to make arrangements for supplies for his camp, and active preparations for recruiting were immediately begun by the officers named, and the subordinates selected by them to assist in their work.

Not long after the work was commenced, an effort was made, upon the part of several prominent politicians in different parts of the State, to postpone the whole movement upon the ground of its inexpediency, in view of the fact that it might be construed as a menace by the States then in rebellion, and precipitate an invasion of Kentucky by the forces then known to be assembled near the State line in Tennessee. Col. Landrum was notified that, at a meeting of those having authority to act in the matter, it was agreed to postpone the organization of the troops, and he was requested to notify the other officers accordingly. Lieut. Nelson was notified promptly of this movement, and in a letter dated Cincinnati, Ohio, July 28, 1861, he wrote Col. Landrum as follows: "the expedition is neither postponed nor abandoned. So far from suspending operations, I earnestly desire that they may be urged on with the utmost energy. If the idea of postponement or abandonment has been spread among your people, that idea must be corrected. I shall assemble the brigade and muster it into service as soon as possible."

Immediately on receipt of this letter, Col. Landrum communicated its contents to the other officers, the work of recruiting was resumed, and on the day after the August election the troops began to arrive at camp Dick Robinson. Bramlette, Fry and Garrard were on hand to take command of their respective regiments; while Landrum, preferring the infantry to the cavalry, concluded to turn his regiment over to Lieut.-Col. Wolford, and to raise an infantry regiment at Harrodsburg, Ky., in the meantime acting as adjutant-general for Gen. Nelson for several weeks after his arrival.

The officers named, with the assistance of recruiting officers throughout the country in which the camp was located, prosecuted the business intrusted to them with such energy and success that by the middle of August the required number to fill each regiment

were in camp ready for muster into the service. The difficulty in obtaining clothing and camp and garrison equipage now began. The equipment of the immense armies of the United States, now numbering 500,000 men, had caused such demands upon the manufacturing establishments of the country, that it was impossible to fill the oft-repeated requisitions made by Nelson upon the quartermaster's department. In the absence of tents, the recruits were assigned quarters under the wide-spreading branches of a grove of maples, where exposure to the elements rendered it necessary to erect a hospital at an early date. The light clothing they had worn to camp in the expectation of exchanging it for the blue uniform of the army soon succumbed to the wear and tear of camp life, and flags of truce were displayed by many a doughty warrior, who would have been the last to exhibit it if confronted by the enemy.

Recruiting in the country southward and eastward from the camp was comparatively easy. The country is mountainous, and the inhabitants were on equal terms with reference to wealth and social standing. There were few slaveholders, and the people, accustomed to independence of thought, word, and deed, had exercised the right to form their own conclusions upon the question of secession. The latent loyalty existing in the breast of every true American, being untrammeled by interest in the institution of slavery, or by the influence of secession orators, who early found themselves confronted by Union men possessing greater power with the people, asserted itself. Ready to engage in an enterprise that promised relief to their loyal neighbors accross the Tennessee border, whose persecution by the State authorities at this time had awakened a thrill of indignation throughout the country, they enrolled their names under the banner of their country. Owing to this fact, it came about that the regiments of Wolford, Garrard and Bramlette were recruited largely from the counties adjacent to the northern line of Tennessee.

The traditional courage of the mountaineers of all countries was exhibited by these splendid regiments in their subsequent career. They participated in nearly all the battles fought by the armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee, and whether with Rosecrans at Stone River and Chickamauga, with Grant at Black River Bridge and Vicksburg, or with Sherman through 100 days of battle to the capture of Atlanta, they were everywhere complimented for courage and endurance.

In Kentucky, the act of the legislature which united the military companies of the State, many of which had been for years under a high state of drill and military discipline, into a homogeneous whole, became a law in March, 1860, by the approval of the governor. The act was drafted by Samuel Bolivar Buckner, a graduate of West Point, whose military tastes and education eminently qualified him to become the leader of the organization. By the provisions of the act, the citizens of the State, capable of bearing arms, were divided into three classes, entitled, respectively, "The Militia of Reserve," "The Enrolled Militia," and "The Active or Volunteer Militia." The first named embraced all white male persons under eighteen and over forty-five; the second, all able-bodied white men between those ages; and "The Volunteer Militia or State Guard," were organized into companies, battalions, brigades, divisions, and army corps, with uniforms and equipments complete. The organization soon embraced all the independent military companies of the State, regardless of the political opinions of the members. The time had not yet come for any interference with the choice of the companies as to their commanders, and, in some instances, the opening of hostilities found some of the most efficient companies commanded by strong Union men. In Lexington there were three companies, commanded respectively by Capts. S. W. Price, Sanders Bruce and John H. Morgan. The two former became colonels in the Union army, while the latter became renowned as a commander of a division of southern cavalry.

Gen. Buckner, as inspector-general, had power to disband all such companies as failed to conform to his view of military propriety,

thus concentrating in him a power of subordinating all officers to his will. Thomas L. Crittenden, a gallant officer in the Mexican war and son of Hon. John J. Crittenden, was elected brigadier-general.

Another military organization, though less imposing in its form, was destined to wield a powerful influence in shaping the destiny of Kentucky in the impending struggle. This was "The Home Guard." Loosely organized military companies sprang into existence in nearly every neighborhood and in many of the large towns. The imminence of revolution induced the city authorities of Louisville to take the initiative in the matter, and an ordinance was passed by the city council, approved by Mayor Delph, based upon a vague provision of the city charter, which authorized the organization of the First Home Guard Battalion, in May, 1861. Lovell H. Rousseau was first appointed brigadier-general, but preferring service in the United States army, he was succeeded by James Speed. The ordinance provided for two regiments, with the necessary compliment of field and staff officers. The regiments soon filled to their maximum strength. The Marion Rifles, a company in the State Guard, joined the Home Guard, and the brigade held the field against all comers.

There was an element of weakness in the State Guard that the Home Guard was not called upon to encounter. In the former there was no settled principal of action. Its ranks were filled with men embracing conflicting opinions upon union and secession. The Home Guard was a unit in favor of the Union, and in its readiness to fight for it. In addition to this, Gen. Buckner had found difficulty in supplying his men with arms. Dr. Blackburn, since governor of the State, purchased a quantity in the south, but they proved to be worthless, and notwithstanding his assertion that, "they were good enough for neutrals," the men refused to receive them. Gen. Speed was supplied by Lieut. Nelson, and the array of bayonets on the streets of Louisville, borne by a brigade of men, whose pluck and willingness to use them was well known, had an exceedingly quieting effect upon the turbulent spirits.

Thus was the position of the Union party in Kentucky strengthened by its adherents to the policy of neutrality, while yet the machinery of the State government was manipulated by men who were inimical to the United States government, and in sympathy with that of the Confederate States. Fallacious and almost ridiculous as that policy was, and as it was admitted to be, even then, by men who only awaited the result of the August elections to declare their allegiance to one flag or the other, it served its purpose in preventing hostilities within the State, and in securing to the Union men time for organization and preparation to resist secession in case the election should result in seating a majority of "southern-rights" men in the legislature.

This view of the situation was plainly stated to President Lincoln, and received his cordial sanction, and, while he made no movement to acquiesce in the views of the timid Union men who urged the removal of the troops in course of enlistment and organization at camp Dick Robinson, he left the management of Kentucky affairs entirely in the hands of the Union men of the State.

On the 4th of June, Gen. Scott telegraphed McClellan that it was "deemed unwise by the government to send to Kentucky a commander of troops, not native or resident of the State," and, probably owing to the physical disability of Gen. Anderson, suggested Col. L. H. Rousseau, commander of the Louisville Home Guard, and to take command of the Kentucky department. To this communication McClellan replied as follows: "In view of the necessity of managing affairs in Kentucky with great delicacy until the election shall have passed and a Union legislature is in power, I would respectfully suggest that for the present, at least, no sucessor be appointed to Gen. Anderson, and that, as I am in quite close communication with the principal men, the matter be left for a time in my hands."

Gen. McClellan had, as early as the 8th of May, met Gen. S. B. Buckner, inspector-

general and real commander of the Kentucky State Guards, and entered into an agreement with him to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so far as to agree not to occupy any portion of the State except to respond to the call of the governor to assist in expelling the rebels from the State, in case they should attempt to occupy points within its borders.

Whatever may have been the motives that actuated Gen. Buckner in making the treaty, it is evident from the following correspondence that Gen. McClellan fully intended to abide by it.

McClellan to Townsend, June 11:

* * * * "Gen. Buckner came to see me on Friday last. We sat up all night talking about matters of common interest. Buckner gave me his word that should any Tennessee troops cross the frontier of Kentucky, he would use all the forces at his disposal to drive them out, and, failing in that, would call on me for assistance. He went to Tennessee, after leaving me, to present that view to Gov. Harris." * * * *

Buckner to Magoffin, June 10:

"On the 8th inst., at Cincinnati, Ohio, I entered into an arrangement with Gen. George B. McClellan, commander of all the United States troops north of the Ohio River, to the following effect: The authorities of the State of Kentucky are to protect the United States property within the limits of the State; to enforce the laws of the United States in accordance with the interpretation of the United States courts, as far as those laws may be applicable to Kentucky, and to enforce, with all the power of the State, our obligations of neutrality as against the southern States, as long as the position we have assumed shall be respected by the United States. Gen. McClellan stipulates that the territory of Kentucky shall be respected on the part of the United States, even if the southern States should occupy it; but, in the latter case, he will call upon the authorities of Kentucky to remove the southern forces. I have stipulated in that case to advise him of the inability of Kentucky to comply with her obligations, and to invite him to dislodge the Southern forces. He stipulates that, if successful in so doing, he will withdraw his forces from the territory of the State as soon as the southern forces shall be removed. Should the administration hereafter adopt a different policy, he is to give me timely notice of the fact."

McClellan to Lieut. Nelson, United States navy, June 26:

"My interview with Buckner was personal, not official. It was solicited by him more than once. I made no stipulation on the part of the general government, and regarded his voluntary promise to drive out the Confederate troops as the only result of the interview. His letter gives his own views, not mine."

An opportunity soon occurred to test the sincerity of each of the high contracting parties, as explained in the letters which follow.

McClellan to Buckner, June 11:

"I have information, apparently reliable, that at least two Tennessee regiments had orders to move last night from camp Cheatham to Union City, thence, on being re-enforced, to occupy, at once, Island No. 1, six miles below Cairo. I notify you of this in accordance with our understanding that you would not permit Tennessee troops to cross your frontier. Please reply at once whether you consider the island on the Kentucky side of the channel within the jurisdiction of Kentucky."

The same day he wrote Gov. Magoffin as follows:

"I have received information that Tennessee troops are under orders to occupy Island No. 1, six miles below Cairo. In accordance with my understanding with Gen Buckner, I call upon you to prevent this step."

Magoffin to McClellan, June 11:

"Gen. Buckner has gone to Paducah and Columbus; his orders are to carry out his understanding with you. Am investigating the question of jurisdiction over the island to which you allude."

The following letter indicates that McClellan had determined to respect the neutral position of Kentucky, even before the interview with Buckner. On the 7th of May he wrote Hon. John J. Crittenden as follows:

"The papers this morning state that Gen. Prentiss, commanding the United States forces at Cairo, Ill., has sent troops across the Ohio River into Kentucky. I have no official notice of such a movement, but I at once telegraphed Gen. Prentiss for the facts, and stated to him that if the report were true I disapproved his course, and ordered him to make no more such movements without my sanction previously obtained."

The establishment of a camp of United States soldiers on the soil of Kentucky naturally provoked a vigorous protest on the part of the governor of the State. In his anxiety to prevent hostilities within the State, which would inevitably bring upon it an army of troops from the northwest, he determined upon a simultaneous appeal to the Presidents of the United States and the Confederate States to aid him in averting the catastrophe. On the 19th of August, therefore, Gov. Magoffin accredited Messrs. W. A. Dudley and F. K. Hunt as commissioners on the part of the State of Kentucky to visit Washington and confer with President Lincoln in regard to the removal of the troops at Camp Dick Robinson. They were the bearers of a lengthy communication from Gov. Magoffin, asking that the troops should be removed beyond the limits of the State. To this President Lincoln replied in the following characteristic letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24, 1861.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY B. MAGOFFIN, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF KENTUCKY.

Sir:—Your letter of the 19th inst., in which you "urge the removal from the limits of Kentucky of the military force now organized, and in camp within said State," is received.

I may not possess full and precisely accurate knowledge upon this subject, but I believe it is true that there is a military force in camp within Kentucky, acting by authority of the United States, which force is not very large, and is not now being augmented.

I also believe that some arms have been furnished to this force by the United States.

I also believe that this force consists exclusively of Kentuckians, having their camp in the immediate vicinity of their own homes, and not assailing or menacing any of the good people of Kentucky.

In all I have done in the premises, I have acted upon the urgent solicitation of many Kentuckians, and in accordance with what I believed, and still believe, to be the wish of a majority of all the Union-loving people of Kentucky.

While I have conversed on this subject with many eminent men of Kentucky, including a large majority of her members of congress, I do not remember that any one of them, or any other person, except your Excellency and the bearers of your Excellency's letter, has urged me to remove the military force from Kentucky, or to disband it. One other very worthy citizen of Kentucky did solicit me to have the augmenting of the force suspended for a time.

Taking all the means within my reach to form a judgment I do not believe it is the popular wish of Kentucky that this force should be removed beyond her limits, and, with this impression, I must respectfully decline to so remove it.

I most cordially sympathize with your Excellency in the wish to preserve the peace of my own native State, Kentucky, but it is with regret I search, and cannot find, in your not very short letter any declaration or intimation that you entertain any desire for the preservation of the Federal Union.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

Mr. George W. Johnson was at the same time accredited to the government of the Confederate States at Richmond, bearing a lengthy epistle from Gov. Magoffin, in answer to which Mr. Davis sent the following exceedingly diplomatic note:

RICHMOND, August 28, 1861.

TO THE HON. B. MAGOFFIN, GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY, ETC.

Sir:—I have received your letter informing me that "since the commencement of the unhappy difficulties yet pending in the country, the people of Kentucky have indicated a steadfast desire and purpose to maintain a position of strict neutrality between the belligerent parties." In the same communication you express your desire to elicit "an authoritative assurance that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect and observe the neutral position of Kentucky."

In reply to this request, I lose no time in assuring you, that the government of the Confederate States of America neither intends nor desires to disturb the neutrality of Kentucky. The assemblage of troops in Tennessee, to which you refer, had no other object than to repel the lawless invasion of that State by the forces of the United States, should their government seek to approach it through Kentucky without respect for its position of neutrality. That such apprehensions were not groundless has been proved by the course of that government in the States of Maryland and Missouri, and more recently in Kentucky itself, in which, as you inform me, "a military force has been enlisted and quartered by the United States authorities."

The government of the Confederate States has not only respected most scrupulously the neutrality of Kentucky, but has continued to maintain the friendly relations of trade and intercourse which it has suspended with the people of the United States generally.

In view of the history of the past, it can scarcely be necessary to assure your Excellency that the government of the Confederate States will continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so long as her people will maintain it themselves.

But neutrality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained between both parties; or if the door be opened on the one side for aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for the purpose of self-defense.

I do not, however, for a moment believe that your gallant State will suffer its soil to be used for the purpose of giving an advantage to those who violate its neutrality and disregard its rights, over others who respect them both.

In conclusion, I tender to your Excellency the assurance of my high consideration and regard,

And am, Sir, very respectfully, yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

During the month of August, recruiting in the States of Ohio and Indiana progressed but slowly in comparison with the needs of the hour. While a force, magnified by rumor into colossal proportions, was gathering on her southern border, the Union men of Kentucky beheld with dismay a feeling of apathy taking the place of the early enthusiasm in the people north of the Ohio. This was the condition of affairs when the Union men of Kentucky threw off the mask and avowed their determination to support the United States government in the impending struggle.

The formation of the first Union camp on Kentucky soil was, as has been before remarked, for the purpose of organizing a force to guard munitions of war to the loyal people of east Tennessee, and any account of the operations of the Union forces in Kentucky, in 1861, would be incomplete without a reference to the uprising of the Unionists in that region.

Early in June, a convention of Union citizens met in Greenville, east Tennessee, the home of Andrew Johnson, to devise ways and means to oppose the schemes of the secessionists. A committee of safety was appointed and resolutions of unalterable fealty to the national government adopted. Lieut. Samuel P. Carter, United States navy, a native of Elizabethtown, in Carter County, east Tennessee, while serving on board the United States ship, "Seminole," on the Brazil station, had, in March preceding, written several letters to prominent citizens of his native State, urging them to stand by the old flag, and had thus, by his expressions of devoted loyalty to his country, brought himself into prominence as a Union man, and increased the respect in which he was already held as a United States officer.

The committee of safety named Lieut. Carter for appointment by the president as brigadier-general, and asked that he be assigned to command in east Tennessee in case United States troops should be organized. In compliance with this request, presented by Hon. Andrew Johnson, Lieut. Carter was immediately, on the arrival of his ship at Philadelphia, in July, ordered by Secretary Wells to report to Secretary Cameron for special duty.

On the 10th of July, orders were issued from the adjutant-general's office, to Lieut. Carter, to proceed to east Tennessee, and organize a camp of instruction of United States volunteers. A sum of money sufficient for temporary expenses was placed to his credit in New York, and on the day following the defeat of the Union army at Bull Run, he took his departure from Washington, for his new field of service. On his arrival at Cincinnati, he met his old friend, Lieut. William Nelson, United States navy; the officer designated by the war department, to organize a force in Kentucky, to convey the munitions of war designed for use by Carter's command, through that State to east Tennessee. In the conference that ensued between these two officers, to whose skill and courage the important enterprise had been intrusted, it was agreed that Lieut. Carter should make his way to east Tennessee, *via* Cumberland Gap, or through one of the adjacent gaps in the mountains, organize his force, arm them as best as he could with rifles and shot guns, take up a strong position in the mountains, and there await the arms and army supplies placed to his order in Cincinnati.

Alike in the requisites of courage and intrepidity, no two men could have been more unlike in other personal characteristics, than Nelson and Carter. While both were distinguished for the possession of that polish and ease of manner, that comes from association with the first society at home and abroad, Nelson was boisterous and impetuous, impatient of restraint and contradiction, and utterly intolerant of the slighest infraction of discipline. He was in the prime of manly beauty. A massive head, covered with a luxuriant growth of black, curly hair, was carried erect, and his herculean frame was firmly knit. Full of tireless energy, he seemed to require neither sleep nor rest. The sentinel, pacing his beat, was often startled long after midnight, by the colossal form of the commander looming up in the darkness, and approaching the camp from a direction whence he was least expected. Always an early riser, he took his bath, followed by a light breakfast, and was ready for the day's duties before the camp was astir.

Toward those of the officers, who displayed a disposition to acquire a knowledge of military tactics and zeal in the performance of their duties, he was the most affable of commanders; but woe betide the careless and inefficient. If there was a good deal of the martinet in his dealing with the embryo colonels and generals who flocked to his standard, it must be confessed that there was ample reason for it. A more patient and forbearing man might have been more popular with the officers, but the efficiency of the command would have suffered in proportion. Always ready to sacrifice his own comfort to the demands of duty, he required a like zealous performance on the part of his subordinates. Many of them were gentleman of high social standing, and unaccustomed to yield their opinions, or sacrifice their ease at the bidding of another, and the full truth, that they were henceforth to have no will of their own that clashed with that of the commanding general, dawned upon them but slowly. Nelson regarded the drilling and disciplining of the regiments as of paramount importance, and had a sailor's horror of political discussions.

The camp soon filled with visiting statesmen from the adjoining counties, each of whom had his own plan for saving the Union without the effusion of blood. Most of them were Union men, and when the time came for action, enlisted unhesitatingly in the Union army. Speech-making was the order of the day, and Kentuckians are natural orators. If it had been possible to talk down the rebellion it would have met its death at camp Dick Robinson. As might be expected, all this found little favor at the hands of the commander. He had been assigned to the performance of a specific duty, and the idea of discussing the wisdom or practicability of the order never entered his mind. Political discussions exasperated him, and it was not uncommon to see them broken up by the use of language more forcible than polite, and the participants set about their business in a very summary manner. Thus it came about that he conceived a violent antipathy toward the officers who preferred talking politics to drilling their detachments, while he trusted more fully and became more strongly attached to those who devoted all their time to military duties.

Lieut. Carter was, in most regards, the opposite of Nelson. He was a tall, graceful and very affable gentleman of the most winning address, coupled with dignity and self-restraint. His appearance at the camp had a soothing effect upon his comrade of the navy, and it was observed that the expletives in which the latter was wont to indulge on the most trivial occasions were more mild in tone and uttered more rarely than formerly. Long service in the navy had imparted to an otherwise pleasing address an expression of sternness and gravity. The habit of command sat easily upon him, and the control which he speedily acquired over the turbulent spirits who flocked to his standard increased to veneration, as events crowding rapidly upon each other brought into requisition the qualities of patience, courage and discipline with which he was eminently endowed.

It was thought at the time he started from Cincinnati that if he could reach the upper counties of east Tennessee he might arm a

sufficient force of mountaineers with country rifles to enable him to maintain his position until the promised supply of arms and equipments could reach them. On arriving at London, Ky., on the 1st of August, he fortunately met his brother, James P. T. Carter, who was on his way to Washington. He had just effected his escape from east Tennessee, where he had gone at the instance of the president and Secretary Stanton, for the purpose of consulting with the loyal citizens and making arrangements, if he found it practicable, for Unionists who desired to enter the service of the United States to cross into the borders of Kentucky and receive their arms and equipments.

By the advice of his brother, who represented that his appearance in east Tennessee would inevitably lead to his capture and imprisonment by the Confederate authorities, Lieut. Carter established his headquarters at Barboursville, in Knox County, Ky., thirty miles from Cumberland Gap, and determined there to await events and to receive such refugees as might arrive. A company of Col. Garrard's Kentucky regiment was there in course of organization. By the 3d of August nearly 100 refugees arrived at Boston, Ky., and Barboursville, followed in a few days by a considerable body, who appeared bearing the United States flag at the head of the column. Some were armed with hunting rifles, others with rude knives made by country blacksmiths, and many with stout cudgels. All were foot-sore and half famished. Their tattered garments and lacerated limbs bore unmistakable evidence of the hardships they had endured. But hunger and suffering had not dimmed their enthusiasm, and their only demand was to be armed and led against the enemy, that they might deliver their families from the oppression of Confederate rule.

Lieut. Carter's camp was established two miles east of Barboursville, and there, under the temporary shelter of brush and rude huts, the men were cared for as well as possible. Cooking utensils and provisions were collected from the surrounding country, but the men were shoeless and nearly all poorly clad and without blankets. The work of organization was pushed forward. Companies were formed and mustered into service for three years or during the war, by Lieut. Carter, who, having no assistant, performed the duties of commander as well as those belonging to the field and staff. By the middle of August the First Tennessee Infantry, numbering 800 men, was organized under command of Col. R. K. Byrd; but was, thus far, without arms, clothing, or camp and garrison equipage. As time passed, the necessity for these things became more pressing, and Lieut. Carter visited camp Dick Robinson and obtained the promise from Lieut. Nelson that, if transportation was furnished, the arms and ammunition should be sent to camp Andy Johnson. Lieut. Carter hastened back to his camp and at once dispatched the necessary number of wagons, guarded by two companies of the First Tennessee. After waiting the necessary length of time for the train to return, Lieut. Carter was surprised by the information that Nelson not only declined to send the arms but had kept the men. The hostility of the State authorities to Nelson's camp had deepened to such an extent that military necessity compelled the commandant to retain the two companies and to request Lieut. Carter to bring the remainder of his force to assist in its defense in case it should be attacked. In the last week of August the regiment, then upward of 1,000 strong, broke camp and marched to camp Dick Robinson.

What would have been the effect upon the campaign that followed, if Lieut. Carter had been permitted to carry out his design to move upon Cumberland Gap, capture and fortify it and there establish his camp, within easy distance from the homes of the adherents to the United States government in east Tennessee, cannot be known. It is possible that the removal of Nelson's camp to that point might have resulted in holding that important gateway against the Confederate forces then organized in east Tennessee, who were soon after in possession of the place.

The removal to camp Dick Robinson was a bitter disappointment to the east-Tennesseans, but they were destined to still greater trials before they were permitted to cross the

mountains to the rescue of their families. Refugees from east Tennessee continued to pour into the camp, and in a short time the Second Tennessee Infantry was organized and mustered into service under command of Col. J. P. T. Carter. Cols. Wolford, Bramlette, Fry and Garrard completed the organization of their respective regiments, and an artillery company, under command of Capt. Abram Hewitt, was mustered into service.

Whilst these events were transpiring in eastern and central Kentucky, affairs had culminated in the establishment of military camps on Green River, and at a point in Indiana, opposite Louisville, Ky. Lovell H. Rousseau, whose bold advocacy of the sovereignity of the general government, when a member of the legislature, had attracted public attention, after organizing the Home Guard at Louisville set about the organization of a brigade of United States troops.

Conference with leading Union men in the State led to the establishment of his camp on the Indiana shore, opposite Louisville, although recruiting was openly carried on in Kentucky. Col. Rousseau named his camp in honor of that patriotic citizen of Kentucky, Hon. Joseph Holt, who, while a member of President Buchanan's cabinet, stood faithful to the Union after it had been deserted by nearly every one of his colleagues.

From the one end of the State to the other the work went bravely on, and soon twenty-eight regiments of infantry, six regiments of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery were organized, and as soon as possible mustered into the service of the United States. The regiments were numbered arbitrarily, with no reference to the time when they were filled, and, in several cases, none as to the date of their muster, and several of them were engaged in important actions before they were fully organized. Skirmishes with predatory bands of Confederate cavalry were of frequent occurrence, and those whose rendezvous was south of Louisville were in constant danger of surprise and capture from detachments of cavalry sent out from the military encampments south of Green River for the express purpose of breaking up Union camps and capturing military stores and equipments.

One of the earliest and most practical of all the unconditional Union men in the State was William T. Ward. Early in August he visited the counties of Metcalfe, Green, Taylor, Hart and Adair, and sent messages into Cumberland, Clinton and Russell Counties, urging the citizens, many of whom had joined home-guard companies, to disband those organizations, on the ground that it placed them under control of the governor, whom he regarded as disloyal to the national government. He succeeded in inducing twenty-eight companies to promise to enlist in the United States service, as soon as the necessary authority to organize a brigade could be obtained. Mr. Ward then went to Washington, where he was commissioned a brigadier-general on the 18th of September.

Returning to Kentucky, he proceeded at once to the organization of his brigade, commissioning the officers by virtue of authority vested in him by the war department. On the 20th of September he reported for duty to Gen. Anderson, giving him the same information that he had given the war department at Washington. Gen. Anderson directed him to select a suitable place to organize his brigade, but was compelled to retain at Louisville 2,500 out of the 4,000 stands of arms furnished Gen. Ward by the general government. Col. E. H. Hobson and Mr. John A. Ward, a son of the general, and afterward a lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-seventh Infantry, had, during the absence of Gen. Ward, collected the men together at Greensburg and Sulphur Well, in Barren County. These men, about 1,000 in number, unarmed and unorganized, were dispersed by Buckner when he advanced to Green River bridge, but were reunited at Lebanon, where they remained until arms could be procured.

The proposal of Gov. Morton to send troops to Kentucky, as expressed in his telegram of September 2d, to the assistant secretary of war, seconded by Messrs. Boyle and Speed, of Kentucky, was endorsed by the Union people, but they strenuously opposed any ad-

vance into Kentucky by their friends from the north, until after some portion of Kentucky soil had been occupied by southern troops.

Threats had already been made by the latter to occupy Columbus, Ky. This town, located on the Mississippi River, about equal distance from Cairo, Ill., and the northern boundary of Tennessee, was recognized as a point of great strategic importance by both the United States and Confederate States commanders. The former had been deterred from occupying it with troops from other States by the strenuous appeals of the Union men of Kentucky, who felt that an overt act on the part of the national government, in violation of the promise of Gen. McClellan to respect the neutrality of Kentucky, would be construed by the people into a termination of that agreement. The city was practically in the hands of the Confederate authorities, most of the population of the town and the adjacent country being in full sympathy with the rebellion, and its formal occupation was only deferred until a pretext could be found in the movements of the United States forces at Cairo. This was afforded on the 23d of August, by the capture of a little steamer named "W. B. Terry," running in the Confederate service, by the United States gunboat Lexington, at Paducah, Ky., fifty miles above Cairo, on the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Tennessee. Accordingly, Columbus and Hickman, Ky., were occupied on the 3d of September by order of Gen. Leonidas Polk, commanding the Confederate military department No. 2; and on the 6th Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant, commanding the district of Southwestern Missouri, occupied Paducah with United States troops from Cairo, Gen. Grant commanding the expedition in person.

The occupation of Paducah and Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland, gave the national government control of the two important rivers of the State of Tennessee, and effectually closed water communication with the South. The occupation of Columbus gave rise to a spirited correspondence between Gen. Polk and President Jeff. Davis, Gov. Harris and Gov. Magoffin, in which Polk, writing to Magoffin, claimed that he had reliable information that the Federal forces intended to occupy Columbus, referred to the danger of west Tennessee from such a movement, and offered to withdraw from Kentucky if the Federal troops were simultaneously withdrawn. On September 1st he had written that he "regarded it of essential importance that he should be ahead of the 'enemy' in occupying Columbus." Gov. Harris, on hearing that Gen. Pillow had occupied Hickman, had written to Polk, requesting the instant withdrawal of his command, on the ground that he and Mr. Davis were pledged to respect the neutrality of Kentucky. Polk, in reply, regretted the necessity of the movement, but claimed that, under plenary powers delegated to him by the Confederate government, he was authorized to move from his late position at Madrid to Columbus. On the 4th, Secretary Walker, Confederate States army, ordered the prompt withdrawal of Pillow from Hickman. In reply to this, Polk appealed to President Davis, who responded that "the necessity justified the action."

Mr. George C. Taylor, and a number of other citizens of Columbus, welcomed Polk in a long address, in which, after referring to "the tyranny of the general government" in ignoring the neutrality of Kentucky in levying a tax for the purpose of carrying on a cruel war against the South, to which Kentucky would be called upon to contribute, he assured him that the entire community welcomed his army with "the liveliest delight." But the Confederate army was not destined to receive the same cordial welcome at the hands of the State government. On the 9th of September, Hon. John M. Johnston, chairman of the committee, transmitted to Gen. Polk resolutions of the senate, introduced by Hon. Walter C. Whitaker, a member of that body, requesting the prompt withdrawal of his troops from Kentucky soil. Replying to Mr. Johnston, Gen. Polk claimed that cause for the seizure of Columbus had been given by the capture of the "W. B. Terry;" by the vote of members of congress from Kentucky for supplies of men and money to carry on the

war, and by the establishment of a United States camp in Garrard County, and concluded by an offer to withdraw his troops when the United States resumed its former attitude toward Kentucky. On the 13th, the senate concurred in the house resolution requiring the governor of Kentucky to issue a proclamation ordering the Confederate troops to withdraw from the State.

On September 7th, Brig.-Gen. R. C. Foster and Messrs. Brown, Bailey and Harding, of Nashville, in the absence of Gov. Harris, telegraphed Mr. Davis that troops from Paducah could reach Bowling Green, Ky., in less than twenty-four hours, and asked what should be done. To which Adjt.-Gen. Cooper intimated that, as the Confederate forces would, in view of the Federal occupation of Paducah, be required for duty at that point, Bowling Green should be occupied by Tennessee troops.

On September 10th, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston superseded Gen. Polk in command of Department No. 2, the latter retaining command at Columbus, besides being charged with the defenses on the Mississippi River below Cairo.

Three regiments of Kentucky infantry, which had gone south and were stationed at camp Boone, together with 2,500 men at camp Trousdale and a Tennessee regiment, were organized into a force for the occupation of Bowling Green, under command of Brig.-Gen. Simon B. Buckner. With this force, numbering 5,000 men and a battery of artillery, he was ordered, September 15th, to proceed to Bowling Green and secure and hold that "important line of defense." The importance of Bowling Green as a strategic position had occurred to the Union men, who were engaged in recruiting in that section of Kentucky. Col. S. G. Burbridge, who was at Russellville raising a regiment under authority from Nelson, at once proceeded to Louisville to induce Col. Rousseau to move his camp from Jeffersonville to Bowling Green, representing that, with the nucleus thus formed, a brigade of not less than 5,000 men could be organized in a few weeks. Rousseau accepted the invitation at once, and a night was fixed when the telegraph wires were to be cut, and his entire command embarked upon trains on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad for Bowling Green. Unfortunately for the success of the expedition, Col. Burbridge visited Frankfort to obtain the sanction of Mr. Crittenden, who considered the movement premature. There is no doubt that had the movement been promptly made the region of country south of Green River and east of the Cumberland, which for the next five months was given over to the control of the Confederates, would have remained inside of the Federal lines.

The two leading papers of Louisville, the *Journal* and *Democrat*, both of which had hitherto advocated neutrality from a Union standpoint, now came out strongly in favor of the national government.

The occupation of Bowling Green, although intended by Gen. Johnston as the northern line of his defense, had the appearance to Gen. Anderson of an advance on Louisville. He immediately dispatched a messenger to Gov. Morton, asking if he could depend upon him for assistance, and on September 18th, Rousseau's brigade and the Sixth Indiana Infantry, Col. T. T. Crittenden; the Thirty-eighth Indiana, Col. Scribner; the Forty-ninth Ohio, Col. Gibson; with the Home Guard companies—the expedition commanded by Gen. W. T. Sherman—advanced and occupied Muldraugh's Hill, on the line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, in the direction of Elizabethtown, at which place Buckner's advance was reported to be. On reaching the Rolling Fork of Salt River, a deep stream, Gen. Sherman found the railroad bridge burned, which stopped the progress of the trains, and the men were disembarked. Col. Rousseau, in command of a picket of 400 men, was sent forward, but was soon afterward recalled. On Sunday morning, the 22d, Gen. Sherman regarding the position at Muldraugh's Hill of great importance, determined to advance. Col. Rousseau, with his brigade, took the lead, followed by the Thirty-eighth Indiana, the Forty-ninth Ohio, and a detachment of regulars, under Capt. Swain, which had

joined the expedition. The command moved through Elizabethtown, and out on the Lebanon Road, whence it proceeded to Muldraugh's Hill, where it was soon after re-enforced by the Thirty-ninth Indiana, under Col. Harrison. The Sixth Indiana was stationed at Elizabethtown, and Col. Hecker's Twenty-fourth Illinois at Colesburg, to guard the railroad.

Muldraugh's Hill is a range of hills separating the waters of Rolling Fork from Green River, but, in a country abounding in turnpike roads, was not a strong position, and of little importance as a defense to Louisville. Gen. Sherman reported to Gen. Anderson that Buckner's force was variously estimated from 7,000 to 20,000 men, and did not doubt that he had 15,000, all actuated by a common purpose to destroy him. In concluding his report, he says:

I am fully alive to the danger of our position and to all its disadvantages especially that of supplies. Our provisions have been hauled up the rugged valley of Cedar Creek by hired wagons and by some which were brought along by the Thirty-ninth Indiana. We can barely supply our wants and are liable at any moment to have those wagons seized. The reason I came to Muldraugh's Hill was for effect. Had it fallen into the hands of our enemies, the cause would have been lost, and even with it in our possession a week, nobody has rallied to our support. I expected, as we had reason to, that the people of Kentucky would rally to our support; but on the contrary, none have joined us, while hundreds, we are told, are going to Bowling Green. The railroad from Bowling Green toward us is broken at Nolin, ten miles miles off, and at another trestle beyond, some seven miles. I doubt if this was done by Buckner's orders, but rather by the small parties of guards left to protect them, and who were scared at our approach. I have from time to time given you telegraphic notice of these events, and must now await the development. We should have here at least 20,000 men; but that has been an impossibility. Truly yours,

W. T. SHERMAN, *Brigadier-General.*

If the general could have captured the following dispatch on its way to Gen. Johnston's headquarters soon after, it might have allayed his anxiety:

BOWLING GREEN, October 4, 1861.

W. W. MACKALL, A. A. G.:

I have not been able to obtain accurate returns of the strength of the regiments here since my return. My effective strength at all points does not exceed 6,000. The enemy, with their last re-enforcements, number not less than 13,000 or 14,000. It is stated that they will advance in a few days on Green River. I need re-enforcements at this place very much. When can I receive them? Please reply.

S. B. BUCKNER, *Brigadier-General.*

It may as well be stated here, as elsewhere, that Buckner's effective strength, at Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, and including all the cavalry that rendered to him a nominal recognition, as commander of the Central Kentucky Division, including Hardee's division, up to the arrival of Floyd's brigade from West Virginia on Christmas eve, never exceeded 13,000 men. Polk's forces numbered, on September 30th, 20,000 present for duty.

President Lincoln appears to have placed a high estimate upon the ability of the inspector-general of the Kentucky State Guard, as will be seen by the following tender of a commission:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 17, 1861.

HON. SECRETARY OF WAR:

My Dear Sir:—Unless there be reason to the contrary not known to me, make out a commission for Simon (B) Buckner, of Kentucky, as a brigadier-general of volunteers, It is to be put into the hands of Gen. Anderson, and delivered to Gen. Buckner or not, at the discretion of Gen. Anderson. Of course it is to remain a secret unless and until the commission is delivered. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

When we reflect upon the sublime audacity of this plucky rebel who, for five months, with his force numbering less than one-half of that opposed to him at Nolin, Elizabethtown and Calhoun, poorly armed and afflicted with measles, not only maintained his line 100 miles in extent, between Polk on his left and Zollicoffer on his right, but rendered efficient aid to the latter in his operations in east Tennessee, it cannot but be regretted that the brigadier-general's commission (which, however, was never offered him) had not saved him to the Union cause.

On the 8th of October Gen. Anderson, finding that continued ill health unfitted him for active duty, in obedience to orders from Gen. Scott, relinquished the command of the "Department of the Cumberland" to Gen. Sherman, who at once assumed its duties. His first act was to direct Brig.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, who had recently been com-

missioned, by the president, to proceed to Owensboro, in the vicinity of which Cols. Jackson, Burbridge, McHenry, Hawkins, Grider, Shackelford and Hobson were recruiting regiments for the United States service. He subsequently established his camp at Calhoun and organized what was afterward known as the Fifth Division. During the time in which the regiments were perfecting their organization, they had several severe skirmishes with the enemy, the first of which took place at Woodbury, in Butler County. Col. S. G. Burbridge, who had obtained repeating rifles for the use of his men, and Col. Jackson, with his cavalry, were fearless and vigilant in guarding the country lying immediately north of Green River against incursions from the opposite shore.

Col. J. H. McHenry, whose camp was located at Hartford, hearing that a force of Confederate cavalry at Woodbury, twenty-five miles above, on the south side of Green River, meditated an attack upon his camp, notified Col. Burbridge, who, with his force, was encamped thirty miles distant. Col. Burbridge, with 125 of his regiment, 100 of the Third Kentucky Cavalry under Capt. Breathitt, and a section of artillery under Capt. Somebry, proceeded at once to McHenry's camp, and, on Monday, the 28th of October, encamped near Cromwell, thinking to attack next morning. Col. McHenry, with his force and a part of the cavalry, crossed the river and attacked a small picket of the enemy at Morgantown, wounding several and losing one of his own men. Capt. Netter, of Burbridge's regiment, followed McHenry with twenty men, and passed through Morgantown, coming up with the Confederates one mile distant from the town. In the meantime, Col. Burbridge passed up the river twenty miles, and there found the main body of the Confederates occupying an eminence upon the opposite side. The latter immediately formed in line, but were thrown into consternation by a few well directed shots from a six-pound cannon, and a ferry flat upon the opposite side being brought over, Col. Burbridge crossed with Lieut. Ashley, Capts. Belt, Shacklett and Porter, with 135 men and one piece of artillery. Capt. Belt immediately occupied the position from which the Confederates were driven. Their second position, being their encampment, was first shelled, then charged, whereupon they fell back, leaving their dead upon the field. Knowing that a camp of Confederate cavalry was located a few miles above, Col. Burbridge destroyed the abandoned camp and joined Col. McHenry at Morgantown.

On the 31st, Capt. Whittinghill, with one company of the Seventeenth Infantry, and Capt. Porter, commanding a company of 30 Home Guards at Cromwell, repulsed an assault of 200 Confederate cavalry, inflicting heavy loss upon them. Cols. Jackson and Burbridge went to the relief of McHenry from Owensboro, but no further molestation was offered. On the 26th of September, Gen. Buckner destroyed the locks on Green River at the mouth of Muddy River, and on the 29th occupied Hopkinsville, after a skirmish with the Union Home Guard, resulting in a loss to him of one killed and one wounded, and to the Home Guard of several wounded and two taken prisoners.

Brig.-Gen. Alcorn, with his Mississippi brigade was placed in command at Hopkinsville. He soon after became disgusted with the lack of respect exhibited toward him by the Union people of the town, arrested several, and asked permission of Buckner to make examples of them. He was relieved in the course of a few weeks by Brig.-Gen. Tilghman, and with that event his name disappears from these annals. Gen. Tilghman was obliged to spend a greater portion of his time and use a large portion of his force in moving the sick, the measles having done that which the Union forces never did—attacked his camp.

On the 9th of October, Brig.-Gen. Rousseau, who had in the meantime received his commission, pursuant to orders from department-headquarters, removed his camp to the vicinity of Nolin Creek and named it camp Nevin, in compliment to an old friend in Louisville. Brig.-Gen. Alexander McDowell

McCook, having reported at department headquarters, in compliance with a request previously made for him by Gen. Anderson, was assigned by Gen. Sherman to command of all the forces at Nolin Creek. Here he was soon after joined by Brig.-Gens. Thomas J. Wood and R. W. Johnson. Dividing his command into brigades, he assigned these officers to command, which, with the brigade of Pennsylvanians under command of Brig.-Gen. Negley, which arrived on October 22, increased his force to 13,195 effectives.

While these events were transpiring in southern Kentucky, Lieut. Nelson was using his utmost exertions to organize his brigade at camp Dick Robinson. The men were still without sufficient clothing, and, but for the fertility of the country in which the camp was located, would have been equally destitute of subsistence. He even found difficulty in obtaining the arms designated for his use at Cincinnati. The town of Cynthiana, sixty miles from Covington, on the line of the Kentucky Central Railroad, was in possession of a company of Confederate recruits, who were preparing to join their companies at camp Boone, and the Confederate States flag floated from the spire of the court house. Hon. Garrett Davis, whose experience in the distribution of arms to the Union men of central Kentucky encouraged him to anticipate success, undertook to deliver the arms at camp Dick Robinson. Proceeding to Cincinnati, he obtained possession of them, packed in boxes, and loaded them upon a train which he accompanied. On the arrival of the train at Cynthiana, the rebel company before mentioned, who had been notified by telegraph, was seen stationed beyond the depot to stop the train. The engineer, seeing the danger, immediately reversed his engine and returned to Covington.

Col. John M. Harlan, now associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Gen. James Speed, of Louisville, hearing of the occurrence, wrote Mr. Davis to send the arms on the mail boat to that city, and they would forward them to that point. Knowing that the boat would arrive at midnight, they at once called upon Mr. Sam Gill, superintendent of the Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington Railroad, a Union man, and made known their plan, which was that they should have an engine and car ready at the depot to which the arms could be transferred immediately upon their arrival at the wharf. Mr. Gill entered heartily into the arrangement. The boxes filled with arms were loaded in wagons, and in the dead of night conveyed to the waiting train, which at once sped with its precious freight into the darkness on its way to Lexington, where it arrived at 5 o'clock in the morning. The arrival of a railroad train at that unusual hour aroused the suspicion of a lounger about the station, who peered into the car and discovered the boxes. He ran at once to the fire-engine room, and rang the bell for the assembly of Capt. John Morgan's company of State Guards.

On the same day in which Messrs. Harlan and Speed had written Mr. Davis, they had dispatched a messenger to Col. Dudley, who was recruiting his regiment, the Twenty-first Kentucky, at Lexington, and to Lieut. Nelson, at camp Dick Robinson, to inform them that the train containing the arms would reach Lexington early on this morning. Immediately on the reception of this welcome intelligence, Gen. Nelson dispatched Col. Bramlette to Lexington, and ordered Lieut.-Col. Letcher, with 300 of Wolford's cavalry, to follow him. Col. Dudley, hearing the alarm sounded from Morgan's arsenal, immediately called out his men and marched to the depot, where Morgan's men had already assembled. No attempt was made on the part of either party to gain possession of the arms, but Morgan, acting under the instructions of Hon. John C. Breckinridge, was determined to prevent the transportation of the arms through Lexington to camp Dick Robinson, while Dudley was equally determined to defend them. They were both brave men, and their forces, well armed, were about equal in numbers, and eager for the fray. Suddenly the head of Letcher's battalion appeared upon the hill approaching the city. They were armed with Sharpe's repeating rifles, and, for effect, had affixed the frightful

looking sword bayonets, which, as the column descended the hill, glittered in the rays of the rising sun. Col. Bramlette in the meantime had met Mr. Breckinridge, and had vainly endeavored to convince him of the folly of opposing the removal of the arms to camp Dick Robinson. At the moment the cavalry appeared in view, Col. Bramlette remarked: "Very well, Mr. Breckinridge, the responsibility of a battle rests with you, and it is my opinion that the guns will go to camp Dick Robinson." From this argument there was no appeal. Morgan and his men disappeared from the scene, and the arms were quietly transported to their destination.

On the 15th of September, Brig.-Gen. George H. Thomas reported for duty at Louisville, and was ordered to relieve Lieut. Nelson, in command of the troops at that point. Lieut. Nelson was directed to report at department-headquarters, when he soon received orders to repair to Maysville, Ky., on the Ohio, fifty miles above Cincinnati, and organize a force to meet the enemy, who were advancing under command of Col. John S. Williams, from Virginia into eastern Kentucky.

In the order relieving Nelson, the general commanding commended the "zeal and untiring energy he had displayed in providing and distributing arms to the Union men of Kentucky, and in collecting and organizing troops at camp Dick Robinson." It was, no doubt, owing to the possession of these qualities, as well as his success in organizing a camp in spite of the opposition of the State authorities, that it was deemed expedient to again employ him in the same capacity. Maysville was the home of his boyhood and the residence of a host of his warmest friends, and no officer could have been selected to whom his duty could have been entrusted with greater chances of success. He expressed no word of dissent to an order that separated him from an army whose organization owed its existence to his courage and energy. To a nature as noble as his, jealousy was impossible. Congratulating his men upon the acquisition of an experienced army officer who would perfect the work which he had begun, he bade adieu to his trusty followers, and left the scene of his triumphant vindication of the power of the national government.

Gen. Thomas found, on assuming command at camp Dick Robinson, on the 15th of September, 1861, very little that enters into the formation of a military camp, except men. A few boxes of clothing had arrived and had been distributed promiscuously where the articles were the most needed. A pair of pants here and a blouse there; a hat here, and there a pair of shoes; and, to add to the grotesque appearance of the command, an occasional army overcoat might be seen, whose accommodating skirts, concealed, to some extent, the total absence of pantaloons. Gen. Thomas found ample need of the patience and fortitude with which he was endowed, in forming an army from the crude material at his command. Accustomed to the methods of the regular army, and to the discipline of its soldiery, he had never, until now, had command of a brigade composed exclusively of volunteer troops. The buff-colored shoulder-straps of a colonel of cavalry had not been replaced by the star of the brigadier, to which he was entitled when he arrived at camp Dick Robinson. He was accompanied by Capt. George E. Flynt, the accomplished and efficient adjutant-general, who remained until the close of the war his trusted confidential adviser and friend.

For twenty-five years Gen. Thomas had been accustomed to martial scenes. He had fought the Seminoles in the everglades, and the fierce Comanches on the plains. He had won distinction in the war with Mexico, and at the breaking out of the civil war found himself major of a regiment of cavalry, of which Albert Sidney Johnston was colonel, Robert E. Lee lieutenant-colonel, and W. J. Hardee major. Promoted to a colonelcy on the 3d of May, 1861, he served a few months in the eastern army before being commissioned a brigadier-general in the volunteer army, and sent to report to Gen. Anderson at Louisville. In every position in which he had been placed, throughout his military career, he had borne himself as a man, modest, brave, and incorruptible; and now, at the age

of forty-five, the real drama of his life was to begin.

The hitherto insurmountable difficulty in equipping this command, for its expedition in east Tennessee, had been to obtain the necessary supplies. Week after week the impetuous Nelson had been compelled to wait, until hope and patience were alike exhausted. Gen. Thomas lost no time in introducing military system into the camp, and in imparting to it the character of a camp of instruction. Company and battalion drill became a part of the daily duties, and a laudable desire to excel in the discipline of their regiments animated the officers.

The patience, dignity and self-control, which never forsook him in the most trying emergencies, and which afterward gave him the unbounded control of the army, were at no period of his life more manifest than now. Fully alive to the importance of the expedition into east Tennessee, which contemplated the permanent occupation of Knoxville and control of the Virginia & East Tennessee Railroad, he was powerless to obtain even the clothing necessary to preserve the lives of his men. He had no wagons and could not obtain them, while hundreds were being shipped to Rosecrans in western Virginia. The orders of Fremont were on file in all the manufactories at Cincinnati and were being filled as rapidly as possible.

Finding that no assistance could be rendered by the quartermaster's department at Louisville or Cincinnati, and that Gen. Thomas, by the very fact of his military education, was committed to regular army methods for obtaining supplies through the regular channels, the writer, then a member of his staff, conceived the idea of procuring them by the same means that had proved successful in the hands of Gen. Fremont. Making out a requisition upon Capt. Dickerson, assistant-quartermaster at Cincinnati, for a large quantity of clothing, tents and other camp equipage, and having it approved by Gen. Thomas, he proceeded to Cincinnati and presented it to Capt. Dickerson. He was informed that the quartermaster's department was powerless to furnish the articles enumerated, and that, being indebted to the clothing manufacturers over $1,000,000, his credit with them was exhausted. He then applied to Col. Swords, assistant quartermaster-general at Louisville, to know at what time he might expect to receive funds for the equipment of camp Dick Robinson, to which Col. Swords responded, designating the middle of October as the probable date. Knowing that the uncertainty as to the time fixed would debar him from competing in open market for goods with the agents of Gen. Fremont, who were able to pay cash on delivery, and feeling deeply the necessities of the men whom he had left shivering in their rags in camp, he determined to purchase the goods, if possible, and agree to pay, the 15th of October, on delivery at Nicholasville.

He visited several of the largest establishments and found large quantities of clothing. Tempting piles of warm flannel shirts, blankets, blouses and overcoats, pantaloons and woolen hosiery greeted his eyes, while accommodating clerks stood ready to sell them —cheap for cash. Exhibiting the requisition as his credentials, he left copies of it at several places, requesting the proprietors to mark opposite each article the price at which they would sell it for cash on delivery and hand it to him the next day as a sealed proposal.

The plan worked admirably. The clothing was purchased in accordance with the bids, and the officer returned highly elated with his success. But his triumph was of short duration. The next evening a stranger alighted from the stage at the camp, and, inquiring for the acting quartermaster, was shown to his quarters. "I have never visited a camp," he said, "and I came to see one." The officer welcomed him and expressed his willingness to render his stay as agreeable as possible. "When our house heard that I wished to visit your camp," said the stranger, "the proprietors made me supercargo of a little invoice of clothing that comprises a part of the goods you purchased yesterday." The officer glanced at the bill and found that it was from one of the houses with whom he had contracted; he compared

it item by item with the proposal and found no variation in prices; he added it and found it correct; he examined the checks of the receiving clerk at Nicholasville and found that the packages had all arrived at the depot. There was no reason why he should not pay the bill, except that he had no money.

He knew, as well as he knew his name, that a draft had been sent with a small quantity of goods to test his ability to meet his engagements. Taking down a check-book on a banking house at Lexington (where he had no account), he deliberately wrote a check for the amount, and, handing it to the stranger, took his receipted bill, excused himself and mounted his horse for a ride to Lexington. It may well be imagined that the emotions of the officer were not of the most pleasurable description during that lonely night ride of twenty miles. For the first time in his life, he had been guilty of a flagrant crime, and one which he feared Gen. Thomas would not condone. Arriving at Lexington, he sought rest at a hotel, but could not sleep. Rising early in the morning, he rang the bell at the residence of the late R. A. Sayre, for it was necessary to arrange if possible for the payment of the check without being seen by the bearer. The banker came down and the officer at once introduced himself. He stated the condition of the camp, and that the half-clad troops stationed there constituted the only defense of Lexington against the enemy, who was reported to be advancing into Kentucky from east Tennessee. He then exhibited the telegram from Col. Swords, and asked him if he (the banker) would advance money upon it, provided Col. Swords verified the dispatch. "Yes," said the old man, "to the extent of my ability." "I am glad to hear it," said the overjoyed officer; "for I have already drawn a check upon your bank." "The check shall be paid," said the banker.

The homeward ride, through the crisp September morning air, was a pleasanter trip than the one of the previous night. The troops were soon better clad and in more comfortable quarters, and the loan was promptly paid by Col. Swords. It is, perhaps, a trivial incident, but it will serve to explain the delay in carrying out the design of the national government to occupy east Tennessee. Having ordered the expedition in July, the war department seemed to have forgotten it, and no means were provided to carry it into execution. On the 20th of September Captain Dickerson telegraphed Gen. Thomas that he had commenced the shipment of wagons to him, but before he had fairly gotten under way he had orders from western Virginia for 400, which took precedence. In fact every army movement seemed to take precedence of that which Gen. Nelson had inaugurated, which Gen. Thomas was straining every means to carry forward, and which the stout hearts and willing hands of 1,500 loyal east Tennesseans were pledged to assist in accomplishing.

Yet it is difficult to conceive of a more important movement than that of the early occupation of east Tennessee by a strong force. The effect would have been to cut off all railroad communications between the eastern and western portions of the Confederacy, except by the long and devious routes south of the Appalachian chain of mountains, and to add to the army of the United States fully 10,000 hardy mountaineers inured to toil and hardship, besides performing a solemn duty in protecting a loyal people against the prosecution of the enemies of the Union. A tithe of the troops, arms and camp equipage lying idle upon the banks of the Potomac, transferred to Gen. Thomas in September, would have enabled him to puncture the shell which the Confederates managed by a show of strength to maintain, far outside of the real bounds of their territory, for nearly a year longer.

East Tennessee is separated from Kentucky by the Cumberland Mountains and from western Virginia by the Iron and Alleghany Mountains. The country is watered by the Holston and Clinch Rivers, which, flowing from the north and east, unite at Kingston and form the Tennessee River. The east Tennessee & Georgia Railroad, 130 miles long, connects Chattanooga at the southern end of the valley with Knoxville on the

north, from which place the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad runs to Lynchburg, Va. The population, similar in character to that in eastern Kentucky and western Virginia, earnestly protested against the secession of the State, casting 30,903 votes against it to 5,507 votes in favor thereof. A subsequent election resulted in a vote of 32,923 votes against, to 14,780 in favor of the measure. Encouraged by the prospect of aid from the general government the Union men were actively engaged in organizing themselves into companies and regiments, with which to reenforce the troops that were expected from Kentucky, and were so largely in the majority in most of the counties as to render concealment of their designs unnecessary.

The Knoxville *Whig*, published by W. G. Brownlow, breathed out threatening and slaughter against the southern Confederacy, and the lack of arms only prevented an open resistance to its measures. Gen. Felix K. Zollicoffer, an ex-member of congress and editor of a Nashville paper, a man of high personal character and an ardent secessionist, was, in accordance with the recommendation of Gen. Polk, selected, July 26th, to command the Confederate forces in east Tennessee—the Tennessee troops having been transferred to the Confederacy.

It is generally conceded that Gen. Zollicoffer, upon assuming command of the district of east Tennessee, really desired to overlook the past offenses of the Union men, and to prevent, by a wise administration of the power with which he had been clothed, the atrocities which were being perpetrated upon them. He granted a ready audience to the persecuted citizens and issued orders against interference with the rights of property, and thus, but for his taking the field against the expected advance of the forces at camp Dick Robinson, and leaving the work of reconciliation that he had commenced to other hands, the annals of this period would not be stained by tales of rapine and murder.

The approach to east Tennessee from the north is guarded by a high range of mountains, through which there are three principal gaps or depressions, viz.: Pound Gap, 100 miles northeast from Knoxville; Jimtown Gap, eighty miles northwest, and Cumberland Gap, sixty-five miles northward. A turnpike extends from Nicholasville, Ky., southeast to Crab Orchard, sixty-five miles from Cumberland Gap, and from that point through the gap there is a dirt road, practicable until late in the fall for heavy wagons, but almost impassable in the winter. Along this road, for many years previous to the building of the Virginia & Tennessee, and the Kentucky Central Railroads, merchandise to supply the people of east Tennessee had been transported from Maysville, Ky., on the Ohio River. Fully alive to the importance of defending these gaps against the approach of the Union forces, Gen. Zollicoffer, early in August, disposed of his available force, thirty-three infantry companies, along the base of the mountains at the various gaps and bridle paths, to intercept communication between Kentucky and Tennessee Union men.

Using six cavalry companies as scouts between the different posts, he placed a section of light artillery in position at Cumberland Gap, and held a battery in reserve at Knoxville. Besides the infantry above referred to, he had one regiment and sixteen companies stationed along the line of the East Tennessee & Georgia Railroad, guarding bridges which had been threatened by the Union men. Notwithstanding the large amount of arms and ammunition which the seceded States had seized in the United States forts and arsenals, and which had been surrendered to them in almost every engagement since the beginning of the war, these important equipments for an army were, even so early as this, deplorably lacking and continued to be the "long-felt want" of the Confederacy until the close of the war. The search for arms ordered by Gov. Harris in Tennessee had resulted in bringing together a vast quantity of firearms, consisting of a heterogeneous mass of squirrel rifles, shot-guns and pistols, useless at long range, and these were supplemented with huge knives, intended to be used in carving the backs of the retreating enemy; for the pleasing illusion that "the Yankees would

not fight" was not yet dispelled. August 29, Zollicoffer wrote to Adjt.-Gen. Cooper: "Reliable news just in from Hoskins' Cross Roads (Nelson's camp). Four thousand well-armed men there, and coming in 400 or 500 per day. Plenty arms. One thousand men at Barboursville; 700 at Williamsburg, without arms. East Tennesseans going on to Hoskins' for arms." The next week he received the unwelcome information from the war department at Richmond that no arms could be furnished him.

Early in September, he took military control of the railroads in east Tennessee to facilitate the transportation of supplies to the army in Virginia, and on the 9th announced a forward movement into Kentucky *via* Cumberland Gap. On the 21st he had taken position at the Gap, and finding himself unable to hold it with the means at his command if he should be attacked, made requisition for more artillery. He complained of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information, owing to the hostility of the country, and was unable to push his scouts but a short distance from camp.

Receiving orders from Gen. Johnston to await further orders, and time his movements by the advance of Buckner on the south, he turned his attention to strengthening his position. He soon found that the subsistence of a large force in a mountainous and hostile region was even a greater obstacle to his advance than the lack of artillery. On the 24th, he was out of bread. At this time his command at Cumberland Ford consisted of the Eleventh, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Tennessee, and the Fifteenth Mississippi Infantry regiments, and the First, Second and Third Tennessee Cavalry regiments, which, with Rutledge's battery of light artillery, numbered 3,549 present for duty—aggregate present 4,578; besides 3,600 other troops, armed and unarmed, left behind in east Tennessee. On the following day, receiving supplies from his rear, he moved the Eleventh Tennessee Infantry, Col. Raines, and the First Tennessee Cavalry, Col. McNairy, forward, with six days' rations, to dislodge the Union force at Laurel Bridge to cover an expedition to the salt works in Clay County, Ky. This movement was entirely successful. The Union force, a picket of Wolford's cavalry, fell back, and the salt, about 200 barrels, found at the works, was recaptured and conveyed to the camp.

On the 20th of September, Gen. Thomas directed Col. T. T. Garrard to proceed with his regiment, the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, to Rockcastle Hills, beyond Crab Orchard, on the Cumberland Gap road, and take a strong position, fortifying it so as to enable him to defend himself against any force that might be sent against him. He had orders to build huts for his men, keep out intruders, to obtain all the information possible of the enemy's movements, and report the same to headquarters every day; to keep up communication with Col. Sidney M. Barnes at Irvine, whose regiment, the Eighth Kentucky Infantry, had been placed in position to intercept communication with the south *via* Pound Gap, and to capture any parties trying to escape into the Confederate lines.

Col. Bramlette, with his regiment (Third Kentucky Infantry), was stationed at Lexington, and on the 23d, by request of Mr. Fisk, of the senate, he took 300 of his men to Frankfort to guard the capital against an attack which seemed impending, leaving 350 men, under command of Lieut.-Col. Scott, at Lexington. The movements of the State Guard companies at this time were exceedingly mysterious, and gave rise to startling rumors of intended attack upon State or municipal property.

The event proved, however, that they were only desirous to get away to the Confederate lines with their arms, which necessitated stealthy movements. On the 26th Brig.-Gen. O. M. Mitchell, who had, on the 19th, assumed command of the "Department of the Ohio," which embraced Ohio, Indiana, and fifteen miles into Kentucky opposite Cincinnati, by invitation of Gen. Anderson and the Kentucky legislature took possession of the Kentucky Central Railroad as far south as Lexington. He directed Col. Vandever to station the companies of his regiment (the

Thirty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry) at the various bridges along the line of the road, and sent Col. J. B. Steedman, with the Fourteenth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, to take his position on the Louisville, Frankfort and Lexington Railroad.

Gen. Thomas, having been informed by his outpost that the Confederates in heavy force had occupied London, felt that he could no longer risk the safety of his command, which, depleted by the absence of two regiments and Wolford's cavalry, left only the Fourth Kentucky Infantry and the Tennessee regiments at camp Dick Robinson. Col. W. A. Hoskins at Somerset, on the Cumberland River; Col. Barnes at Irvine, and Col. W. J. Landrum at Big Hill, on the road leading from London into Central Kentucky, *via* Richmond, were all actively engaged in recruiting and at the same time performing services as outposts.

On the 22d of September, he wrote Gen. Anderson, strongly urging that, to enable him to advance upon the enemy with any show of success, he should be supplied with 4,000 well drilled troops, consisting of four infantry regiments and a battery of artillery. He was constantly beset with importunities from citizens on both sides of the border to advance to their relief; but he was far too wise a commander to heed their appeals, no matter how much his heart might have been stirred by the recital of their wrongs. To this requisition, Gen. Anderson replied that Louisville was strongly threatened, and for the present no troops could be spared for the purpose for which they were required. Gen. Anderson wrote, however, to the president, and to the governors of Ohio and Indiana, stating the immediate necessity for compliance with the request of Gen. Thomas. Failing to receive the required re-enforcements from his department commander, Gen. Thomas dispatched the writer to confer with Gen. Mitchell, at Cincinnati, who at once ordered the Thirty-third Indiana, Col. John Coburn; the Thirty-first Ohio, Col. M. B. Walker; the Seventeenth Ohio, Col. Connel; the Thirty-eighth Ohio, Col. Bradley; the Twenty-first Ohio, Col. Norton, and two batteries of artillery, under Maj. Lawrence, to report for duty to Gen. Thomas.

Although greatly hampered in field operations by the lack of wagons, Gen. Thomas now determined upon an active campaign against Gen. Zollicoffer. On the 1st of October, he wrote Gen. Mitchell, thanking him for his prompt response to the call for troops, stating, at the same time, the pressing need for means of transportation, and closed as follows: "If you could send a column of about four regiments up the Big Sandy and move it south through the counties of Floyd, Letcher and Harlan, in co-operation with my advance by Barboursville, I believe that we might easily seize the railroad, and cut off all communication between Virginia and the south through Tennessee, before the enemy will have time to reenforce Zollicoffer sufficiently to prevent it."

This was practically the scheme contemplated in the order directing the organization of troops at camp Dick Robinson in July, and toward the consummation of which both Nelson and Thomas had bent their most strenuous efforts. But the government was yet to learn the ability of Gen. Thomas to conduct great enterprises. His army training rendered him incapable of resorting to the means used by many other commanders to bring himself into prominence. He had no political friend at the national capital to sound his praises in the ear of the president, and he would have regarded it as a breach of discipline to open correspondence with the war department, except through the regular channels. He was almost unknown to the press of the country. With the present knowledge of the weakness of the Confederate lines, and the great administrative ability of Gen. Thomas, there is no doubt, had the departments of the Ohio, and of the Cumberland, been united under his command, that the 15th of October would have found him at the head of a strong force at Knoxville, while the Confederate lines in Kentucky would have been compelled to resume their old position south of the Cumberland River.

Of all the regiments that had been sent to Kentucky, but one, the Thirty-third Indiana, was supplied with wagons, and this regiment

was immediately sent to the front. The forward movement was retarded by the lack of transportation for the great quantity of camp equipage necessary for the proper care of men not yet inured to exposure, and for the organization of supply trains to transport subsistence stores from Nicholasville to the front, and to transport arms and army supplies to the unorganized regiments awaiting them in east Tennessee. Five hundred wagons (he had plenty of mules) would have enabled him to move forward at once, *via* Richmond and Crab Orchard, to London, where the two roads unite, and thence to Knoxville, with an army twice as large as that with which he afterward defeated Zollicoffer at Mill Springs, augmented by the organization of at least ten regiments of troops in east Tennessee. But the golden opportunity was allowed to pass. His repeated requests for means of transportation were unheeded until the winter rains had converted the clay roads into mud, so stiff and sticky that the strength of six mules was required to pull an empty wagon.

The records of the outbreak of the rebellion in Kentucky, as presented in the correspondence between the commanding officers of the Union and Confederate forces and their respective governments, exhibits the unprepared state of both sections of the country to enter upon a civil war of such magnitude as that of 1861. Both armies were in need of everything, except provisions, which, owing to the fertility of the soil, were plentiful. Each was able to keep up a line of defense against the encroachment of the other, but were powerless for offensive operations.

In compliance with the urgent requisitions of Gen. Sherman, a large number of regiments from the northwest arrived in October and November, and took position along the line extending from Nelson's Camp, at Maysville, around the borders of the Blue Grass region at camp Dick Robinson, Lebanon, and camp Nevin, where McCook was stationed with four brigades.

Nearly all these regiments came without camp and garrison equipage or baggage wagons, and the necessity for these increased as the season advanced. The impossibility of making any forward movement in the direction of Cumberland Gap without adequate transportation was again and again urged upon the authorities at Washington, but no heed was paid to the repeated requests. The condition of the Unionists in east Tennessee was growing more unbearable, and the urgent appeals of Johnson, Maynard, Carter and others for an advance, made to the president, induced him to attach blame to the commander of the troops designated from the first for this special movement. The war had not progressed far enough to show the utter helplessness of an army of men when moved from its base with no means of transportation for supplies. This knowledge came later and was gained at frightful cost.

Gen. Thomas had no sooner completed his plans for a forward movement from camp Dick Robinson in the direction of east Tennessee than he found himself superseded by Gen. Mitchell. Even at this early period of the war he was doomed to suffer the penalty that attached to every movement which from any cause was delayed beyond the expectation of the war department—the same penalty paid by McClellan, Buell, Grant, Rosecrans, and nearly every commander of prominence from the beginning to the end of the war, and which, four years later, came near causing him to be relieved on the eve of his last great battle.

Andrew Johnson, of east Tennessee, eager for an advance, and knowing nothing of the imperative needs of the army, before a forward movement could be undertaken with any prospect of success, growing impatient of delay, secured the following order for Gen. Mitchell to command the expedition in person:

CINCINNATI, OHIO, Oct. 10, 1861.

BRIG.-GEN. O. M. MITCHELL,

Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio.

General:—By the direction of the secretary of war you are hereby assigned to duty in the Department of the Cumberland, and will repair to camp Dick Robinson, and there prepare the troops for an

outward movement, the object being to take possession of Cumberland Ford and Cumberland Gap, and ultimately seize the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and attack and drive the rebels from that region of the country. You will report your instructions to Brig.-Gen. Sherman, in command of this department, and be governed by such further orders as he may give.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, L. THOMAS,
Adjutant-General.

On the reception of this order, Gen. Mitchell wrote Gen. Thomas as follows:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, CINCINNATI, OHIO, Oct. 10, 1861.

BRIG.-GEN. THOMAS,
Camp Dick Robinson.

General:—Under orders from the secretary of war of this date, I am directed to repair to camp Dick Robinson, and there prepare the troops for an outward movement, the object being to take possession of Cumberland Ford and Cumberland Gap, and ultimately seize the East Tennessee & Virginia Railroad.

In compliance with these orders, I desire you to move the three Ohio regiments now in camp Dick Robinson to some convenient point beyond your camp, in the hope that they may thus escape the epidemic now prevailing among your men. You will order the regiments at Nicholasville to remain there until their transportation shall arrive.

I beg you, General, to make every preparation in your power for this expedition in which we are about to be united.

It is my purpose to leave for the camp as soon as I am assured that supplies, transportation, ammunition and other necessaries are certain to be sent forward.

In the hope of soon greeting you in camp, I have the honor to be, very truly, your obedient servant, O. M. MITCHELL,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

Gen. Thomas replied:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP DICK ROBINSON, GARRARD COUNTY, KY., October 11, 1861.

BRIG.-GEN. O. M. MITCHELL,
Commanding Department of the Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio.

General:—Your communication of the 10th inst. was received to-day at the hands of Gov. Johnson, of Tennessee.

I have been doing all in my power to prepare the troops for a move on Cumberland Ford and to seize the Tennessee & Virginia Railroad, and shall continue to do all I can to assist you until your arrival here; but justice to myself requires that I ask to be relieved from duty with these troops, since the secretary has thought it necessary to supersede me in the command, without, as I conceive, any just cause for so doing.

I have already sent one regiment forward, and shall send the others as soon as I can get the transportation. It was my desire to have advanced two regiments and a battery about six miles beyond London, to secure the road to Barboursville and to protect a large tract of country abounding in forage, but up to this time have not been able to get the transportation.

I have also been very much embarrassed in my operations from the want of funds, not having received any since my arrival here, nearly a month ago. I hope the government will be more liberal with you.

I am, General, respectfully, etc.,
your obedient servant,
GEO. H. THOMAS,
Brigadier-General U. S. Vols., Commanding.

The order to supersede Gen. Thomas, however, was never carried out, owing to the protest of Gen. Sherman, whose confidence in the ability and patriotism of Gen. Thomas was unshaken during this trying period, and remained so during the eventful years that were to follow. Gen. Thomas, having written him with reference to the proposed action of Gen. Mitchell, received the following letter:

LOUISVILLE, KY., October 13, 1861.

BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Commanding Camp Dick Robinson.

Sir:—Your letters of the 11th and 12th of October were received last night. I would start for your camp at once, but am notified by the secretary of war that he will be here to meet me. The paymaster is here with funds. Col. Swords, quartermaster, has just reported, and I am assured that ample funds will be provided for all necessaries. I myself was compelled to endorse a draft to get money in bank. The fact is, the arrangement for the supply of money promised us before leaving Washington has not been promptly kept, but I am certain that very soon we will be supplied, and your loan of the bank shall be paid, if my order will accomplish it. In like manner I authorize you to go and prepare your command for active service.

Gen. Mitchell is subject to my orders, and I will, if possible, give you the opportunity of completing what you have begun. Of course I would do anything in my power to carry out your wishes, but feel that the affairs of Kentucky will call for the united action of all engaged in the cause of preserving our government.

I am, with great respect,
your obedient servant,
W. T. SHERMAN,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

On the 21st of October Gen. Zollicoffer appeared before Garrard's position and for-

tified it well toward the front, but it was so located as to be easily turned by a force moving from the valley in his front, out the Winding Blades road, and thence upon his rear. Round Hill, standing between his works and this road, had been occupied by a small squad of Home Guards. The country is rugged and covered with dense underbrush. Col. Garrard's regiment, the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, was 600 strong; Col. John Coburn's regiment, the Thirty-third Indiana, was posted on Round Hill, with 250 of Wolford's calvary as a support. Brig.-Gen. Schoepf, who had reported a few days previously to Gen. Thomas, commanded the brigade. In obedience to Gen. Schoepf's order, Col. Coburn deployed 350 of his men around the hill as skirmishers. Col. Coburn says in his report of the battle:

In less than twenty minutes the rebels, who were concealed in the woods, commenced firing, when at almost the first fire Private McFarren, of Company D, was killed. In ten minutes more the enemy appeared in front of our position at the south, at a distance of half a mile, in the valley. They were in large numbers, and were over half an hour in passing by an open space in the woods, when they formed again in line. They soon came near us under cover of a wood, which entirely concealed their approach until we were apprised of their presence by the firing of musketry. At this time we were re-enforced by a portion of the Kentucky cavalry, dismounted, under Col. Wolford, about 250 strong, who immediately formed and took part in the engagement. The firing at this time was very severe, which caused the cavalry to waver and retreat. They were soon, however, rallied, and formed again in order, and fought with good spirit. The enemy engaged was composed of a portion of Gen. Zollicoffer's command, and consisted of two regiments of Tennesseans, under the command of Cols. Newman and Cummings. They charged up the hill upon us, and were met by a galling and deadly fire, which wounded and killed many of them. The front of their column approached within a few rods of us with their bayonets fixed, declaring themselves "Union men" and "all right," at the next moment leveling their guns at us and firing. After being engaged nearly an hour the enemy retreated, bearing off a portion of their dead and wounded in their arms. Our men have buried their dead left on the field and taken the wounded to the hospitals. Thirty corpses have been found up to this time. A large number of their wounded and dead were carried off in their wagons. It is safe to estimate the loss of the enemy at least 100 killed.

While the regiments above mentioned were engaged in the assault upon Round Hill, the remainder of Zollicoffer's force made a furious attack upon Garrard's position, but were repulsed after a brief engagement. In the following report of Gen. Zollicoffer, it will be observed that he set the example, which was closely followed by commanding officers of both sides during the war, of calling an unsuccessful attack a "reconnaissance:"

CAMP AT FLAT LICK, KNOX CO., KY., *via* KNOXVILLE, October 26, 1861.

On the 21st I reached the enemy's entrenched camp on Rockcastle Hills, a natural fortification almost inaccessible. Having reconnoitered it in force under heavy fire for several hours from heights on the right, left and in front, I became satisfied that it could not be carried otherwise than by an immense exposure, if at all. The enemy received large re-enforcements.

Our loss was forty-two wounded and eleven killed and missing. We captured twenty-one prisoners, about one hundred guns and four horses. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded unknown.

The country is so poor we have exhausted the forage along the road for fifteen miles back in twenty-four hours. Our subsistence nearly exhausted. Under these circumstances I deemed it proper the next day to fall back. Enemy's camp said to be 7,000 strong, with large reserves near at hand.

F. K. ZOLLICOFFER.

Adjt.-Gen. Cooper.

The Union loss in the engagement was four killed and eighteen wounded, but Col. Coburn claims to have buried thirty of the enemy.

The Seventeeth and Fourteenth Ohio now appeared, accompanied by Capt. Standart's battery. Four companies of the Seventeenth, under Maj. Durbin Ward, advancing rapidly, arrived in time to deliver a parting shot at the retreating foe.

Gen. Schoepf was anxious to pursue the Confederates, and asked that depots of supplies be established for the use of his command at Crab Orchard and Wild Cat, expressing the opinion that he could scatter Zollicoffer's force and occupy Cumberland Gap. In compliance with this request, Gen. Thomas immediately forwarded to the front supplies of provisions and ammunition; ordered the Tennessee regiments to report to

Gen. Schoepf, and directed him to clear the road of obstructions preparatory to a forward movement. He at the same time moved his headquarters to Crab Orchard, leaving the Thirty-first to guard the stores at camp Dick Robinson. Everything now looked favorable for a forward movement. The troops, elated by an easy victory, were jubilant at the prospect of another engagement, while the time, which had hung heavily upon the hands of the Tennesseans, separated by only a few days' march from their homes, seemed to fly on golden wings.

Although still embarrassed from the lack of transportation, Gen. Thomas had determined if possible to carry forward the campaign, depending upon hiring wagons from the farmers, when, on the 25th of October, he received the following letter from Gen. Sherman, who had succeeded Gen. Anderson in command of the department:

HEADQUARTERS DEPT. OF THE CUMBERLAND,
LOUISVILLE, KY., October 25, 1861.

GEN. GEORGE H. THOMAS,
Camp Dick Robinson.

Sir:—Don't push too far Your line is already long and weak. I cannot now re-enforce you. Nelson has got into difficulty with the militia, and I have no person to send there. An interruption of the railroad, by an incursion from Prestonburg, would cut you off from that source of supply. Call to your assistance the regiment from Irvine. The State board is impressed with the necessity of engaging in the organization of the volunteers, but we are still embarrassed for the want of clothing and arms. Promises are a poor substitute for them, but are all we have.

I will again urge on the department the pressing necessity for more good officers and large re-enforcements of men. Yours, etc.,

W. T. SHERMAN,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

The bugbear of Buckner at Bowling Green, ever present to the vision of the commander of the department, was sufficient to keep twenty-four regiments on duty to prevent him from suddenly pouncing down upon the fair city of Louisville. On the 28th Gen. Thomas, on his return to headquarters from the front, wrote Gen. Sherman that he had moved his advance to the point of junction with the Richmond road, and would make arrangements to supply it from Lexington. He asked for four more regiments as a reserve in case of disaster, and proposed to take two months' supply of sugar and coffee, and other small stores, and thought he could get along without serious difficulty. At the same time, he, with the instinctive obedience of a true soldier, expressed a willingness to fall back if his superior thought he had advanced too far.

On the 9th of November, Sherman wrote Thomas as follows:

I wish I could make your communications perfectly safe, and the cost would be nothing. There should be at least ten good regiments to your rear, capable of sustaining the head of your column at London, but I am unable to provide; and hereabouts the army should be such as to prevent all idea of attack; but Buckner and Hardee have across Green River a very large force, and may advance at their pleasure. In this state of the case I can only repeat my former orders, for you to hold in check the force of Zollicoffer, and await events. The road by Richmond, depending on the ferry, appears to be less safe to you than the one crossing Kentucky River by the bridge.

And again on the 11th:

I have daily and constantly increased evidence of a vast force in our front, and that they are assembling wagons preparing for a move; and it is probable an advance on their part from Cumberland Gap along the line will be concentric and simultaneous. It was my judgment of the case when Secretary Cameron was here, and I begged him to prepare for it, but they never have attached the importance to Kentucky in this struggle that it merits.

My expression of dissatisfaction at the publication of Adjt.-Gen. Thomas' report, and request to be relieved from this charge, has led to the assignment of Gen. Buell, of whom I have not yet heard.

You should have at least 10,000 more men, and could I give them they should be there, but I cannot get them.

The new regiments arrive without notice, and perfectly raw.

All that I can do now is to say that I will approve of your course, let the result be what it may.

If you can hold in check the enemy in that direction, it is all that can be attempted; or if you must fall back, your line is toward Lexington; or if outnumbered, you are not bound to sacrifice the lives of your command.

Zollicoffer's withdrawal from Cumberland Ford seemed to have reference to a movement along the whole of Johnston's line. Gen. Sherman's idea was that Johnston had concentrated a force of 45,000 men at Bowling Green for a forward movement; that Zollicoffer was to act in concert with him by

placing his army between Thomas and McCook; and, by gaining Thomas' rear, compel him to fall back from Crab Orchard to protect his base at Nicholasville and Lexington. He believed, with Thomas, that the force of the latter was far too small for offensive operations in the east Tennessee, and had no confidence in his receiving any considerable acquisition to his force from enlistment in that region. On the 22d of November, Col. Hoskins, at Somerset, informed Gen. Thomas that Zollicoffer, with a force estimated at 20,000, was at Monticello, advancing upon him. On the 3d Gen. Schoepf, in command at London, wrote that his forage was nearly exhausted, and that the Rockcastle River, between his camp and the rear, was liable at any moment to rise and cut him off from supplies. The limited transportation with which the army was supplied had rendered it impossible to accumulate a surplus. He corroborated the report that the enemy had withdrawn from the front. Previous to the reception of this intelligence, Gen. Sherman wrote Thomas, but subsequently determined to withdraw the forces under Thomas back to a point within striking distance of either route, through the mountains, that Zollicoffer might select. This retrograde movement met with indignant protests from the east Tennessee regiments, and Andrew Johnson lost no time in informing the authorities at Washington. Mr. Maynard visited Louisville and endeavored to get the order countermanded, but in vain. Gen. Sherman positively refused to advance into east Tennessee until he could supply Thomas with transportation and a reserve of at least 10,000 men. Gen. Thomas still desired to carry out the object of the expedition, and replied that he would give orders for a retrograde move, but was sure that the enemy was not moving between them; all his information indicated that the forces under Johnston were moving south.

Thomas accordingly sent the following order from Crab Orchard to Gen. Schoepf: "Gen. Sherman has just dispatched me that Gen. McCook sends him word that the enemy have disappeared from Green River, and there is a rumor that Buckner is moving in force toward Lexington, between us, and ordered me, if not engaged in front, to withdraw my force back to the Kentucky River, and act according to the state of facts then.

"As soon as you receive this, break up camp at London and join me here or at Nicholasville with all your troops. Hire transportation enough to bring your ammunition, and bring your camp equipage and three days' rations."

The November rains had commenced falling, and the clay roads, kneaded by passing trains of wagons into the consistency suitable for the potter's use, were knee-deep with mud. The Tennesseans, disappointed and chagrined at the failure of the enterprise in which they had staked their lives, mutinied, and refused to return. In vain their officers implored them to obey an order that they had been the first to denounce. They threw themselves upon the ground, and in their rage cursed everybody who had any connection with their misfortunes, from the president down to Gen. Schoepf. At last, yielding to the advice of their beloved commander, Lieut. Samuel P. Carter, they sullenly followed. It was a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Strong and brave men cried like children, and with good reason. They were in sight of the mountains that separated them from their dear ones, whose very lives were in jeopardy from the lawless bands of freebooters, whose deeds of violence were rehearsed to them upon the arrival of every refugee; they had nursed their wrath while held like hounds in the leash, planning sweet revenge upon their ruthless enemies, and now, after months of weary waiting, the cup of vengeance was dashed from their lips.

Could the Union commanders have known the facts, as the records now show them to have been, that the Confederate forces under Buckner and Hardee did not exceed 12,500 men, and that Johnston could not, in the face of Grant's force operating on the Mississippi, re-enforce Bowling Green beyond 5,000 additional; that Zollicoffer's brigade did not exceed 6,000 for offensive purposes, and that Humphrey Marshall was so weak as to con-

stitute no factor in the calculation of the Confederate strength, they would have had less reason to expect Johnston to assume the offensive. Nothing indeed was further from his intention. While Sherman was calling for more troops, ammunition and supplies, every day's mail carried to Richmond the same importunities from Johnston, Polk, Harris, and Zollicoffer. Through the innumerable spies that infested the Union camps, Johnston was kept accurately informed of Sherman's strength, while it is more than probable that the same spies, in the guise of Union men, acting in the Confederate interest vastly over-estimated the force of the enemy to Gen. Sherman, who was not alone in overstating the strength of the enemy. Gen. C. F. Smith, in command at Paducah, writing to Adjt.-Gen. Townsend, on the 6th of November, says: "At Columbus and vicinity Gen. Pillow has 10,000 men; on the opposite shore, 2,000; near Mayfield, 2,500; at Memphis, 3,000, and at Bowling Green 40,000. The enemy can concentrate at Columbus at any time 30,000 men." He had received this information from a "northern gentleman who had recently left there."

Thus ended the Tennessee expedition. Projected in wisdom, prosecuted against almost insurmountable obstacles with vigor and courage until success was in view, and then abandoned. Had it succeeded, as it might have done if the hands of Gen. Nelson or Gen. Thomas had been strengthened, the subsequent campaigns of the Army of the Cumberland would have had far different objective points. There would have been no invasion of Kentucky in 1862, with its retreat from Cumberland Gap and more disastrous battle at Perryville, and a mighty wall of partition would have been erected in east Tennessee, separating the Confederate armies and offering protection to the people of a vast territory whose loyalty, by its failure, was subjected to the severest test.

Gen. Sherman never regarded the movement in any other light than as a humanitarian idea which had been urged upon Mr. Lincoln, as both just and feasible, by Andrew Johnson, Horace Maynard, and other loyal men from Tennessee. When he feared that Thomas might be superseded unless a forward movement was made, he immediately ordered it, but after the repulse of Zollicoffer at Wild Cat demonstrated that the object of the expedition could be carried out, he threw obstacles in its way. In justice to Sherman it is but right to take into consideration the vast responsibility resting upon him as a commander of all the United States forces between the Confederate lines and the rich cities of Louisville, Cincinnati, Frankfort and Lexington. To allow Thomas to march into east Tennessee beyond his reach, would seem to invite Buckner to advance, by way of Lebanon, into the "Blue Grass Region" and take possession of the capital; and there was good reason to believe that the same force would, if driven out by Mitchell—for Sherman could not cover Louisville—take the route pursued by Gen. Thomas, thus cutting him off from his base of supplies.

The Confederate forces assembled near Bowling Green, called the "Central Army of Kentucky," under command of Buckner and Hardee, numbered, on November 15, according to the statement made by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to the war department, at Richmond, 12,500 effective men. The First Division, Western Department, under command of Gen. Polk, as reported in his returns for November 16, was as follows: Present for duty, 10,235 infantry, 579 artillery, 659 cavalry, total 13,142; aggregate present, 13,866. In addition to these forces, Col. Stanton had a cavalry command consisting of his own regiment and various battalions operating between Buckner and Zollicoffer, about Jamestown, estimated at about 2,000, and an equal force under Humphrey Marshall held possession of the counties of western Virginia, with a base of supplies at Wytheville, on the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad.

Against the latter force an expedition was planned by Gen. Anderson in September, and its execution entrusted to Gen. Nelson. Col. Harris, with the Second Ohio Infantry stationed at Olympian Springs, was ordered by Gen. Anderson to report to Nelson for duty. He had been joined at that place by Col.

Grigsby with 300 men of the Twenty-fourth Kentucky Infantry, whose rendezvous, camp Gill, was near by. In the absence of arms for the Kentucky regiments, it became necessary for Gen. Thomas to detach two more Ohio regiments to re-enforce Nelson, who, on the 18th of October, moved Harris and Grigsby forward, *via* Hazel Green, to take possession of McCormick's Gap. He had heard that the enemy, 1,500 strong, were at Hazel Green, and that 500 more were at West Liberty, five miles distant. Col. Sill, with the Thirty-third Ohio, pushed forward by forced marches to reach Harris in time to re-enforce him if necessary.

Gen. Nelson marched on the 23d with the Twenty-first Ohio, Col. Norton; the Thirty-ninth Ohio, Col. Fyffe, and Marshall's battalion. The same day Maj. Robinson, with two companies of the Thirty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, by a rapid march reached Hazel Green at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 23d. The march of Col. Harris on West Liberty was resisted by Capt. May with a few hundred men, who were easily driven off. Awaiting the arrival of his artillery and baggage train at Hazel Green, Nelson moved forward to Prestonburg, arriving November 5.

The following extract from Gen. Nelson's report gives an account of the engagement at Ivy Mountain:

At 1 P. M. the column had advanced along the narrow defile of the mountain that ends at Ivy Creek. The mountain is highest along the river and very precipitous and thickly covered with timber and undergrowth, and the road, which is but seven feet wide, is cut along the side of it about twenty-five feet above the river, which is close over the road. The ridge descends in a rapid curve, and very sharp, to the creek, or rather gorge, where it makes a complete elbow. Behind this ridge and all along the mountain side, the enemy, 700 strong, lay in ambush, and did not fire until the head of Col. Marshall's battalion, himself leading, was up to the elbow. The skirmish was very sharp. The mountain side was blue with puffs of smoke, and not an enemy to be seen. The first discharge killed four and wounded thirteen of Marshall's men. I ordered the Kentuckians to charge. Col. Harris, whose regiment was immediately behind me, led his men up the mountain side most gallantly, and deployed them along the face of it.

Col. Norton, whose regiment had just reached the defile, anticipating an order from me, led his men up the northern ridge of the mountain and deployed them along the face of it and along the crest, and went at them. Two pieces of artillery were got in position in the road and opened upon them. Owing to the steepness of the mountain all this required time. On the opposite side of the river, which here is narrow, deep and swift, there were also rebels who annoyed us. In an hour and twenty minutes the rebels were beaten and fled, leaving a number of killed and wounded on the ground, and six prisoners unhurt. As I marched immediately in pursuit, I do not report what their loss was. I am told to-day that thirty-two dead were found. Among the wounded in our hands is H. M. Rust, late State senator from Greenup County, Ky. Our loss is six killed and twenty-four wounded. If I had here any cavalry I would have taken or slain the whole of them; as it was, the enemy retreated, cutting down trees across the narrow road, and burning or cutting all the bridges, which are numerous. I bivouacked four miles beyond Ivy Creek. It rained, and the men waded through mud and in a heavy rain all day of the 9th, the march being heavy and slow on account of the trees across the roads, and the necessity of repairing the bridges. Last night we again bivouacked in the November rain, and entered this place this morning at 9 A.M., where I found Col. Sill, who had arrived the night previously, and fired on the enemy as they were retreating.

Meantime Gen. Sherman had exhausted the language in petitioning the war department to equip his army. Gen. Fremont had signalized his advent to the army by the purchase, in Europe, of a large quantity of Belgian rifles, which, with an ingenuity in fraud that would have caused the maker of the original wooden nutmeg to blush for shame, had been altered from flint-locks to percussion by the simple device of driving in a tube. Like Hodges' razors, they were good enough to sell, but in practice, the tubes not being screwed in, had the unpleasant habit of blowing out into the faces of the men who pulled the triggers. Spurned with contempt from one army to another, 10,000 of these hermaphrodite arms found their way to Sherman; the authorities probably considering that the guns were as pronounced in character as the people were in their loyalty.

Of all people in the Union there were none more competent to judge of the value of firearms than Kentuckians. Accustomed to field sports, their skill in the use of rifles was proverbial, and they no sooner saw the wea-

pons designed for their use than they indignantly refused to accept them. Gen. Sherman was totally unsupplied with money, and on one occasion was obliged to indorse a note in bank to obtain a small amount to meet minor expenses. He had neither chief quartermaster nor chief commissary, and in point of quartermaster and subsistence stores he would have been as deficient as in ordnance stores but for the richness of the country in which his army was located, and the willingness of the inhabitants to accept government vouchers in exchange for their produce. In a recent interview with Gen. Sherman, he related to the writer the following incident:

"Some time after I had superseded Gen. Anderson in command of the department, I one day confided to Hon. Joshua F. Speed, a true-hearted Union man of Louisville, the embarrassments under which I labored, soundly berating the war department, which had placed me in command, while it withheld the means necessary to make my force effective. 'What do you want?' said Mr. Speed. 'Everything,' said I; 'arms, wagons, tents, bread and meat, money and a competent staff.' 'Name what you want on paper, and give it to me,' said Mr. Speed. I did as requested, and handed it over. Nothing more was seen of Mr. Speed for several days, when he entered my room and handed me copies of orders directing Col. Thomas Swords, assistant quartermaster-general, and Capt. H. C. Symonds, commissary of subsistence, to report to me for duty. The order directed Col. Swords to draw for present needs $100,000. He had also a copy of an order, drawn by President Lincoln himself, upon the ordinance department for 10,000 Springfield rifles of the latest design. 'How is this,' I exclaimed, 'that more attention is paid to the requests of you, a citizen, than of me, a general in the army? You had better take command here.' 'I can explain it,' said Mr. Speed. 'Many years ago I was engaged in business in Springfield, Illinois. I had a little store where I kept a miscellaneous stock of calico, horse-collars, molasses, nails, hair-brushes, quinine, and other articles of daily use in the community. I had a clerk, and had fitted up for our joint occupancy, a room over the store, to be used as a bed-room. Having a stove in the back part of the store, the space around it naturally became a snug lounging place for the young men of the village. Among these were two young lawyers, who were eking out a precarious livelihood at the bar, and who I remember usually chose their position in proximity to the sugar barrel. The names of these two young men were Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. One day Mr. Lincoln, sitting with his feet on the stove, asked me the price of a bedstead, mattress, pillow and bed clothing, saying in reply to my inquiry that he thought of fixing up a bed in his office, thereby economizing in his expenses. I figured up the cost, but told him that I had a better plan, that my clerk had lost his health, and gone back to Kentucky to regain it, and that I would be glad to have him for a room-mate. He at once went up stairs on a prospecting tour, came down, went over to his office, and returning with a pair of saddle-bags he carried them up stairs. Presently he came down and resumed his seat, saying, 'Well, Speed. I've moved.' He lived with me a long time, long enough for me to love and admire him, and to watch his upward course with certainty that it would not stop short of the White House, and I was not surprised when he reached it. I took your memoranda, and went to Washington. I immediately called upon the president and made known our wants in Kentucky. He complied readily with every request I made, and the only mistake you made, General, was in not asking for more.' "

CHAPTER XVI.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE AND MISSISSIPPI.

THE visit of Secretary Cameron and Adjt.-Gen. Thomas to Louisville, on October 16, 1861, resulted in the removal of Gen. Sherman from the command of the Department of the Cumberland. Of this interview, Gen. Sherman says, in his "Memoirs": "I remember taking a large map of the United States, and, assuming the whole South to be in rebellion, and that our task was to subdue them, showed that McClellan was on the left, having a frontage of less than 100 miles, and Fremont on the right about the same, whereas I, the center, had, from Big Sandy to Paducah, over 300 miles of frontier; that McClellan had 100,000 men, Fremont 60,000, while to me had been allotted only 18,000. I argued that for purpose of defense we should have 60,000 men at once, and for offense would need 200,000 before we were done. Mr. Cameron, who lay on the bed, threw up his hands and exclaimed: 'Great God! where are they to come from.' I asserted that there were plenty of men at the north ready and willing to come if he would only accept their services, for it was notorious that regiments had been formed in all the northwestern States whose services had been refused by the war department, on the ground that they would not be needed. We discussed all these matters fully, in the most friendly spirit, and I thought I had aroused Mr. Cameron to a realization of the great war that was before us, and was, in fact, upon us. I heard him tell Gen. Thomas to make a note of our conversation, that he might attend to my requests on reaching Washington."

After the war was over Gen. Thomas T. Wood, who was present, prepared a statement, addressed to the public, describing this remarkable interview, in which he refers as follows to Gen. Sherman's demand for a sufficient force to enable him to assume the offensive: "Ascending from the consideration of the narrow question of the political and military situation in Kentucky, and the extent of force necessary to redeem the State from rebel thralldom, forecasting in his sagacious intellect the grand and daring operations which three years afterward he realized in a campaign, taken in its entirety, without a parallel in modern times, Gen. Sherman expressed the opinion that, to carry the war to the Gulf of Mexico, and destroy all armed opposition to the government in the entire Mississippi Valley, at least 200,000 troops were absolutely required."

Although, in the light of the records now attainable, it is true that both Gens. Sherman and Smith overestimated the forces under Johnston, it does not follow that the immense re-enforcements demanded by Sherman in his interview with Adjt.-Gen. Thomas were required merely for operations against the enemy in his immediate front. The clamor of the people in the north for our immediate advance along the entire line could not remain long unheeded. They had contributed their best blood to the army of the Union. They had sent their sons, brothers, fathers and husbands to fight the enemy, and had received them back to their homes, or found them in hospitals, not suffering from wounds received in glorious war, but wasted by disease contracted in camp.

Hitherto victory had perched upon the Confederate banners. Gen. Sherman knew that the people were ready with laurels to deck the brow of the first victorious general,

and he also knew that the prize of victory could not be gained over Johnston, for whose military character he had the most profound respect, without the sacrifice of many lives in a general engagement. To place a force in east Tennessee sufficient for offensive purposes upon his left, to leave an army of occupation in Kentucky to guard his lines of transportation back to his base of supplies, and still leave him a sufficient force to follow up his victory over Johnston by a bold advance into the heart of the Confederacy, he asked for 200,000 men.

This astounding proposition was met only by ridicule. Transmitted by the adjutant-general to the war department, whence it found its way into the newspapers, it was everywhere received with jeers of contempt, until one, more witty than his fellows, suggested that a man who could be guilty of such stupendous folly must be insane. Instantly the cry was taken up by hundreds, and evidence sufficient to convince a jury was published to the world. He had ordered a newspaper reporter to go back to Louisville as fast as his legs could carry him when he made the advance to Muldraugh's Hill in September, and threatened to have him shot; then, suddenly relenting, had invited him to dinner. He had sworn vociferously at the war department for paying no heed to his requisitions, and had displayed unjustifiable temper on many occasions. He had granted leaves of absence to officers, and before the term was half expired had ordered them back to camp.

These and a thousand other charges were gravely repeated; and, gathering strength as they went, reached the ears of Gen. McClellan, who relieved him of his command and ordered him to report to Gen. Halleck, at St. Louis, where he could do no further harm. The forces asked for by Gen. Sherman, when stripped of its sick after three months' drilling in camp, would probably have diminished one-fourth. Three additional months' exposure to battle, marching and disease would have left him with not more than 100,000 men present for duty. But the people were not yet ready for their Sherman and Thomas and Grant. They had to learn their needs in the school of experience before they were ready to intrust the same officer whom they had ignorantly rejected with the command of an army of equal strength for the performance of the same service.

Gen. Johnston had experienced equal difficulty with Gen. Sherman in obtaining means to take the offensive. His army east of the Mississippi, in round numbers 50,000 strong, had been reduced by sickness and death incident to the formation of an army from a citizen populace to 36,500, occupying a line stretching from western Virginia around the eastern and southern borders of Kentucky to the western borders of Missouri and Arkansas. Relying upon the augmentation of his forces by recruiting from the States in his military department, he had, in compliance with the unwise advice of leading men, issued calls upon the governors for 50,000 men, to serve for only one year. While this force was in process of formation it was arrested by an order from the war department, the authorities at Richmond wisely declining to arm and equip men whose term of service would probably expire at a time when their service would be most needed. Failing to obtain a sufficient number of three years' men, or even arms and equipments for those already recruited, he was compelled to withdraw Hardee's division, 4,000 strong, from Arkansas to re-enforce Buckner at Bowling Green.

Precisely as the authorities at Washington in 1861 turned a deaf ear to the repeated requisitions of Sherman for men and army supplies, using the vast resources of the government for the equipment of an army for the defense of the capital, so the Confederate authorities regarded the operations in the west as of seconary importance as compared with the defense of their capital, which, with Quixotic zeal, to recompense Virginia for joining the fortunes of the Confederacy, they had located at Richmond. In the game of war at which each were playing, the "kings" were placed at the front, and all the smaller pieces were used to defend them.

The vain-glorious boasting of southern newspapers and orators, which had aided in procuring the secession of the States and the early enlistment of volunteers in the Confederate armies, now, coupled with a few Confederate victories, served the unexpected purpose of discouraging enlistments. Ignorant of the requirements of the hour, and lulled by the constant reports of success to their arms, the people of the south allowed the period, that was being utilized by the North in active preparation for war, to pass without lifting a hand to re-enforce the armies in the front. On the 29th of November, Gen. Johnston wrote to the secretary of war, after having called upon the governors for the State militia: "We are making every effort to meet the forces the enemy will soon array against us. Had the exigency for my call of 50,000 men in September been better comprehended and responded to, our preparations for this great emergency would now be complete."

Both Gen. Johnston and Gen. Buckner were disappointed in the number of recruits who joined their standard from Kentucky. A force double that of Buckner had by this time been enrolled in Kentucky under the banner of the Union, and were utilizing every moment in perfecting themselves in drill at the various encampments. Most of the Kentuckians who had accepted service in the southern army, up to this date, were comprised in one brigade at Bowling Green, commanded by Col. Roger Hanson, a brother of Lieut.-Col. Charles S. Hanson, of the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry United States Volunteers. They were the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Kentucky Infantry, commanded by Cols. Hanson, Thompson, Trabue, Hunt and Lewis, and the regiment of cavalry, commanded by Col. Helm. Brig.-Gen. John C. Breckinridge was on the 14th of November assigned to the command of this brigade. The First Kentucky, under Col. Thomas Taylor, served in Virginia.

Brig.-Gen. Don Carlos Buell assumed command of the Department of the Ohio, which was made by consolidation of the Departments of the Ohio, Cumberland and the West, on the 15th of November, 1861. The States comprised in the new department were Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and that portion of Kentucky lying east of the Cumberland River and Tennessee. The southwest corner, in which the towns of Paducah, Mayfield, Columbus and Hickman were located, known as the Jackson Purchase, belonged to the Department of the Missouri, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Halleck. Gen. Buell graduated at West Point in the class of 1841. Assigned to the Third Infantry, he bore his part in the Mexican war with honor, and, remaining in the army, rose by regular promotion to the rank of major and assistant adjutant-general in 1861. At the breaking out of the war he was on the staff of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the Department of the Pacific. Appointed brigadier-general of volunteers May 17, 1861, he spent the summer on the heights of Arlington in command of a division in the Army of the Potomac.

Twenty years' constant service in the army, much of which had been spent in the adjutant-general's department, peculiarly fitted him for the duty of organizing an army. His mind, clear and comprehensive in its grasp of the minute details incident to such a task, as well as of planning great campaigns, enabled him to quickly arrive at a just conception of the magnitude of the operations before him, and to note the deficiencies that had plagued his predecessor. In the letter of instructions appointing Buell to the command of the department, written by Gen. McClellan, two points were emphasized, viz.: 1st—the people of Kentucky and Tennessee were to be assured that the institution of slavery was as secure in the Union as it could be in the Confederacy; and, 2d—the objective point of Buell's first campaign was to be Knoxville, in east Tennessee.

Operations in West Virginia having reached a point where a part of the troops could be spared from that department, several well-disciplined regiments were now ordered to report to Gen. Buell for duty. Among these troops were the First and Second Kentucky Infantry. Capt. Simon's company had been detached from the First Infantry and con-

verted into an artillery company, soon after the arrival of these regiments in West Virginia in July, and still remained there, assigned to the division of Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, and stationed at Gauley Ridge. The Kentucky regiments had participated in several engagements under Gen. Cox, in one of which Col. Woodruff and Lieut.-Col. Neff, of the Second, riding in advance of their regiments, were captured. The two regiments, commanded by Cols. Sedgwick and Enyart, were, on their arrival, stationed at Bardstown, Ky.

On relinquishing command, Gen. Sherman, on the 16th, telegraphed the fact to Gen. Thomas, and directed him to remain at Crab Orchard. In withdrawing the troops of his command from London, Gen. Thomas had left the Tennessee regiments and Seventh Kentucky Infantry under command of Gen. Carter, at that point, and he now telegraphed Gen. Buell, asking if the order to fall back contemplated the withdrawal of that brigade, as it would be difficult to subsist. On the 19th Buell directed him to withdraw his entire force to a point where they could be supplied from Louisville. Carter, therefore, removed to Somerset, and Thomas, with the main force, to Lebanon.

The consolidation of the Departments of the Ohio and Cumberland gave Gen Buell an advantage which had never been enjoyed by either Gens. Anderson or Sherman. It gave him the control of the new levies being raised in the States north of the Ohio as well as the vast quantity of military stores in that region. Gen. Buell had formed a plan of campaign that he confided to McClellan, which involved the movement upon east Tennessee, *via* Somerset, near which place Zollicoffer was encamped, to be made simultaneously with an advance upon Nashville, *via* Gallatin, passing Bowling Green on the east, while, at the same time, a demonstration was to be made against Columbus, and a heavy force ascending the Cumberland was to unite with the land force at Nashville. He proposed that while those active movements were in progress, to hold Buckner in check by a heavy force in his front. This was substantially the same as that carried out three months later by Halleck, in which Buell was allowed only the subordinate part of contributing troops.

His practical eye saw so many deficiencies in the organization of his army, which time alone could remedy; he was so anxious that his movements should bear the stamp of military genius, and that defeat should not mar his fortunes, that he delayed his movement until the plan of a campaign, the success of which would have stamped him as the hero of 1861, was imparted to Gen. Halleck, a rival department commander, whose only title to military renown rests upon carrying it out by the successful ascent of the Cumberland and the capture of Nashville. Buell and Halleck were in command of separate departments, and could neither give nor receive orders from each other; they could only act in concert, and to produce concert of action, orders must be given from the general-in-chief of the United States army, Gen. McClellan, or the war department. Gen. Buell endeavored to procure orders to that effect, and so far succeeded as to divert attention from the east Tennessee campaign, which, although persistently urged, was not positively ordered.

On the 5th of December he received the following dispatch from army headquarters:

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1861.

GEN. BUELL, Louisville:

I have again telegraphed Maj.-Gen. Halleck for information as to his gun-boats and disposable troops. As soon as I receive reply I will arrange details with you. Send me draft of water in Cumberland River to Nashville, and in Tennessee River.

Your letter of the 30th received.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

Gen. Buell now proceeded to dispose his forces with reference to an advance in conjunction with Halleck. One column was placed at Munfordsville, on Green River, in Buckner's immediate front; one column at Green River on the turnpike leading from Bardstown to Glasgow; one at Columbia and one at Lebanon, and one, guarding the lower Green River, was stationed at Owensboro. He had been promised re-enforcements from Missouri, and everything looked promising

for an early advance, when operations were suspended by the illness of Gen. McClellan.

Gen. Halleck had in his command two restless spirits, whose ambition to strike a blow which should redound to their advantage, rendered them impatient of restraint. One was Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant, in command of the district in which the proposed expedition was to be fitted out, and the other Brig.-Gen. W. T. Sherman, but recently in command of the Department of the Cumberland, and, it may be supposed, not over zealous for the honor and glory of his successor. He had a vivid recollection of the contumely with which he had been treated when he tried to collect a force to break the long truce that had existed along his southern line, and now that there was a prospect for an advance he naturally urged his new department commander to make the most of his opportunities. Gen. Sherman, however, had no command, and could only urge the Tennessee River as the point of attack, leaving the laurels to be gathered by Gen. Grant, who, having tested the fighting qualities of his men at Belmont, was eager to advance. Buell, on the other hand, knew Johnston well. He had had ample opportunity to judge of his prudence and forethought, and doubtless credited the reports made to him of the strength of Johnston's army the more readily because of this. Knowing the general with whom he had to contend, he utilized the delay caused by the sudden illness of Gen. McClellan in brigading his troops and placing them under command of the most efficient officers at his disposal. The time thus occupied was by no means wasted, as the future record of his army amply testifies.

On the 9th of November Gen. Johnston directed Gen. Hardee to send a force of 1,200 men, with a squadron from Terry's command, to Jamestown, Ky., and Tompkinsville, Ky., to attack and destroy Union camps, and to look out for any demonstration on the part of the enemy toward cutting the railroad in the rear of Bowling Green. Col. Pat Cleburne was entrusted with the command of this expedition. The command reached Jamestown on the 11th, from which place Cleburne reported that they "found the inhabitants bitterly hostile; nearly every house has some friend in the Lincoln army." He was informed that there were "3,000 troops at Campbellsville, and an equal number at Columbia and Lebanon." The expedition reached Tompkinsville on the 12th, where an old lady met him with an open Bible in her hand, saying she was prepared and ready to die. Ordering his bands to the front, colors open, bayonets fixed, the march at attention was resumed, for the purpose of making as fine a display as possible. But his play was to empty benches; even the streets of Coventry were not more deserted when the good lady Godiva rode through them clothed only in her shining hair. The inhabitants had probably entertained these Confederate strangers before. After searching the houses of Col. Frame and other Union men for arms, and hearing that Rousseau with 10,000 or 15,000 men was advancing, he returned by the same route he had advanced.

On the 17th Gen. Hindman, in command of 1,100 infantry, 250 cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, was sent to dislodge Col. Willich, with the Thirty-second Indiana Infantry, from Woodsonville (or Rowlett's Station), on the south side of Green River. Advancing through a dense forest Hindman was able to approach unseen to within three-quarters of a mile of the river.

Four companies of the regiment, under Lieut.-Col. Van Trebra, were on duty on the south side of the river, and received the first charge of the cavalry, under Col. Terry. They defended themselves gallantly until reenforced by the remaining companies from the north side. Hindman's infantry now advanced with loud yells, and were received with such a deadly volley of musketry as to cause them to waver and fall back. Terry's cavalry charged again and again, only to be driven back in confusion. At length Terry rallied seventy-five men, and fell upon a body of the Thirty-second, deployed as skirmishers, under command of Capt. Welschbilling. The veteran coolness of the skirmish line enraged him, and, charging too far, followed by only six of his men, he was killed. The enemy

now opened with his artillery, but with little effect, and the sudden appearance on his flank of a company of the Thirty-second, hitherto held in reserve, caused the belief that re-enforcements had arrived for the Union forces, when he hastily retired. Col. Willich arrived upon the field during the progress of the engagement, and took charge of the right wing. His entire force present upon the field numbered only 414 officers and men, of which he lost ten killed, twenty-two wounded and five missing. Hindman acknowledged a loss of only four killed and ten wounded, but his estimate of Willich's loss—"seventy-five killed, and wounded unknown"—entitles his report to be received with considerable allowance. Gen. Buell's official report claims the Confederate loss to have been thirty-three killed and about fifty wounded, which sounds better for the courage of Hindman's men.

Col. N. B. Forrest, a citizen of Memphis, who early in the summer had undertaken to organize a cavalry regiment, rendezvoused at Fort Donelson, in October, with eight companies—650 men. At his own request he was assigned to Tilghman's command at Hopkinsville. A remarkable prediction in regard to Forrest appears in a letter from Mr. Sam. Tate to Gen. Johnston, dated November 4th: "Give Forrest a chance, and he will distinguish himself." How well the prophecy of Samuel was verified is prominently set forth in both Union and Confederate histories, and four years later received the sanction of one of the greatest of American generals, George H. Thomas.

Forrest's cavalry was actively employed on picket duty during the month of December. The debatable ground, lying between the front of Tilghman at Hopkinsville and Crittenden at Calhoun, was the scene of almost daily skirmishes between small bodies of cavalry from adjacent camps. Villages were occupied alternately by Union and Confederate troopers, and the inhabitants kept constantly on the alert to change their politics in time to welcome the intruders. On the 26th of December, Gen. Johnston ordered a cavalry reconnaissance toward Crittenden's camp, and Forrest, at the head of 300 men, reached Greenville on the 28th.

Col. James S. Jackson had by this time completed the organization of his regiment (the Third Kentucky Cavalry) at Calhoun, and a young major in command of a battalion, Eli H. Murray, now governor of Utah, burning with patriotic ardor and fearful that the war would end before he could have an opportunity to dint his bright new sword in conflict with the enemy, hearing of Forrest's advance, craved permission to meet him with his battalion, numbering 168 men. The engagement took place at Sacramento, near which place Forrest was met by a young lady equally filled with Confederate enthusiasm, and whose beauty, Forrest reported, caused him to burn with knightly zeal, who galloped down the road to point out Murray's position. Forrest charged immediately with 150 men, but was met by Murray with forty-five of his men with so much spirit that he was compelled to retire. Maj. Murray behaved with great gallantry and would have repulsed the second charge made by Forrest with his entire force had not a dastard of his command shouted, "Retreat to Sacramento!" Most of the men fled at once in defiance of the orders of their commander, and Forrest, seeing the retreat, now charged down upon the fugitives, converting the retreat into a rout. Murray's loss was six killed, among whom was Capt. Albert Bacon, of Frankfort, Ky., whose courage and soldierly conduct was noticed by Forrest in his report, and seven privates wounded and captured. Capt. Davis, whose conspicuous courage led him too far within the Confederate lines, was captured by Forrest in person. Forrest's loss, as stated by himself, was two killed, one of whom was Capt. Meriwether, and three were wounded. Forrest returned at once to Hopkinsville, where he remained until February 7, when he covered the retreat of the Confederate brigade to Clarksville. Jackson, on hearing of the skirmish at Sacramento, immediately started with 500 of his regiment in pursuit of Forrest, but did not overtake him.

The battle of Mill Springs, or Fishing

Creek, as it is termed by Confederate writers, carried a gleam of sunshine into the war department at Washington, and created corresponding gloom in the Confederate camp. It was the first movement against the enemy that had succeeded. Intended merely as a diversion, it demolished an army. The Union army, east and west, had hitherto been engaged in fruitless skirmishes or in inglorious repulses, such as those of Stone, on the Potomac, or Grant, at Belmont. The president, sick at heart by reason of the masterly inactivity displayed by his generals all along the line, from the Mississippi to tide water, held firmly to the helm of the ship of state, hoping, sometimes possibly with the facts against him, that he would outride the storm.

Gen. Thomas had removed his headquarters to Lebanon, Ky., in December, and at once set about the formation of his division, numbering 10,000 men. Gen. Schoepf's brigade, stationed at Somerset, was joined early in January, 1862, by acting Brig.-Gen. S. P. Carter's brigade, consisting of the First and Second Tennessee Regiments, the Seventh Kentucky having been left at camp Calvert, near London, to guard that avenue of approach from Cumberland Gap. The effective strength of these regiments was 1,041. Gen. Buell, full of his plan of operations against the main force of the enemy in his front, which involved the active co-operation of Gen. Halleck, by an attack upon the left flank of the enemy at Forts Henry and Donelson, while he should, by a rapid movement, flank the force at Bowling Green, was still obliged to give attention to the menace upon his rear offered by Humphrey Marshall, and upon his left by Zollicoffer. Against the first he dispatched Garfield; and Gen. Thomas, on the 29th of December, was directed to strike a vigorous and decided blow upon the latter. In his instructions to Thomas, Gen. Buell directed that he should move upon Zollicoffer's left and endeavor to cut him off from his line of retreat across the river, while Schoepf attacked him in front. The result, he said, ought to be at least a severe blow to the enemy or a hasty flight across the river. Having accomplished this object, Thomas was to be ready to move in any direction; but unless circumstances required him to act without delay, he was to await further orders. The command of Gen. Thomas constituted an important portion of the flanking column before referred to, and it was to be kept in condition to move promptly when ordered.

One condition existing at this season of the year, constituted an insurmountable obstacle to celerity of movement. The clay subsoil of Kentucky—an invaluable factor in the fertility of the agricultural regions—when soaked with rains, which drench the ground during the winter months, is of about the consistency of thick mortar. The roads, when not turnpiked and much traveled, become almost impassable. The depth of mud is measured by the length of the horses legs or the spokes in the wheels of passing vehicles. It was over a road of this character that the course of Gen. Thomas' army lay from Columbia to Logan's Cross-Roads. There was a turnpike from Lebanon to Columbia, to which point a supply of subsistence stores was sent a few days previous to the march.

The movements of Gen. Thomas are best given in his own language:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO. CAMP NEAR WEBB'S CROSS-ROADS, KY., January 13, 1862.

BRIG.-GEN. SCHOEPF, Commanding at Somerset:

I received yours of the 11th to-day, by Capt. Hale. When I last wrote to you I was in the hopes of being near Somerset by this time, but the heavy rains have injured the roads so much that it will be impossible to say now when I can be in your vicinity. We have already been three days in making sixteen miles, and our ammunition and provisions are far behind now—probably will not be up by to-morrow night. Should I ever succeed in getting near you, I will send a messenger to let you know. I wrote to Gen. Buell five days since, submitting your proposition of crossing the river, and attacking from the bluffs of Meadow Creek, but have received no reply from him up to this time. As soon as I hear I will write you the result.

I have not had time to converse fully with the men you sent me, but if it be possible to approach the enemy by the way of White Oak Creek I should like to have them as guides.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE H. THOMAS.

Brigadier-General, United States Army, commanding.

Gen. Zollicoffer, having fortified the gaps in the Cumberland range, had, as has been stated, moved southward, and, by direction of Gen. Johnston, taken position at Mill Springs, on the south bank of the Cumberland, five miles below the mouth of Fishing Creek. This stream, flowing southward in a deep ravine, crosses the roads leading from Somerset to the ferry at Mill Springs. On the 9th of December, Zollicoffer crossed the river and erected fortifications on the north bank at a place called Beach Grove, an eminence protected on its rear and flanks by the river, and with only about 1,200 yards of fighting front to defend. The slope ascending from the valley to the intrenchments he covered with an abatis of fallen trees, and communication was kept up with Mill Springs by means of a small steamboat and two flats.

Gen. George B. Crittenden arrived at Mill Springs and assumed command about the 1st of January. Although he did not like Zollicoffer's position, "with an enemy in front and a river behind," he took no measures to recall him to the south bank, and, regardless of the instructions of Gen. Johnston to remain strictly on the defensive, he removed his entire force to Beech Grove. Crittenden's weekly report of the strength of his command, on the 7th of January, shows an aggregate present and absent of 9,417 men; present for duty, 6,444. This force was organized as follows: Four battalions (seven companies) of cavalry, two batteries of artillery, and eight regiments of infantry, amply sufficient to guard the front of the entrenched position, provided the infantry were well armed and well disciplined, and the guns of sufficiently heavy caliber to keep the light artillery of an assaulting force at a distance.

But in these requisites for successful defense, his army was almost as deficient as that of Humphrey Marshall, while his facilities for escape, if hard pressed, were totally inadequate. With the knowledge that he possessed of the forces concentrating in his front, there is no doubt that Crittenden would have lost no time in removing his command to the south bank of the Cumberland, but for the unwise decision of a council of war, held at his headquarters, that the forces of Gen. Thomas should be attacked and defeated in detail before they could concentrate for an assault upon his position. The eloquence of Zollicoffer had imbued his men with some degree of his own impetuous bravery, and had created an ardor to meet the Union forces in the open field, where they were led to believe that a bold and rapid charge would carry everything before it. Gen. Crittenden, who was an utter stranger to the men, found himself in a position where, to obey the dictates of his judgment, he must antagonize the warlike spirit that had been instilled into the minds of his troops, who demanded to be led against the enemy, and, fearing to withdraw without offering battle would jeopardize his standing in the command and demoralize his men, he consented to hazard everything upon the issue of a battle.

He had the following troops at his disposal:

Weekly return of the command of Gen Zollicoffer, Camp Beech Grove, Ky., for the week ending January 7, 1862. Present for duty:

Troops.	Officers.	Men.
Col W. B. Wood, 16th Alabama	22	356
Col. W. B. Statham, 15th Mississippi	34	820
Col. T. W. Newman, 17th Tennessee	31	307
Col. D. H. Cummings, 19th Tennessee	31	645
Col. J. A. Battle, 20th Tennessee	32	662
Col. S. S. Stanton, 25th Tennessee	30	653
Col. S. Powell, 29th Tennessee	31	462
Col. J. P. Murray, 28th Tennessee	44	704
Lieut.-Col. McNairy, 1st Battalion, Tennessee	15	197
Lieut.-Col. Brazelton, two companies of the 3d Battalion, Tennessee	6	133
Lieut.-Col. Branner, 4th Battalion, Tennessee	22	314
Lieut.-Col. McClellan, five companies of 5th Tennessee	18	297
Capt. T. C. Sanders' Independent Cavalry Company	4	67
Capt. W. S. Bledsoe's Independent Cavalry Company	4	80
Capt. H. M. Rutledge's Artillery Company	5	135
Capt. H. L. W. McClung's Artillery Company	4	79
Total	333	6,111

The force with which Gen. Thomas met the attack, and drove the Confederate forces from the field, consisted of the following:

Second Battalion, 1st Kentucky Cavalry, Col. Wolford	250
First Ohio Artillery, Capt. Kenny	110
First Ohio Artillery, Capt. Standart	122
First Artillery, Capt. Wetmore	104
Twelfth Brigade, Gen. Carter (not seriously engaged):	
First Tennessee, Col. Byrd	610
Second Tennessee, Col. Carter	442
Twelfth Kentucky, Col. Hoskins	478
Second Brigade, Col. Manson:	
Tenth Indiana, Lieut.-Col. Kise	710
Fourth Kentucky, Col. S. S. Fry	400
Third Brigade, Col. McCook:.	
Ninth Ohio, Lieut.-Col. Kammering	628
Second Minnesota, Col. Van Cleve	600
Effective strength present for duty	4,454
Battalion of Michigan Engineers and one company Thirty-eighth Ohio, detached to guard the camp	375
Total	4,829

The following report of the battle by Gen. Thomas is so complete in details that we give it entire:

HDQRS. FIRST DIVISION, DEPT. OF THE OHIO, SOMERSET, KY., January 31, 1862.

Captain:—I have the honor to report that in carrying out the instructions of the general commanding the department, contained in his communication of the 29th of December, I reached Logan's Cross-Roads, about ten miles north of the intrenched camp of the enemy on the Cumberland River, on the 17th inst., with a portion of the Second and Third Brigades, Kenny's battery of artillery, and a battalion of Wolford's cavalry. The Fourth and Tenth Kentucky, Fourteenth Ohio, and the Eighteenth United States Infantry being still in the rear, detained by the almost impassable condition of the roads, I determined to halt at this point to await their arrival and to communicate with Gen. Schoepf.

The Tenth Indiana, Wolford's cavalry, and Kenny's battery took position on the road leading to the enemy's camp. The Ninth Ohio and Second Minnesota (part of Col. McCook's brigade) encamped three-fourths of a mile to the right, on the Robert's post-road. Strong pickets were thrown out in the direction of the enemy beyond where the Somerset and Mill Springs Road comes into the main road from my camp to Mill Springs, and a picket of cavalry some distance in advance of the infantry. Gen. Schoepf visited me on the day of my arrival, and, after consultation, I directed him to send to my camp Standart's battery, the Twentieth Kentucky, and the First and Second Tennessee regiments, to remain until the regiments in the rear should come up.

Having received information, on the evening of the 17th, that a large train of wagons with its escort were encamped on the Robert's post and Danville Road, about six miles from Col. Steedman's camp, I sent an order to him to send his wagons forward under a strong guard, and to march with his regiment (the Fourteenth Ohio) and the Tenth Kentucky (Col. Harlan), with one day's rations in their haversacks, to the point where the enemy were said to be encamped, and either capture or disperse them.

Nothing of importance occurred from the time of our arrival until the morning of the 19th, except a picket skirmish on the night of the 17th. The Fourth Kentucky, the battalion of Michigan engineers, and Wetmore's battery joined us on the 18th.

About 6.30 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the pickets from Wolford's cavalry encountered the enemy advancing on our camp, retired slowly, and reported their advance to Col. M. D. Manson, commanding the Second Brigade. He immediately formed his regiment (the Tenth Indiana) and took a position on the road to await the attack, ordering the Fourth Kentucky (Col. S. S. Fry) to support him, and then informed me in person that the enemy were advancing in force and what disposition he had made to resist them. I directed him to rejoin his brigade immediately and hold the enemy in check until I could order up the other troops, which were directed to form immediately and were marching to the field in ten minutes afterward. The battalion of Michigan engineers and Company A, Thirty-eighth Ohio (Capt. Greenwood), were ordered to remain as a guard to the camp.

Upon my arrival on the field soon afterward I found the Tenth Indiana formed in front of their encampment, apparently awaiting orders, and ordered them forward to the support of the Fourth Kentucky, which was the only entire regiment then engaged. I then rode forward myself to see the enemy's position, so that I could determine what disposition to make with my troops as they arrived. On reaching the position held by the Fourth Kentucky, Tenth Indiana and Wolford's cavalry, at a point where the roads fork, leading to Somerset, I found the enemy advancing through a corn field and evidently endeavoring to gain the left of the Fourth Kentucky regiment, which was maintaining its position in a most determined manner. I directed one of my aids to ride back and order up a section of artillery and the Tennessee brigade to advance on the enemy's right, and sent orders for Col. McCook to advance with his two regiments (the Ninth Ohio and Second Minnesota) to the support of the Fourth Kentucky and Tenth Indiana.

A section of Capt. Kenny's battery took a position on the edge of the field to the left of the Fourth Kentucky and opened an efficient fire on a regiment of Alabamians, which were advancing on the Fourth Kentucky. Soon afterward the Second Minnesota (Col. H. P. Van Cleve) arrived, the Colonel reporting to me for instructions. I directed him to take the position of the Fourth Kentucky

and Tenth Indiana, whose regiments were nearly out of ammunition. The Ninth Ohio, under the immediate command of Maj. Kammerling, came into position on the right of the road at the same time.

Immediately after these regiments had gained their position the enemy opened a most determined and galling fire, which was returned by our troops in the same spirit; and for nearly half an hour the contest was maintained on both sides in the most obstinate manner. At this time the Twelfth Kentucky (Col. W. A. Hoskins) and the Tennessee brigade reached the field to the left of the Minnesota regiments, and opened fire on the right flank of the enemy, who then began to fall back. The Second Minnesota kept up a most galling fire in the front, and the Ninth Ohio charged the enemy on the right with bayonets fixed, turned their flank, and drove them from the field, the whole line giving way and retreating in the utmost disorder and confusion.

As soon as the regiments could be formed and refill their cartridge boxes I ordered the whole force to advance. A few miles in the rear of the battle-field a small force of cavalry was drawn up near the road, but a few shots from our artillery (a section of Standart's battery) dispersed them, and none of the enemy were seen again until we arrived in front of their intrenchments. As we approached, the division was deployed in line of battle and steadily advanced to the summit of the hill at Moulden's. From this point I directed their intrenchments to be cannonaded, which was done until dark by Standart's and Wetmore's batteries. Kenny's battery was placed in position on the extreme left at Russell's house, from which point he was directed to fire on their ferry, to deter them from attempting to cross.

On the following morning Capt. Wetmore's battery was ordered to Russell's house and assisted with his Parrott guns in firing upon the ferry. Col. Manson's brigade took possession on the left near Kenny's battery, and every preparation was made to assault their intrenchments on the following morning. The Fourteenth Ohio (Col. Steedman) and the Tenth Kentucky (Col. Harlan), having joined from detached service soon after the repulse of the enemy, continued with their brigade in the pursuit, although they could not get up in time to join in the fight. These two regiments were placed in front in my advance on the intrenchments the next morning and entered first. Gen. Schoepf also joined me the evening of the 19th with the Seventeenth, Thirty-first and Thirty-eighth Ohio. His entire brigade entered with the other troops.

On reaching the intrenchments we found the enemy had abandoned everything and retired during the night. Twelve pieces of artillery, with their caissons packed with ammunition; one battery wagon and two forges; a large amount of ammunition; a large number of small arms, mostly the old flint-lock muskets; 150 or 160 wagons, and upward of 1,000 horses and mules; a large amount of commissary stores, intrenching tools, and camp and garrison equipage, fell into our hands. A correct list of all the captured property will be forwarded as soon as it can be made up and property secured.

The steam and ferry boats having been burned by the enemy in their retreat, it was found impossible to cross the river and pursue them; besides, their command was completely demoralized, and retreated with great haste and in all directions, making their capture in any numbers quite doubtful, if pursued. There is no doubt but what the moral effect produced by their complete dispersion will have a more decided effect in re-establishing Union sentiments than though they had been captured.

It affords me much pleasure to be able to testify to the uniform steadiness and good conduct of both officers and men during the battle, and I respectfully refer to the accompanying reports of the different commanders for the names of those officers and men, whose good conduct was particularly noticed by them.

The enemy's loss, as far as known, is as follows: Brig.-Gen. Zollicoffer, Lieut. Bailie Peyton, and 190 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; Lieut.-Col. M. B. Carter, Twentieth Tennessee; Lieut. J. W. Allen, Fifteenth Mississippi; Lieut. Allen Morse, Sixteenth Alabama and five officers of the medical staff, and eighty-one non-commission officers and privates taken prisoners; Lieut. J. E. Patterson, Twentieth Tennessee; and A. J. Knapp, Fifteenth Mississippi, and sixty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates wounded; making 192 killed, eighty-nine prisoners not wounded, and sixty-eight wounded; a total of killed, wounded and prisoners of 349. Our loss was as follows:

	KILLED.		WOUNDED.	
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.
Tenth Indiana.....	–	10	3	72
First Kentucky (Cav)	1	2	–	19
Fourth Kentucky...	–	8	4	48
Second Minnesota..	–	12	2	31
Ninth Ohio.....	–	6	4	24
Total.....	1	38	13	194

A complete list of the names of our killed and wounded and of the prisoners is herewith attached.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, GEORGE H. THOMAS,

Brig.-Gen. United States Volunteers, Commanding.

CAPT. J. B. FRY, A. A. G., chief of staff, headquarters Department Ohio, Louisville, Ky.

The following extract from Gen. Crittenden's official report furnishes, if any were needed, evidence of the disaster to the Confederate troops:

On the evening of the 18th I called in council Brig.-Gens. Zollicoffer and Carroll, and the com-

manding officers of regiments, and of cavalry and artillery, and there it was determined, without dissent, to march out and attack the enemy under Gen. Thomas on the next morning. Accordingly, Gens. Zollicoffer and Carroll were ordered to remove their brigades at midnight in the following order:

First—The brigade of Gen. Zollicoffer, in the following order: In front, the independent cavalry companies of Capts. Saunders and Bledsoe; then the Fifteenth Mississippi Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Walthall; then the Nineteenth Tennessee, commanded by Col. D. H. Cummings; then the Twentieth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Battle; then the Twenty-fifth Tennessee, commanded by Col. S. S. Stanton; then four guns of Rutledge's battery, commanded by Capt. Rutledge.

Second—The brigade of Gen. Carroll in this order: In front, the Seventeenth Tennessee, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Miller; then the Twenty-eighth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Murray; then the Twenty-ninth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Powell; then two guns of McClung's battery, commanded by Capt. McClung.

In the rear were the Sixteenth Alabama, as a reserve, commanded by Col. W. B. Wood, and the cavalry battalions of Lieut.-Col. Branner and Lieut.-Col. McClellan.

Soon after daylight, on the morning of January 19th, the cavalry advance came in contact with the pickets of the enemy, after a march of near nine miles over a deep and muddy road. With a few shots the enemy's pickets were driven in, retiring about a quarter of a mile to a house on the left of the road. From this house, and woods in the rear of it, quite a brisk firing was opened upon the head of the column. Skirmishers had been thrown forward, Gen. Zollicoffer's brigade was formed in line of battle, and ordered to advance upon the enemy, who, I supposed, would come out from their camp, which we were now approaching, to take position. The road here extended straight in front for near a mile toward the north.

A company of skirmishers from the Mississippi regiment, advancing on the left of the road after sharp firing, drove a body of the enemy from the house and the woods next to it, and then, under orders, crossing the road, fell in with their regiment. Following this company of skirmishers on the left of the road to the point where it crossed to the right, the regiment of Col. Cummings (Nineteeth Tennessee) kept straight on, and, crossing a field about 250 yards wide at a double-quick, charged into the woods where the enemy was sheltered, driving back the Tenth Indiana Regiment until it was re-enforced.

At this time Gen. Zollicoffer rode up to the Nineteenth Tennessee and ordered Col. Cummings to cease firing, under the impression that the fire was upon another regiment of his own brigade. Then the general advanced, as if to give an order to the lines of the enemy, within bayonet reach, and was killed just as he discovered his fatal mistake.* Thereupon a conflict ensued, when the Nineteenth Tennessee broke its lines and gave back. Rather in the rear and near to this regiment was the Twenty-fifth Tennessee, commanded by Col. Stanton, which engaged the enemy, when the colonel was wounded at the head of his men; but this regiment, impressed with the same idea which had proved fatal to Gen. Zollicoffer—that it was engaged with friends—soon broke its lines and fell into some disorder.

At this time, the fall of Gen. Zollicoffer having been announced to me, I went forward in the road to the regiments of Col. Cummings and Stanton, and announced to Col. Cummings the death of Gen. Zollicoffer, and that the command of the brigade devolved upon him.

There was a cessation of firing for a few moments, and I ascertained that the regiment of Col. Battle was on the right and the Mississippi regiment in the center, neither as yet having been actively engaged, and the enemy in front of the entire line. I had ordered Gen. Carroll to bring up his brigade, and it was now, in supporting distance, displayed in line of battle.

I now repeated my orders for a general advance, and soon the battle raged from right to left. When I sent my aid to order the Fifteenth Mississippi to charge, I sent by him an order to Gen. Carroll to advance a regiment to sustain it. He ordered up for that purpose Col. Murray's (Twenty-eighth Ten-

* Col. Fry in a letter to the writer gives the following account of the death of Gen. Zollicoffer:

"In order to ascertain more certainly the exact state of affairs, the firing having nearly ceased, I rode from the right of my regiment some fifteen or twenty paces down to the fence behind which we had been fighting, and, discovering no enemy in that direction, I turned my horse and rode slowly back to the place I had just left. As I neared the road I saw an officer riding slowly down the road on a white horse and within twenty paces of the right of my regiment. His uniform was concealed, except the extremities of his pantaloons, which I observed were of the color worn by Federal officers, by a long green overcoat. His near approach to my regiment, his calm manner, my close proximity to him, indeed everything I saw led me to believe he was a Federal officer belonging to one of the regiments just arriving. So thoroughly was I convinced that he was one of our men, I did not hesitate to ride up to his side so closely that our knees touched. He was calm, self-possessed and dignified in manner. He said to me "We must not shoot our own men," to which I responded, "Of course not; I would not do so intentionally," then turning his eyes to his left and pointing in the same direction he said," those are our men." I could not see the men from my position, but I now suppose they were there. I immediately moved off to the right of my regiment, perhaps some fifteen or twenty paces from the spot on which I met him. His language convinced me more than ever that he was a Federal officer. How it is that he did not discover that I was one I cannot tell, as my uniform was entirely exposed to view, having on nothing to conceal it. As soon as I reached my regiment, I paused, turning my horse a little to the left, and across the road, looked back to see what was going on, when, to my great surprise, another officer whom I had not seen rode out from behind a large tree near the place of my meeting with the first officer, and, with pistol in hand, leveled it directly at me, fired, and paused for a moment, doubtless to observe the effect of his shot. Instead of striking the object at which it was aimed, the ball struck my horse just above the hip bone making a flesh wound. I immediately drew my Colt's revolver from the holster, and was about to fire, when he retreated behind a tree. Not until this time was I aware that I had been in conversation with an officer of the opposing army. In an instant the thought flashed across my mind that the officer with whom I had met and conversed had attempted to draw me into the snare of death or secure my capture by a false representation of his position, and, feeling thus, I aimed at him and fired."

Gen. Zollicoffer fell pierced by three bullets, for at the same moment several men of the Fourth Kentucky fired upon him.

nessee) regiment, which engaged the enemy on the left of the Mississippi regiment and on the right of Stanton's (Tennessee) regiment. I ordered Capt. Rutledge, with two of his guns, forward in the road to an advanced and hazardous position, ordering Col. Stanton to support him, where I hoped he might bring them to play effectively upon the enemy; but the position did not permit this, and he soon retired, under my order. At this point the horse of Capt. Rutledge was killed under him.

Very soon the enemy began to gain ground on our left and to use their superior force for flanking in that quarter. I was in person at the right of the line of Stanton's regiment; the battle was still raging, and I did not observe this so soon as it was observed by Gen. Carroll, who moved the regiment of Col. Cummings, then commanded by Lieut.-Col. Walker, to the left, to meet this movement of the enemy, and formed the Seventeenth Tennessee, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Miller, to support the regiments on the left. The regiments of Murray, Stanton and Cummings were driven back by the enemy, and, while reforming in the rear of the Seventeenth Tennessee, that well-disciplined regiment met and held in check for some time the entire right wing of the northern army. These regiments on my left and on the left of the road retired across the field a distance of about 250 yards, and there, for a time, repulsed the advancing enemy. Especially the regiment of Col. Stanton, partially rallied by its gallant field officers, formed behind a fence, and, pouring volleys into the ranks of the enemy coming across the field, repulsed and drove them back for a time with heavy loss.

For an hour now the Fifteenth Mississippi under Lieut.-Col. Walthall, and the Twentieth Tennessee, under Col. Joel A. Battle, of my center and right, had been struggling with the superior force of the enemy.

I cannot omit to mention the heroic valor of these two regiments, officers and men. When the left retired they were flanked and compelled to leave their position. In their rear, on the right of the road, was the regiment of Col. Powell (Twenty-ninth Tennessee) which had been formed in the rear and ordered forward by me some time before. Gen. Carroll ordered this regiment to face the flanking force of the enemy, which was crossing the road from the left side; this it did, checking it with a raking fire at thirty paces. In this conflict Col. Powell, commanding, was badly wounded.

The Sixteenth Alabama, which was the reserve corps of my division, commanded by Col. Wood, did at this critical juncture most eminent service. Having rushed behind the right and center it came to a close engagement with the pursuing enemy, to protect the flanks and rear of the Fifteenth Mississippi and Twentieth Tennessee when they were the last, after long fighting, to leave the front line of the battle, and, well led by its commanding officer, in conjunction with portions of other regiments, it effectually prevented pursuit and protected my return to camp.

Owing to the formation and character of the field of battle I was unable to use my artillery and cavalry to advantage in the action. During much of the time the engagement lasted, rain was falling. Many of the men were armed with flint-lock muskets and they became soon unserviceable.

On the field and during the retreat to camp some of the regiments became confused and broken and great disorder prevailed. This was owing, in some measure, to a want of proper drill and discipline of which the army had been much deprived by reason of the nature of its constant service and of the country in which it had encamped.

During the engagement, or just prior to it, the force under Gen. Thomas was increased by the arrival, on a forced march, of a brigade from his rear, which I had hoped would not arrive until the engagement was over. This made the force of the enemy about 12,000 men. My effective force was 4,000. The engagement lasted three hours.

My loss was 125 killed, 309 wounded, and 95 missing, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded	Missing.
15th Mississippi Regiment....	44	153	29
20th Tennessee (Battle).....	33	59	18
19th Tennessee (Cummings)...	10	22	2
25th Tennessee (Stanton).....	10	28	17
17th Tennessee (Newman).....	11	25	2
28th Tennessee (Murray).....	3	4	5
29th Tennessee (Powell).....	5	12	10
16th Alabama.....	9	5	12
Capt. Saunder's cavalry.....	—	1	—
Total.....	125	309	95

The loss of the enemy, from the best information I have and statements made by themselves, may be estimated at 700 killed and wounded. It was larger than mine from the fact that my regiments on the left, after first being driven back, fired from the cover of woods and fences upon the large numbers advancing upon them through the open field, inflicting heavy loss and sustaining but little.

Crittenden's position at Beech Grove was extremely perilous, and as soon as possible he prepared to cross the river with his remaining troops, now reduced to a disorganized mass of panic-stricken men, whose only desire was to secure personal safety. He got them all across to the south bank under cover of darkness, except some who attempted to swim the river on their horses and were drowned. The condition of these fugitives was indeed pitiful. They had marched nine miles on the night of the 18th through rain and mud; had fought a battle and been beaten, and fallen back in utter rout to their

position only to leave it, and, without rest or food, take up the line of march to a more secure retreat. Through Monticello and Livingston to Gainesboro they plodded their weary way, subsisting upon the scanty supplies of a wasted country, until starvation caused the wholesale desertion of several regiments and the disintegration of almost the entire command. They had fought well; many had displayed the highest personal courage, and deserved better treatment at the hands of their commanders than to be branded as deserters. Their loss upon the field had been great, but it was not one-tenth of that by desertion on the retreat to Gainesboro.

The loss of Gen. Zollicoffer was a severe blow to the Confederates. Although, owing to his lack of military experience, his repeated attempts to enter Kentucky had cost them an army, they cherished his memory with tenderness for many years after his death. His body was embalmed and sent through the lines under a flag of truce. Crittenden's lot was even worse than that of his dead comrade; he was charged with being a traitor. with drunkenness upon the field, and with incapacity to command. Although the first, he was not the only, Kentuckian destined to feel the serpent tooth of ingratitude from a people from whom he had sacrificed home and country to espouse the cause of the southern people. He was a gentleman, simple, true and brave, whose proper place was with his noble father and heroic brother, fighting for the honor of his State and nation.

Gen. Thomas dispatched Schoepf with his brigade to pursue Crittenden's broken column. They followed him through the deep mud as far as Monticello, but finding that his brigade, cumbered with knapsacks, guns and blankets, were no match for the fleet-footed Tennesseans, who had thrown away everything that would impede their flight, he returned to Gainesville. Col. Manson's brigade took charge of the deserted camp and its abandoned property, buried the dead, and nursed the wounded of both armies.

Thus the first battle fought by the troops of the Army of the Cumberland, like the last one in which that army was engaged in the west, was equally crushing in its effect upon the enemy, and the same calm, wise, courageous commander presided upon both occasions. The Fourth and Twelfth Kentucky participated in both engagements.

The region of country known as eastern Kentucky, bordering upon Virginia and separated from it by the Big Sandy River, is rough and sparsely populated. At the outbreak of the rebellion the inhabitants, like their neighbors in western Virginia and east Tennessee, clung instinctively to the Union. Frugal and industrious, brave and independent, they possessed many of the characteristics of the pioneers of Kentucky, whose deeds of valor in the wilderness have for generations formed the traditionary lore about the firesides of their descendants. Taking little interest in national affairs, they were slow to comprehend the cause of difference between the northern and southern States of the Union. When at last the truth was forced upon them by the presence of the armed troops, that the theater of war was at their very doors, the occasion of hostilities was expounded to them by two men whose exploits in the field had been more than equaled by their eloquence upon the stump. These were Hon. Humphrey Marshall and John S. Williams, familiarly known as "Cerro Gordo," for his courageous conduct exhibited on the occasion of that battle in Mexico. It is not surprising that two orators of this character, backed by the persuasive logic of troops of armed men, should have lured a considerable number of the mountaineers away from their allegiance to the national flag. But the number who joined their standard was ridiculously small in proportion to those who joined Union regiments.

For many months the ark of safety of these people lay in the Confederate camp, and that so few availed themselves of the security of person and property offered by enlisting in the southern army is the strongest possible evidence of the inherent loyalty of the Kentucky mountaineers to the government at Washington. Not one of them had voted for Abraham Lincoln. They still held to the creed of the Whig and Democratic parties as

taught by Clay and Jefferson, and represented by John Bell, of Tennessee, on the one side, and Stephen A. Douglas or John C. Breckinridge on the other. They cared little for the institution of slavery, for few of them were slaveholders. By far the greater number were poor and dependent upon their own labor for means with which to support their families; but all were landholders, and, unlike the poor whites in the cotton States, tilled their own soil, and were masters of their own time and opinions. School-houses were scarce, and many could neither read nor write; but if unlearned in the sophistry of politics, they were well grounded in the belief that the United States was the greatest and grandest country on the earth, and every attempt to destroy it met with their unalterable opposition. Such was the country in which Brig.-Gen. Marshall had established his camp in the winter of 1861–62.

Brig-Gen. William Nelson, having driven the Confederate forces out of eastern Kentucky in October, 1861, returned to Louisville in November, sending the Sixteenth Kentucky back to Maysville and the Twenty-fourth to Lexington, to complete their organization. The Ohio regiments were embarked on transports at Louisa on the Big Sandy River, and taken to Louisvile, where they were incorporated into the main army of the Ohio. The abandoned territory was speedily occupied by Gen. Humphrey Marshall, whose base was at Wytheville, Va., on the line of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, within easy supporting distance from Knoxville, or the Army of Northern Virginia.

The same troubles that all army commanders both north and south had to encounter assailed Gen. Marshall. He found the troops under Williams half clad and mostly unarmed, and several regiments that had joined him in western Virginia were in the same condition. The undisciplined and destitute condition of his command rendered it better qualified to be sent to a camp of instruction than for active operations against an organized force, but its zealous commander determined to advance into his native State, even if he was only permitted to remain long enough to issue a proclamation to the inhabitants.

On December 14th, Col. James A. Garfield, commanding the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, stationed at camp Chase, Ohio, received orders from Gen. Buell to proceed with all possible dispatch to Prestonburg, which was reported to be occupied by Gen. Marshall. Sending his regiment by steamer from Cincinnati to Catlettsburg, at the mouth of Big Sandy River, in obedience to orders, he reported at department headquarters for further instructions. Gen. Buell probably desired a personal interview with an inspection of the man whom he was about to intrust with the command of a brigade, as deficiency in the number of brigadier-generals assigned him (in which regard the war department had treated him with marked clemency), rendered it necessary for him to place his brigades under command of the ranking colonels. Care had to be used in brigading regiments to see that the colonel whose commission antedated all the others in the brigade was fit to command it. It was owing to this necessity that nearly all the general officers who afterward distinguished themselves in the Army of the Cumberland won their promotion by meritorious service in the field, and it is no slight evidence of Gen. Buell's insight into the character and ability of men, that most of them were started in the line of promotion by their appointments as brigade commanders at this period.

By Special Order, No. 35, issued December 17th, the Eighteenth Brigade was organized, consisting of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, Col. J. A. Garfield; Fortieth Ohio Infantry, Col. J. Cranon; Fourteenth Kentucky Infantry, Col. L. T. Moore; Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry, Col. D. W. Lindsey; two companies of Ohio Cavalry, Maj. McLaughlin, and six companies of the First Kentucky Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. Letcher. This brigade was placed under command of Col. J. A. Garfield, who was ordered to proceed at once by steamers to Catlettsburg, thence up the Big Sandy with three regiments, and drive the enemy back, leaving the Fortieth

Ohio at Lexington and Paris to give moral support to his movements in eastern Kentucky. As artillery would be of little use in the rugged country through which his course lay, it was believed it would only embarrass his operations.

As Piketon, on the Big Sandy, was the objective point of his campaign, supplies for his brigade could be transported by steamer, thus saving the necessity of cumbersome wagon trains. It will be observed that times had changed vastly for the better, since Thomas had only a few weeks before asked in vain for a reserve of only four regiments to enable him to move forward from London to the occupation of Knoxville. Now a thoroughly organized brigade could be put in motion for a distant expedition at the will of the department commander. In addition to his brigade, as organized, the Sixteenth Ohio Infantry at Lexington was, in case of necessity, ordered to co-operate. Col. Garfield ordered the Fortieth Ohio and Letcher's cavalry to move eastward *via* Mount Sterling and McCormick's Gap to Prestonburg.

Col. Garfield arrived at Catlettsburg December 21st, and found the Forty-second Ohio, Fourteenth Kentucky and McLaughlin's squadron of Ohio Cavalry awaiting his arrival, with which he moved at once up the river to Louisa. The Twenty-second Kentucky, not being fully equipped, was ordered to join the column on the march. Leaving two companies to guard his supplies and hospital at Louisa, he continued up the river, and on the 25th reached George's Creek, where he remained two days, receiving supplies from below, when he continued his march over Tom's Mountain to the forks of Tom's Creek. Here he learned that Gen. Humphrey Marshall had fortified himself two miles south of Paint Creek, occupying Paintsville and a line extending along Paint Creek for two miles from its junction with the Big Sandy, and that his outposts were established two miles in front.

From Garfield's camp there were three routes leading to Paintsville, one leading along the left bank of the Sandy to the mouth of Paint Creek, thence up the creek to Paintsville; another directly southward, thence by a very rugged road over the hills, and the third southward along a branch of Tom's Creek, and over a heavy ridge, striking Paint Creek at the mouth of Jennie's Creek, a mile above Paintsville. On the morning of January 5th Col. Garfield sent a small force of infantry and cavalry to advance along the first of these routes to reconnoiter the enemy's position. Two hours later he sent another force with similar orders along the middle route, and two hours still another with the same directions along the third route. The second and third of these detachments were ordered to return and join the main force, with which Garfield moved rapidly along the first-named route. As he had calculated, Marshall considered the first and second advances as feints, and withdrawing the forces near the mouth, concentrated them higher up the stream against a force that he supposed to be advancing *via* Jennie's Creek. This left the way clear for the Union troops to secure possession of the mouth of Paint Creek, where they were joined by Lieut.-Col. Bolles with 300 of the Second Virginia Cavalry, which had been sent to Garfield by Gen. Cox in West Virginia. On the afternoon of the 6th of January Paintsville was occupied by the Union forces. Col. Garfield now sent Bolles with his cavalry to attack the enemy's cavalry at the mouth of Jennie's Creek, and, throwing a temporary bridge across Paint Creek at Paintsville, Garfield crossed with 1,000 men, and at 9 o'clock at night entered the entrenched camp of Marshall, which he had just deserted. In the meantime Bolles had driven the cavalry from the mouth of Jennie's Creek and pursued them five miles, killing and wounding a considerable number.

Gen. Marshall moved eastward to Prestonburg, and Col. Cranor, who, with the Fortieth Ohio and Letcher's detachment of the First Kentucky Cavalry, was moving on that place, hearing that he was there, turned their course northward and joined Garfield at Paintsville on the 7th.

On the 9th Garfield advanced with 1,500 of his command toward Prestonburg, leaving orders for the remainder to follow immedi-

ately upon the arrival of supplies from the depot at Louisa. He reached the mouth of Abbott's Creek, near Prestonburg, at 8 o'clock the same evening, and found Marshall encamped on the same creek three miles above him. He immediately ordered all his available force at Paintsville to join him as soon as possible. The rain and sleet poured down on the advancing column struggling through the mud in the pitchy darkness, while their comrades on the banks of Abbott's Creek bivouacked upon the soaked earth, awaiting their arrival. At 4 o'clock on the morning of the 10th the command moved forward, crossing Abbott's Creek a mile from its mouth, and soon after attacked and drove the Confederate rear guard. At 8 o'clock Garfield had crossed the ridge that separated Abbott's Creek from Middle Creek, when his advance again encountered Marshall's rear.

Advancing about two miles up the stream, the tired troops reached the forks about noon, where they found Marshall's men occupying a strong position on a steep wooded hill between the forks of the stream. Meanwhile, Gen. Marshall had intercepted a letter from Garfield to Cranor, and, in hope of cutting off the Fortieth at Prestonburg, had fallen back to Abbott's Creek. Finding that Cranor had effected a junction with the main force, he then sought and found a secure position in which to await the attack. Sending his wagon train ahead, he halted at the summit of the wooded hill before mentioned. His brigade consisted of the following organizations: Col. Trigg's Fifty-fourth Virginia regiment, effectives, 578; Col. Williams' Kentucky regiment, 594; Col. Moore's Twenty-ninth Virginia regiment, 317; Col. Simm's mounted battalion, 360; Capt. Jeffries' battery of light artillery, 58; Capt. Worsham's company of cavalry, 50; total, 1,967. Beside the above, Marshall doubtless had a militia force, as he claimed after his defeat by Garfield that the prisoners taken from his force were "not soldiers, but citizens, who have been running like frightened hares ever since the war began, and if pressed to it would submit to have their ears cropped to show they had a master."

The regiments of Cols. Williams and Moore and a part of the mounted battalion occupied the spurs and heights upon the right. Trigg's regiment occupied a height covering his battery, behind which were stationed Witcher's and Holliday' companies as support. Capts. Thomas' and Clay's companies, dismounted and armed with Belgian rifles, were thrown forward to the heights commanding the plain of Middle Creek. A day or two previous Garfield had received from Gen. Buell an intercepted letter from Marshall to Gen. Johnston, stating his effective strength as between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

Col. Garfield drew up his force of 900 infantry on the sloping point of a semi-circular hill, and at 12 o'clock sent forward twenty mounted men to make a dash across the plain. This drew Marshall's fire, and in part disclosed his position. Trigg's Virginia regiment was placed behind the further point of the same ridge which Garfield occupied. Capt. Williams, with four companies of Ohio and Kentucky troops, crossed the creek nearly waist deep, and took position on the high, rocky ridge in front and to the left of the main force.

The enemy now opened fire with two guns of six and twelve-pound caliber; a shell from one of them fell among Garfield's skirmishers, but did not explode. Capt. Williams' detachment engaged Trigg's regiment, and Maj. Burke, of the Fourteenth Kentucky, with two companies, and Maj. Pardee, of the Forty-second Ohio, with ninety men, were sent to re-enforce him, which caused Marshall to withdraw the Virginians across the creek, and to send strong re-enforcements to the hills on the left. About 2 o'clock Col. Cranor, with 150 men from the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio and Twenty-second Kentucky, was sent to re-enforce Maj. Pardee. Meanwhile Marshall had occupied the ridge to a point nearly opposite to Garfield's right, and opened a heavy fire on his reserve. Lieut.-Col. Monroe, at the head of 120 of the Twenty-second and Fourteenth Kentucky,

now crossed the creek, and gallantly drove the Confederates from position; the latter, resisting stubbornly, lost several of their number killed at this point, whom they left upon the field. Retiring slowly, and contesting every foot of ground, the Confederate troops were driven up the steep ridge, nearest the creek, by the troops under Cranor and Pardee. At 4 o'clock, Lieut.-Col. Sheldon, with his re-enforcements, arrived upon the field, increasing Garfield's force to 2,300, enabling him to send forward the remainder of his reserve under Lieut.-Col. Brown.

During the fight, the Confederate gunners had worked their pieces industriously, firing over thirty rounds, but they were utterly useless. But one of their shells exploded, and none of their shots, not even canister, took effect. Their small arms were equally ineffectual at long range. Brown, with his reserves, passed around to the right, and endeavored to capture the artillery, but Marshall ordered a retreat, and by 5 o'clock had completely evacuated his position, and fallen back to his camp in the rear. Soon afterward a brilliant light streamed upward from the valley. He was burning his stores preparatory to retreat. Twenty-five of his dead left upon the field told how bravely his men had contended with shot-guns and squirrel rifles against the inevitable logic of "Lincoln's muskets." In the entire action they had killed only one, and wounded twenty of their assailants.

Letcher with his cavalry, having been detached on special service, did not reach the field in time to participate in the action, but he started next morning in pursuit. They followed the trail six miles and took a few prisoners, but were obliged to return through lack of provisions. The total number of prisoners taken was twenty-five, among whom was one officer. The Union troops bivouacked upon the field, and the next day crossed the river and occupied Prestonburg. Garfield found the place almost deserted and stripped of everything like supplies for an army. He was obliged to send his cavalry at once to Paintsville for forage, to which place he returned soon after with his entire force, finding that he could not take proper care of his command in the region about Prestonburg. In less than twenty days he had driven Marshall with his command from two chosen positions, and returned to his depot of supplies with a loss of only three killed and twenty-eight wounded, for which he was rewarded by the government with a brigadier-general's commission, and by the legislature of Kentucky with a vote of thanks.

The wretched condition of the roads compelled Garfield to establish his camp at Paintsville, and Marshall's exhausted supplies made it necessary for him to continue his retreat toward Pound Gap, whence measles, mumps and starvation soon drove him to Virginia. The events of the campaign had taught him that his undisciplined, and almost unfed and unarmed troops, however well endowed with the quality of courage, were no match for Garfield's brigade of well-equipped soldiers, and a further stay in Kentucky could, as he asserted, only result in the disintegration and demoralization of his command.

On the 22d of February, Gen. Garfield moved his brigade twenty-five miles further up the Big Sandy to Piketon. Col. Marshall's Sixteenth Kentucky Infantry had been assigned to Garfield's command on the 20th of January, and Gen. Cox had sent two of his companies of the Fourth Virginia to Louisa to protect the stores at that point On the 15th of March, Gen. Garfield left Piketon with 600 infantry and 100 cavalry, for Pound Gap, reaching the foot of the mountains late at night. Sending his cavalry by the plain road into the gap to attract attention, he led his infantry by an unfrequented route to the crest of the mountain, whence he surprised the camp, which was occupied by a regiment commanded by Maj. J. B. Thompson, that, after a few minutes' resistance, retreated down the Virginia slope with the cavalry in hot pursuit. They lost seven in killed and wounded, and abandoned everything that would impede their flight. After destroying the camp and burning the buildings that had been erected for the storage of military supplies, the command

returned to Piketon without the loss of a man.

In the meantime, the east Tennessee campaign, which Buell had so persistently urged on assuming command of the Department of the Ohio, had taken the form of fact. Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, had been captured by the gun-boats on the 6th of February, 1862, and the week following was devoted to reconnoitering the approaches and moving the land forces to the next point of attack.

The army concentrated by Gen. Grant on the ground in front of Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, was permitted, on the morning of the 13th of February, to move into position without hindrance from the Confederates, who, confident of their strength, did not venture from behind the cover of their intrenchments. The garrison allowed its position to be invested by a force but little larger than itself, but on the arrival of re-enforcements from Cumberland City, the innocent-looking log piles became a line of artillery fire. Gen. C. F. Smith made an attempt to carry the works in his front, but was repulsed by Hanson's Confederate Kentucky regiment and the Thirteenth Tennessee with considerable loss. McClernand moved against Heiman's elevated position, but after two bold attempts to carry it was compelled to fall back, while the batteries upon the crest of the hills blazed away at each other with noisy zeal. Gen. McClernand's division took position on the right of the line of investment, and Gen. Smith's brigades as they came occupied the left, in front of Buckner's line. The division of Gen. Lew Wallace was assigned to the center of the line only 500 yards in front of the Confederate works.

The Confederate forces, under command of Maj.-Gen. John B. Floyd, consisted of Gen. Pillow's division, 1,000 cavalry under Col. Forrest, Buckner's division, and two water batteries on the hillside, commanding the river. The strength of the contending forces was: Grant's, 24,400; Floyd's, 16,970. The Seventeenth and Twenty-fifth Kentucky Infantry, commanded by Cols. John H. McHenry and James M. Shackelford, and the Thirty-first and Forty-fourth Indiana formed the first brigade of Wallace's division, which, under command of Col. Charles Cruft, Thirty-first Indiana, was detached from Crittenden's division of the Army of the Ohio by order of Gen. Buell, and sent by boat to re-enforce Grant in his operations against Fort Donelson.

The day following the battle of the Trenches, so called by Gen. Floyd, the gunboats which had proved effective in the reduction of Fort Henry, appeared in front of Fort Donelson, but their stay was brief. The elevation of the batteries overcame the advantage of the gunboats in weight of guns, and sent their bolts crushing through the fleet with resistless force, carrying destruction in their course. But a few moments sufficed to send the disabled boats drifting down the stream, while inside the works not a gun was disabled nor a man hurt. Thus the first two days of the siege ended in repulses by land and water, while the unsheltered troops of both armies lay down upon the ground, in the midst of a storm of rain and sleet that raged with unwonted fury.

Notwithstanding the success of the Confederates in maintaining their position, a feeling of insecurity pervaded the minds of both Pillow and Floyd. Gen. Buckner, more practical than either, devised a plan of escape by the Winn's Ferry road, in the direction of Nashville, which, provided he could have had the execution of it, would doubtless have succeeded. This was to make a vigorous assault upon McClernand, drive him back upon the center, and hold him there while the main portion of the Confederates marched out of the trenches and pursued their way toward Nashville. The first part of the programme was carried out, but in the nick of time when everything should have been in readiness to move promptly to the rear, Floyd grew irresolute and concluded to wait. Delays are proverbially dangerous, and in this instance proved fatal to the Confederates.

McClernand was not driven back without a stubborn fight, and withdrew only after hav-

ing exhausted his ammunition. Even then pursuit by the Confederates was checked by the prompt action of Gen. Wallace, who threw his division in front of McClernand and took up the battle where it had fallen from his hands. In this emergency Col. Cruft was ordered to the front. The brigade moved at double quick over the rugged road, the Twenty-fifth Kentucky in advance, pressing onward to engage the Confederates. A staff officer of Gen. McClernand led the head of the column too far to the right, when suddenly, before a line of battle could be formed, the Twenty-fifth found itself confronted by a superior force of the Confederates, which formed a flanking column, moving around by a ravine to capture Taylor's battery. Shackelford immediately formed his line under a murderous fire, supported on the left by the Thirty-first Indiana. The Seventeenth Kentucky and Forty-fourth Indiana hurriedly formed a line against which the Confederates again and again hurled heavy masses of troops in a vain attempt to break it. Not a man left the ranks. Knowing the terrible responsibilities resting upon them, animated by a common impulse to stem the tide of disaster, they poured volley after volley into the ranks of the Confederates.

At this juncture one of those blunders which sometimes neutralize the effect of the most heroic courage was committed by an unknown officer, who, approaching the right of Shackelford's regiment, ordered it to take position further to the right. The order was immediately obeyed under heavy fire. The first volley from the new position took effect in the ranks of the Eighth and Twenty-ninth Illinois in their front, but concealed from view by the thick underbrush. The latter, supposing themselves attacked from the rear, immediately fell back through Cruft's ranks, threatening for a moment the integrity of his command. In the meantime Shackelford and Osborne, of the Thirty-first Indiana, at the right of the line, were cut off with a small portion of the Twenty-fifth Kentucky and Thirty-first Indiana, and were compelled to carry on an unequal combat against great odds before they finally succeeded in rejoining the command.

The retreat of McClernand's entire division now left Cruft's brigade "in the air," without support on the right or left, with the exception of the Eleventh Illinois, which occupied a position in support of Taylor's battery vacated by Logan's regiment. The Forty-fourth Indiana, on the left, could not fire without imperiling this regiment, and was obliged to remain in line and receive the Confederates' fire without responding. The brigade was in good fighting trim, and by order of its intrepid commander fell back in good order to the top of the next ridge. A heavy fire was poured into it by the advancing foe, who, pushing forward, made a determined attack upon the whole line. This was no sooner repulsed than it was repeated with the same result. Following the second repulse, Cruft ordered his brigade to charge, which it did with such effect as to drive the Confederates back some distance. In this charge the Seventeenth Kentucky, led by its gallant officers, Col. McHenry and Lieut. Col. A. M. Stout, greatly distinguished itself. At this juncture a flank movement was detected upon his right, beyond which he had no support. Directing a company of the Thirty-first Indiana to be deployed as skirmishers in that direction, Col. Cruft was obliged to give his attention to the movements upon his left, where heavy columns of the Confederates could be seen moving in pursuit of McClernand.

The Eleventh Illinois, out of ammunition, was slowly falling back, exposing his left flank to a constant fire from the Confederates, advancing in force against him. The position of the plucky little brigade was now indeed perilous, but being new to the business of war the men were not aware of the full extent of their danger. It was soon attacked by a superior force of cavalry and infantry on its left, menaced by a flank movement against its right, the object of which was evidently to compel its surrender, but the brigade remained intact, turning its fire upon the nearest enemy, at the same time moving slowly to the right and rear, when

it soon came upon a commanding ridge fronting the Confederates, where it planted its colors and prepared for the final assault, which came at once.

The advancing troops, flushed with success, rushed up the hill with the light of victory upon their faces to meet a force of equal courage and determination. Out of reach of support, with none to witness their heroic defense, they prepared to meet their assailants. The front of their line speedily became a sheet of flame from which the leaden missiles flew into the ranks of the Confederates, who wavered before the shock, and at length fell back, leaving their dead upon the hillside. The brigade, now greatly reduced by losses in killed and wounded, drew off toward the right of Thayer's brigade, with which communication was soon opened through the medium of a line of skirmishers. After a three hours' engagement, during much of which time the brigade had been isolated, it had saved McClernand's division from the effect of a strong flank movement upon his right wing, then defending itself against a continuous and determined attack, which, but for the courage and discipline of officers and men, would have demolished it.

The beleagured garrison had thus, after six hours' fighting, driven the investing force away from their left and rolled it back upon the center, uncovering three roads that led southward to liberty. Having thus accomplished the first move in the plan of escape agreed upon, and in momentary expectation of being called upon to act as rear guard to the retreating army, Buckner was astonished by the reception of an order to march back to his old position in the intrenchments. There should have been nothing in the way of a rapid retreat by every practicable route. But no preparations for this last act in the tragic performance of the day had been made. The troops, to whom had been assigned the brave work of clearing away the right wing of the Union army, had very properly been left unfettered in their movements, by burdensome haversacks and knapsacks, and when the door of escape was open they were unable to avail themselves of it through lack of any provision for the march. Eight regiments had been allowed to remain idle spectators of the scene within the intrenchments, where every moment should have been utilized in removing provisions to the rear. Night closed upon the scene. The Union lines, pressing forward closely upon the heels of the garrison, withdrawn within the intrenchments, formed their lines across the Winn's Ferry Road and closed the only avenue by which the Confederates could escape.

The two commanding generals, through whose inefficiency the withdrawal from Fort Donelson had been rendered impossible, made their escape, leaving the task of surrender to Gen. Buckner, who, with what grace he could command, accepted the only terms offered—unconditional surrender. This occurred on the 16th of February; on the 4th of March, Gen. Grant was temporarily relieved from duty, and the troops, under the direction of Gen. Halleck, the department commander, were placed under the command of Gen. F. C. Smith, who, proceeding to the Tennessee, ascended that river to Savannah, where a part of the army was stationed. The rest was advanced to Pittsburg Landing, about nine miles above, and placed on the west side of the river. On the 13th of March, Gen. Grant was restored to his command, and, before any marked changes were made in the position of the army, was attacked by Gens. Johnston and Beauregard.

The battle of Shiloh, fought on April 6th and 7th, 1862, was the apprenticeship of a large majority of the regiments, on both sides, to the art of war. With more courage than discipline, and more zeal than knowledge, they were brought into the conflict by commanders as inexperienced as themselves, where they offered a soldier's last sacrifice in defense of their country.

The Union forces under command of Gen. Grant, present upon the field, consisted of five divisions commanded by Gens. McClernand, W. H. L. Wallace, Hurlbut, Sherman and Prentiss. The total effective strength of these organizations by the returns of the 4th of April was 37,330. On the morning of the attack by the Confederate army, under

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, numbering 37,589, infantry and artillery, the several divisions were encamped at will, with no reference to a line of battle, upon the hills above the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing; not a spadeful of earth was thrown up as a defense, and the divisions were without a common commander. Of course defeat was the inevitable result, and that it was not final and crushing in its effect was owing to the arrival of Maj.-Gen. Don Carlos Buell, with the Army of the Ohio.

The Army of the Tennessee, however, fought with the same desperate courage that later on led it to victory on many hotly contested fields; the fault lay not with the troops, but with the lack of generalship which allowed them to be taken at cruel disadvantage. A year later not a subaltern in the army would have permitted his command to rest, even for a day, in the presence of a superior force of the enemy without erecting a barricade of some sort behind which to fight at advantage.

Like those youthful surgeons whose knowledge of the art was derived from books, and who finally became perfect through the suffering of others, the lesson had to be learned by our generals, and it was as well that it should be given by the grim instructors at Shiloh as elsewhere. The value of earthworks was taught the Army of the Tennessee at Shiloh. It was the dying gift of Albert Sidney Johnston, but it remained for Bragg to impart the lesson to the Army of the Ohio, when eight months later McCook's veterans fled in panic from the battle-field of Stone River.

The Kentucky regiments engaged on the Union side in this battle were the following: First Infantry, Col. D. A. Enyart; Second Infantry, Col. T. D. Sedgewick; Fifth Infantry, Col. H. M. Buckley; Sixth Infantry, Col. W. C. Whitaker; Ninth Infantry, Col. B. C. Grider; Eleventh Infantry, Col. P. B. Hawkins; Thirteenth Infantry, Col. E. H. Hobson; Twentieth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Charles S. Hanson; Seventeenth Infantry, Col. J. H. McHenry; Twenty-fifth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. B. H. Bristow.

The last two mentioned were the only Kentucky regiments engaged in the battle of the 6th of April.

Gen. Lauman, having reported for duty the previous day, was assigned to the command of the brigade, which, under the gallant leadership of Col. Charles Cruft, received its seasoning in the heat of battle at Fort Donelson, where its heroic defense in front of Lew Wallace's division had withstood the onset of Pillow's corps, while McClernand reformed his shattered brigades in its rear. It consisted of the Seventeenth and Twenty-fifth Kentucky, reduced by battle and disease to less than 600 men; the Thirty-first and Forty-fourth Indiana, 1,100 more—making an aggregate strength of 1,717 effectives. This brigade belonged to the Army of the Ohio, and had been dispatched by Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, at the order of Gen. Buell, to Fort Henry on the the 1st of February. It had joined Grant's army with over 2,500 men, and was returned to Buell after participating in the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh, with an effective strength of little over 1,200. Nearly 700 men had been killed and wounded when it rejoined the Army of the Ohio.

The first assault fell upon this brigade at about 10:30 o'clock. Prentiss and Stuart having fallen back, all that portion of the battle-field for which they had so stubbornly contended was in possession of the enemy.

The skirmishers were driven in and the gleam of bayonets beyond showed the advance of a long line of Confederate troops. Gen. Lauman says, in his report: "I waited until I could distinctly see them advancing, by the gleam of their bayonets, about 100 yards distant, when I gave the order to fire. The first volley checked their advance. They held their ground for some time, however, when they moved off to the right, where they had planted a battery, and under cover of which they attempted to cross the open field. I immediately ordered the left wing to move up to the fence, and as soon as they came within short range opened fire on them, which soon caused them to fall back. Their loss here and in the front was very heavy; the

ground was literally covered with their dead and wounded. The rebels continuing to move to the left, I received your orders to move the brigade to the left, so as to check their movements in that direction. The movement was executed in fine order, and here we held our position until 4 o'clock, fighting against vastly superior numbers, until the batteries to right and left of us had retired."

Col. J. M. Shackelford having resigned in March, Lieut.-Col. Benjamin H. Bristow and Maj. Wall, each successively in command of the Twenty-fifth Kentucky, were wounded, and Col. McHenry, of the Seventeenth, assumed command of both regiments, Lieut.-Col. A. M. Stout, in command of the latter. The consolidation was made permanent by the military board of Kentucky, after the close of the battle. Col. McHenry says:

Many of my best men fell, killed and wounded, and the gallant Capt. Morton, of Company A, received at this place a fatal wound, whilst he was in front of his company, setting them a daring example, which he was ever ready to manifest in the presence of the enemy. We had been constantly engaged for five hours. All of the ammunition in the cartridge-boxes of my men was exhausted to the second round, and the enemy made a renewed attack upon our whole line, which was met with determined resistance on the part of our troops at this place. We were ordered to draw back, and did so, under your eye, slowly and without confusion. My regiment was again ordered into line, in the rear of the heavy and light artillery, which opened fire upon the Confederates, severely and unexpectedly, and which was kept up unceasingly until night closed the struggle of the day, in which your whole brigade had acted a conspicuous and gallant part.

We were moved to the front of the line of artillery, above alluded to, and bivouacked during the night in the rain, weary and worn, and without food or protection from the heavy rain that fell upon us. Without sleep, we arose with the dawn, and I found that my regiment, in killed, wounded, sick and disabled, had been reduced to less than half of the small number of men who had occupied the ranks on the day and night of the 6th.

About 10 o'clock on the 7th, we were led near the extreme right of our forces, and participated in a desperate charge of our column upon the Confederates, which resulted in driving them back, and gave the victory, glorious and dearly bought, once more to the beloved flag of our country. Lieut.-Col. Stout, on account of an extremely painful wound in the arm, received in the gallant devotion to his duty on the 6th, at my urgent request, did not go with the regiment on the second day. Maj. Isaac Calhoon was during both of these two eventful days to be found at all times where his duty called him, fearless and bold in the discharge of it. Both of these officers' horses, as well as that of my own, were wounded by musket-balls from the Confederates on the 6th. Capt. Robert Vaughan, Company I, after having fought bravely during the whole day was severely wounded on the evening of the 6th. Capt. Davison, Company B, behaved with his usual coolness and courage, with his excellent Lieut. Byers executing all orders upon the field with zeal and devotion to the cause.

Lieut. Keith, in command of Company G; Lieut. Nall, Company F; Sergt. Landrum, Company H; Lieut. Brown, Company K; Capt. Beckham, Company C; Capt. Hudson, Company D; Lieuts. Campbell, Bratcher, Ferguson, Little, Heston and Adjt. Starling, were to be found constantly at their posts on the 6th, with their respective commands, cheering, encouraging, and sustaining the gallant soldiers of the Seventeenth Kentucky Regiment, who now mourn the loss in killed and wounded out of their reduced ranks of eighty-eight of their comrades.

The First and Second Infantry Regiments returned to Kentucky from western Virginia in January, 1862, and were assigned to the 4th division, Army of the Ohio, commanded by Brig.-Gen. William Nelson. They had participated in the several minor engagements in West Virginia. Col. Bruce refers as follows to the part taken by the First, Second and Twentieth Kentucky Regiments in the battle of Shiloh on the 7th of April:

After the engagement became general, the colonel commanding the brigade was ordered to assist the Nineteenth Brigade, Col. Hazen. He ordered the First Kentucky Regiment to change direction to the right and advance to the support of Col. Hazen's left. This regiment sustained a galling fire of grape and canister while carrying out these orders. The Twentieth Kentucky was ordered up to support the First Kentucky in this movement, which it did under a very severe fire. Both these regiments deserve the highest commendations for the manner in which they executed their orders.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock, A. M., the Second Kentucky Regiment was ordered to charge a battery on our right, which was playing on our left flank. The fight of the regiment in executing this order became almost hand to hand, and was of the most terrific character. Capt. Spellmeyer was instantly killed. Capts. Bodine and Smith, Adjt. Weinedel, Lieuts Miller and Alms, were carried to the rear, all seriously wounded. Lieut. Miller died on the field. Within a very small compass, where this regiment charged, could be counted over 200 of the enemy lying dead upon the field. This regiment

succeeded in taking one of the enemy's guns, but was able to hold it for only a few minutes, being overpowered by much greater numbers. During the entire day the Twenty-second Brigade rendered the most effecient service in repelling the desperate assaults on the left flank of our army.

In the afternoon, the First, Second and Twentieth Kentucky Regiments steadily maintained the positions assigned them, and did their part toward securing the imperishable glory reflected upon the general commanding his division. The Second Kentucky at one time during the afternoon charged a battery, took it, spiked one of the guns, and turned another upon the Confederates, but were unable to hold it, being fiercely charged in return by their regiments. The Twentieth Kentucky, acting in reserve, placed in position for the purpose of supporting the First Kentucky, was in full range of the Confederates' fire, and at all times maintained their formation with the steadiness and tenacity becoming veterans. Where every officer and soldier displayed such distinguished courage, it seems almost invidious to particularize. The colonel commanding the brigade desires to make particular mention of the following gentlemen:

Lieutenant-Colonel Leiper, Maj. Cahill (who was wounded), and Adjutant Wright deserve great praise for the manner in which they discharged their duties. Col. Sedgewick, Lieutenant- Colonel Spencer and Maj. Hurd displayed the greatest courage, and daring, Col. Sedgewick was stricken down by a spent round shot while discharging the duties of his position. Late in the afternoon, when the Confederates made their last desperate attempt upon our left flank, the First and Twentieth Kentucky regiments moved up to the support of Terrill's battery, repulsed the attack and held the position, while the assailants retired from the contest. Lieutenant-Colonel Hanson, commanding the Twentieth, deserves very high commendation for the manner in which he managed his regiment at this crisis. Lieutenant Bachus, of the same regiment, while fighting bravely in the lead of his company, received a very severe wound. Lieutenant Cooper, aid-de-camp to the colonel commanding, deserves high praise for the brilliant manner in which he rallied the Forty-first Ohio regiment (Col. Hazen's brigade) when badly disordered. Through the entire duration of this terrible battle the Twenty-second brigade deported themselves in a manner of which their government and the State may well be proud.

The Fifth Kentucky was one of the gallant regiments led by Gen. Rousseau at Shiloh, which drew from Gen. Sherman the high commendation of Kentucky troops found in his official report:

The Confederates had one battery close by Shiloh and another near the Hamburg road, both pouring grape and canister upon any column of troops that advanced toward the green point of water-oaks. Willich's regiment had been repulsed, but a whole brigade of McCook's division advanced beautifully, deployed, and entered this dreaded woods. I ordered my Second brigade, then commanded by Col. T. Kilby Smith, (Col. Stuart being wounded) to form on its right, and my Fourth brigade, Col. Buckland, on its right, all to advance abreast with this Kentucky brigade before mentioned, which I afterward found to be Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division. I gave personal direction to the 24-pounder guns, whose well-directed fire silenced the enemy's guns to the left, and afterward at the Shiloh Meeting-House. Rousseau's brigade moved in splendid order steadily to the front, sweeping everything before it, and at 4 P. M. we stood upon the ground of our original line and the enemy were in full retreat.

Gen. Rousseau says:

I at once decided to move forward the whole brigade to the open ground, except the Sixth Indiana, which held a most important position on our left flank, which position the enemy had menaced in strong force for several hours. I ordered Col. Buckley, with the Louisville Legion, to move up to the right and front and engage the enemy, who had rallied all their available forces and were moving down upon us. At the same time Majs. King and Carpenter and Col. Smith were ordered to advance in line with Col. Buckley.

The advance was admirably made, and with alacrity the brigade steadily, briskly, and in excellent order, moved forward. We advanced about 200 yards to the front, when we came in collision with the enemy. They were stronger at this point than either of the previous encounters. I afterward learned from wounded prisoners that the force at this time opposed to us consisted of the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Kentucky regiments, and several others from various States. The fire of musketry was the heaviest I ever heard. My line when fired on halted of itself and went to work.

The issue was important, as my brigade was directly in the road of the enemy to the Landing, and they were evidently pressing for that point. I was the more fully impressed with the importance of driving them from this position by your words to me when you ordered a change to the front of your original line of battle, which were, in substance, that my position was in the center, and must be held at every hazard, and that you would support me with the balance of your division as it arrived on the field.

The fight lasted about forty minutes, when the enemy gave way and were at once pursued by the whole line up to the open ground in front, my brigade capturing several cannon, retaking a battery of ours captured the previous day, and retaking the headquarters of Gen. McClernand. We also took three flags from the enemy. At this time the 40

rounds of cartridges in the boxes of the men were exhausted and the line was halted.

The Sixth Kentucky served in Hazen's brigade of Nelson's division, at Shiloh, and bore a conspicuous part in that engagement. Gen. Whitaker in his report refers as follows to the courage of his officers and men:

At 10 o'clock Mendenhall's battery, which had rendered efficient service, was assailed by a large fource of the enemy. It was supported by three companies of the Sixth Kentucky, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton. They were severely pressed, and a charge was made by the remainder of the Sixth regiment at the point of the bayonet, headed by Col. Whitaker and Adjt. Shackelford. The acting brigader-general, Col. Hazen, most gallantly accompanied them in the charge. The enemy were routed from their cover behind logs and trees with terrific slaughter. The pursuit and fight were continued by Col. Hazen's brigade until the enemy were driven beyond their batteries, Whilst the entire regiment, with some miserable exceptions, behaved most gallantly, sustaining the reputation of Kentucky, and in conjunction with the Ninth Indiana and Forty-first Ohio boldly maintaining the credit of the Nineteenth brigade and Gen. Nelson's division, it is only justice to refer especially to the gallant conduct of Adjt. Shackelford, Lieutenants McGraw and Rockingham, Sergeant-Major Danks, Company A, and Private Floyd, of Company D. The regimental color-bearer, Richard T. Thornton, was shot down, and, true to his duty, died with the flag of his country on his breast. It was taken by the colonel, who carried it some distance and gave it to Sergeant Schmidt, of Company C, who bore it through the balance of the fight. Private Irving, of Company A (wounded and since dead), killed five of the enemy. Lieutenant Chilton was taken prisoner by six rebels. Two or three friends rallied to his aid. The enemy were all killed and he rescued, the lieutenant killing one of his captors with his pistol.

Brig.-Gen. J. T. Boyle, commanding the Eleventh Brigade of Gen. T. L. Crittenden's division, in his report to that officer refers as follows to the conduct of the Ninth and Thirteenth Regiments:

The Nineteenth Ohio, Col. Beatty, formed the right of my brigade; the Thirteenth Regiment, Col. Hobson, the center, and the Ninth Kentucky, Col. Grider, on the left, with the Fifty-ninth Ohio, Col. Fyffe, in the rear, as a supporting reserve. In pursuance of orders, we marched steadily forward upon the center, the Fourteenth brigade being still in advance on the left. I halted my command in sight of the open field in front of the right wing of my brigade, and, by order of Gen. Buell, given in person, I threw forward four flanking companies of the Nineteenth Ohio and Thirteenth Kentucky as skirmishers, to advance to the open field, or to where the skirmishers could find and engage the enemy, or await the advance of our line. After capturing a prisoner and sending him in, the skirmishing companies of the Nineteenth Ohio were fired upon and driven back, and I ordered up Col. Beatty, of the Nineteenth Ohio, to take position along the edge of the open field to repel the advance of the enemy in that direction. At this juncture the enemy turned their forces in the direction of the position occupied by you with the Fourteenth brigade, evidently with the view of driving back our forces and capturing our guns. The Fourteenth brigade, encouraged and led on by you in person at their head, made an impetuous attack upon the enemy, driving them back with great loss, saving our guns, and advancing our lines. As the regiments of that brigade were withdrawn, I ordered up the Thirteenth Kentucky to their position, and ordered the Ninth Kentucky and Forty-ninth Ohio to my left, where they were placed in position by you. The Thirteenth Kentucky, led on by Col. Hobson in a gallant charge upon the enemy, drove them back with great slaughter, forcing them to desert their guns, to which they had rallied after having been driven back by the Fourteenth brigade, under your command. In this charge Col. Hobson, acting lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. Towles, acting major, and Acting. Adjt. Stewart, of the Thirteenth Kentucky, behaved with great coolness and courage, and, with the exception of a recoil, caused by a portion of the Wisconsin troops breaking through their lines, creating some disorder, they steadily led their brave men forward, driving the enemy before them. Maj. Hobson had his horse shot dead under him in this charge. Lieut.-Col. Edmunds, of the rebel army, was killed in the attack.

* * * * * *

The enemy seemed to be deflecting their forces and making their attack upon the left of the center, in the direction of Capt. Mendenhall's battery, which had shelled them with fearful destruction, when Gen. Buell, in person, ordered the Ninth Kentucky, Col. Grider, and Fifty-ninth Ohio, Col. Fyffe, to advance rapidly, and engage and drive back the enemy. Col. Grider led his men gallantly in the attack, well supported by most of his officers and men. The youthful Lieut. Underwood, of that regiment, behaved with the gallantry of a veteran soldier, going in advance of his men, and was shot through the sword-arm, and lost his sword. In his attack Col. Grider had three of his commissioned officers killed, and ten wounded.

Col. Hobson says:

A heavy firing commenced on our left. Gen. Crittenden ordered me to hold my regiment in readiness to charge the enemy's battery, which I did, in connection with Col. Hawkin's Eleventh Kentucky, both regiments advancing in order and occasionally meeting the enemy, driving them before us until we arrived at a section of battery in

our front, which had been abandoned by the Confederates, they falling back in confusion. A section of battery on our left was captured about the same time by Col. Fyffe's Fifty-ninth Ohio, and Col. B. C. Grider's Ninth Kentucky, they moving on the left, and my regiment and Eleventh Kentucky, Col. Hawkins, on the right, supporting Capt. Bartlett's battery.

The Fourteenth brigade entered the fight on the right of Nelson's division, and became at once engaged. Col. William S. Smith, Thirteenth Ohio, commanding the brigade, thus alludes to the part taken by the Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Infantry:

The Fourteenth Wisconsin Volunteers, temporarily attached to my brigade, was drawn up in line of battle on the right, the Thirteenth Ohio on the left, and the Twenty-sixth Kentucky in the center. The Eleventh Kentucky was held in reserve, and placed 200 yards in the rear of the center of our line of battle, in a position covered by the crest of a hill, along which our line of battle extended. Two companies of skirmishers, one from the Eleventh and one from the Twenty-sixth Kentucky, were then deployed to the front. The skirmishers on our right soon charged those of the enemy in an open field in front of the right of our line. The enemy's skirmishers retired, and all was quiet in front of our line for nearly one hour, when skirmishers again engaged those of the enemy, and this was soon followed by a furious attack upon our whole front. The right recoiled, while the left and center stood firm. The Twenty-sixth Kentucky was then sent forward to support our right, and a heavy cross fire to our front was opened from Bartlett's battery, which was in position on our right. The enemy soon yielded, when a running fight commenced, which extended for about one mile to our front, where we captured a battery and shot the horses, and many of the cannoneers. Owing to the obstructed nature of the ground, the enthusiastic courage of the majority of our men, the laggard discharge of their duty by many, our line had been transformed into a column of attack, representing the various grades of courage, from reckless daring to ignominous fear.

At the head of this column stood a few heroic men, not adequately supported, when the enemy returned to the attack with three fresh regiments in good order. We were driven back by these nearly to the first position occupied by our line, when we again rallied and moved forward toward the battery. Reaching a ravine to the right, and about 600 paces from the battery, we halted and awaited the assistance of Mendenhall's battery, which was brought into action on a knoll within a half mile of the enemy's battery, which it immediately silenced. We then advanced and captured it the second time, and succeeded in holding it, despite the efforts of the enemy to repulse us. One of the guns was at once turned upon the enemy, and Mendenhall's battery was advanced to nearly the same position, and opened fire upon the flank of the Confederate column, then retiring before Gen. McCook's division on our right. This occurred at about half past 3 o'clock, P. M., and up to this time, from 8 o'clock in the morning, my brigade had been almost constantly engaged.

The Thirteenth Ohio and Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Kentucky regiments seemed to vie with each other in determined valor, and while they each have cause to regret and detest the conduct of a few of their officers and men, they may proudly exult over the glorious part which they took as regiments in the bloody engagements of Shiloh fields.

I beg leave to make a special mention of the gallant conduct of the field and staff officers of the Thirteenth Ohio, and Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Kentucky Regiments, who, without exception, bore themselves as true soldiers and efficient officers through the dangers of the day, and Lieut. R. E. Hackett, of the Twenty-sixth Kentucky, acting aid-de-camp, whose conduct throughout the day was marked by great coolness and courage.

In the subsequent operations of the Army of the Ohio before Corinth these regiments bore a conspicuous part, performing with coolness and courage every duty assigned them. The Confederate army having advanced through eastern and middle Tennessee into Kentucky, Gen. Buell moved his army to Louisville and thence to Perryville.

Gen. George W. Morgan who was assigned to the command of the Seventh Division of the Army of the Ohio assumed command of the forces in eastern Kentucky early in April, 1862. Collecting the military commands at his disposal he formed them into four brigades, under Gens. S. P. Carter, A. Baird, J. G. Spears and Col. De Coursey, in which the Seventh, Fourteenth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky Infantries were incorporated. Maj. Munday's battalion of the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry and Capt. Patterson's company of Engineers and Mechanics reported directly to headquarters.

Gen. Morgan determined at once upon the capture of Cumberland Gap. By bold strategical movements, crossing the mountains by unfrequented roads south of the gap, he moved through Powell's Valley and was in-

formed that the Confederates had not awaited his arrival, but had evacuated the stronghold, leaving Morgan to take peaceable possession. Maj.-Gen. E. Kirby Smith was in command of the Confederate department of east Tennessee and his small force was kept busy along his extensive front from the gap to Chattanooga.

Cumberland Gap was held until the advance of the Confederate forces under Bragg and Smith rendered it necessary for the latter to turn it by the same route taken by Morgan in gaining possession, thus proving its uselessness as a strategic position. Finding his communications with his base of supplies at Lexington, Ky., cut off, and his supplies running short, Morgan determined to withdraw. This was successfully accomplished in the presence of the Confederates. After a weary march of 200 miles through mountain passes, harassed by Confederate cavalry and suffering from lack of provisions, the division reached the Ohio River. Previous to leaving the gap Gen. Morgan was obliged to dispense with cavalry and artillery horses for want of forage. Maj. Munday, with his cavalry and 400 of the Seventh Kentucky Infantry mounted upon artillery horses, was sent under command of Col. Garrard to report to Gen. Nelson, where they took part in the battles of Richmond and Perryville.

The first of these battles, fought against orders given by Gen. Nelson to his subordinate, Gen. M. D. Manson, resulted in defeat to the Union troops. Gen. William Nelson, to whom the command of all the troops in Kentucky was entrusted by Gen. Buell, had two brigades of the new levy stationed in the vicinity of Richmond and two more near Stanford. Gen. James E. Jackson, in command of two regiments of cavalry thrown well forward on the Crab Orchard Road, reported the advance of a heavy force from the direction of Cumberland Gap. Gen. Nelson at once issued orders for the concentration of his command at Stanford, believing that Gen. Smith would not attempt to cross the Kentucky River while so large a force was on his flank. Gen. Smith was, in the meantime, pushing forward toward Lexington by the Richmond Road, and on August 30th, came upon Manson's brigade three miles in advance of Richmond.

The Seventh Kentucky Cavalry and a detachment of the Third Tennessee Infantry had been brushed away from Big Hill by Smith's cavalry several days previously. In the first encounter with Smith's advance the Union troops were victorious, which emboldened Manson to advance a mile farther, to Rogersville, where he formed line of battle and bivouacked for the night. Early on the following morning Smith attacked and drove Manson's line back in confusion. Gen. Cruft, commanding a brigade consisting of the Eighteenth Kentucky, Ninety-fifth Ohio, and the Twelfth and Sixty-sixth Indiana, hearing the roar of battle, moved forward from Richmond and soon met a courier from Manson with orders to re-enforce him at once. The Eighteenth Kentucky pushed forward and formed under a heavy fire on the right of the line, the Ninety-fifth Ohio on the left, leaving the two Indiana regiments in reserve. In the second attack the center gave way in confusion, followed by the left, but the Eighteenth Kentucky held its ground. Col. Warner's horse was shot, but procuring another he continued to cheer on his men, until, struck down by a musket-ball, he was borne from the field. Lieut.-Col. Landrum had no sooner assumed command than he too received a fearful wound in his face, and the command devolved upon Maj. Bracht.

Referring to the conduct of his brigade at this time, Gen. Cruft says in his report:

> The Eighteenth Kentucky made a gallant fight, and by its brave stand broke the force of the enemy's attack and prevented the retreat at this time from becoming a rout. The men and officers of most of the regiments, however, fled in confusion through the fields to the rear.

This was at 10:30, A. M. No appeals availed to stop the panic-stricken men until the reserve was reached, when, a considerable number having been rallied, a new line was formed and the two brigade commanders determined to risk another fight. The attack came in due time; Gen. Smith waiting long enough to allow the cavalry which he had

sent by a detour to the rear of Richmond to get well on its way, before scattering the force in his front.

The retreat which followed the third attack was soon converted into a rout. Gen. Nelson arrived on the field at this juncture, and by strenuous exertions succeeded in getting some 2,000 men in line, hoping to form of them a rear guard to cover the retreat of the command. A few moments sufficed to show the utter uselessness of this undertaking. The line broke at the first fire, when, with one impulse of disgraceful cowardice, officers and men, mules and wagons, crowded the road toward Lexington. It was a fair field for a cavalry charge, and the Confederates made the most of it. Men were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. Gen. Nelson, severely wounded, barely made his escape. Maj. Bracht collected about 300 of his regiment, together with stragglers from other commands, and, being well acquainted with the country, left the main road, and by hard marching reached Lexington by way of Boonesboro. The loss of the Eighteenth Kentucky, in this its first engagement, was three officers and forty-seven men killed, six officers and sixty-four men wounded, and nine officers and 230 men missing. Gen. Kirby Smith was soon after joined in Kentucky by Gen. Bragg, and foraging and recruiting commenced on a large scale.

The possibility that Gen. Bragg would be able to make good his promise to hold possession of the State induced several hundred men to join the Confederate standard. Meanwhile Gen. Buell had reached Louisville, and as soon as his army was reorganized by the incorporation of a large number of new regiments into it, he moved at once upon Bragg. While the main army, divided into three grand divisions under Gens. Thomas L. Crittenden, Alex. McD. McCook and C. C. Gilbert, moved by parallel routes in the direction of Perryville—in the vicinity of which place Bragg's army was reported to be—two divisions under Gens. Sill and Dumont were sent toward Frankfort. By a singular mistake Smith was led to believe that the force advancing on the Frankfort road was Buell's main army, and so impressed Bragg with his view of the matter as to induce him not only to allow Smith to retain all his own forces, but to re enforce him with two divisions of his own. By this means it came about that the main Union army encountered but about one-third of the Confederate army at Perryville, while that portion under Sill and Dumont was permitted to march unmolested into the capital of the State, where they interrupted the interesting ceremony of the inauguration of a governor by the Confederates. Had the two armies met in a general engagement, their respective strength being so nearly equal, a decisive battle must have ensued.

The Fifteenth Kentucky received its baptism of fire at Perryville. Lytle's brigade of Rousseau's division occupied the right of McCook's line of battle, where for several hours it held its position in the face of an attack, which for courage and endurance has few parallels in history. Late in the afternoon the Confederates determined upon a last and overwhelming assault. Moving around where they could easily be concealed by the undulations of the ground, they fell upon the right and rear of Lytle's brigade and forced it to retire. Col. Lytle was severely wounded, and, refusing to be taken from the field, was captured. Hearing of this, Gen. Rousseau rode rapidly to that part of the field where the right of the brigade, the Fifteenth Kentucky, under command of the gallant Col. Pope, was resting upon a hill immediately in front of Loomis' battery.

Gen. Rousseau says: "While near the Fifteenth Kentucky, I saw a heavy force of the enemy advancing upon our right, the same that had turned Lytle's right flank. It was moving steadily up, in full view of where Gen. Gilbert's army corps had been during the day, the left flank of which was not more than 400 yards from it. On approaching the Fifteenth Kentucky, though broken and shattered, the regiment rose to their feet and cheered, and, as one man, moved to the top of the hill where they could see the enemy; I ordered them to lie down, at the same time ordering Loomis' battery to open upon the

advancing enemy." At this moment re-enforcements, tardily sent, appeared upon the field from Gilbert's corps, and the Confederates were forced to retire from the field. The loss of the Fifteenth Kentucky in this engagement was sixty-two killed, and 134 wounded, and four taken prisoners. Col. Pope received a mortal wound, from which he died a month later. Lieut.-Col. Jouett and Maj. Campbell were killed, and three other officers were wounded.

The Army of the Ohio, under Gen. Buell, comprised all Kentucky regiments. After the Confederate forces retired from the State, and Buell, returning from their pursuit, turned the head of his columns toward Nashville, he was relieved of command by Maj.-Gen. William S. Rosecrans. The Department of the Cumberland was to be carved out of the southern Confederacy, and that portion of the State of Kentucky lying east of the Cumberland River was embraced in the Department of the Ohio under Maj.-Gen. H. G. Wright. Several regiments which had participated in the campaigns of Buell were retained by Gen. Wright. These were the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-sixth Infantry. The Seventh, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-seventh and Thirty-fourth also remained in the Department of the Ohio, leaving the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third and Twenty-eighth Infantries in the Army of the Cumberland. The cavalry regiments were also divided between the two departments, the First, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth and Seventeenth, all but the first newly raised regiments, remained in Kentucky, while the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh were assigned to Gen. Rosecrans, and thenceforth shared the fortunes of the Army of the Cumberland. The Seventh, Nineteenth and Twenty-second Infantries and Patterson's engineers represented the Kentucky troops in the Army of the Tennessee, where, under their old commander, Gen. George W. Morgan, they participated in the assault upon Chickasaw Bluffs, near Vicksburg, in December, 1862.

The movement by Maj.-Gen. William S. Rosecrans with the Army of the Cumberland against the Confederate Army of the Tennessee, under Gen. Bragg, commenced on Christmas day, 1862.

The following Kentucky organizations were engaged in the battle that ensued December 31st, at Stone River.

Second Cavalry, Maj. T. F. Nicholas, on detached duty at headquarters; Third Cavalry, Col. Eli H. Murray, First Cavalry Brigade; Battery A, Light Artillery; Third Brigade, First Division, center; First Infantry, Col. D. A. Enyart, First Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Second Infantry, Col. T. G. Sedgewick, First Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Third Infantry, Lieut.-Col. Samuel McKee, First Brigade, First Division, left wing; Fifth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. W. W. Berry, Third Brigade, Second Division, right wing; Sixth Infantry, Col. W. C. Whitaker, Second Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Eighth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. R. May, Third Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Ninth Infantry, Col. B. C. Grider, First Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Eleventh Infantry, Lieut.-Col. E. L. Mottley, First Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Fifteenth Infantry, Col. J. B. Foreman, Second Brigade, First Division, center; Twenty-First Infantry, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Evans, Third Brigade, Third Division, left wing; Twenty-Third Infantry, Maj. T. H. Hannick, Third Brigade, Second Division, left wing; Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas, commanding the center; Maj.-Gen. A. McD. McCook, commanding the right wing; Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, commanding the left wing; Brig.-Gen. David S. Stanley, commanding the cavalry.

Gen. Palmer's division occupied the right of Crittenden's corps and Cruft's brigade held the right of the line, adjoining Negley's division of Thomas' corps. The attack made at dawn by the Confederates, commencing on the right, swept the right of McCook's corps from the field, and swelling toward the left was met sturdily by Sheridan and Negley who were at length compelled to fall back, when the force of the assault fell upon Palmer. Gen. Cruft's brigade was formed in two lines, the Second Kentucky and Thirty-first Indiana under charge of Col. Sedgewick in front, and the First Kentucky and Ninetieth Ohio commanded by Col. Enyart in the rear support. Gen. Cruft says in his report of the battle of

Stone River: "My troops fought with heroism; every officer and soldier acted well and seemed to me to accomplish more than could be expected of him. For sturdy endurance, stalwart bravery and manly courage, it does not seem to me that the conduct of these two regiments here could be surpassed. The enemy was driven back, although superior in numbers. His charge was made in two lines with the appearance of a four rank formation and in most admirable order and discipline. After the first repulse and before my line could be advanced, the enemy made a second charge more furious than before. The Second Kentucky and Thirty-First Indiana nobly held their ground, and after some thirty minutes' well directed fire drove him back for a short distance." The rear line consisting of the Second Kentucky and Ninetieth Ohio was now advanced to the front, and became immediately engaged. Gen. Cruft continues: "I attempted with it to assail the enemy and ordered an advance. The First Kentucky, Col. Enyart, on the right of the line, made a gallant charge and drove the enemy before it, rushing forward to the crest of the hill, clear beyond and to the right of the burnt house. The fire was so severe from the enemy's force at the burnt house on the left that the order to move up the Ninetieth Ohio was countermanded, not, however, until many of the officers and men of this gallant regiment had pressed forward over the fence in line with the old First Kentucky." The sad list of killed and wounded, in the First and Second Kentucky, attest the courage with which these regiments held their ground on this eventful day. At length forced to fall back, the Second Kentucky brought off three pieces of artillery abandoned by Negley's division just as they were being seized by the Confederates. The loss in the First and Second Kentucky Regiments in this engagement was 173 in killed, and wounded and missing.

Although on constant duty during the first year of its service, the Third Kentucky Infantry had no opportunity to test its metal in a general engagement until the 31st of December, 1862, when the Army of the Cumberland met the Confederate Army under Gen. Bragg on the field of Stone River. The regiment under Col. Samuel McKee served in Hascall's brigade of Wood's division in the left wing, and its opportunity came when the Confederates, under Donelson, attacked Palmer's division in front of the Cowan House. Col. A. F. Stevenson, of Sheridan's staff, in his history of Stone River, refers as follows to the splendid conduct of the Third Kentucky and its lamented commander: "Suddenly an aid sent by Gen. Palmer dashed across the open space toward Gen. Hascall, whose command was a short distance in the rear, and informed him that Gen. Palmer's division needed help immediately. After a moment's consulation with Gen. Wood, Hascall sent the grand old Third Kentucky, and in double quick time this regiment rushed to the rescue and took its position on the west side of the Nashville pike. A terrible fight took place. Scarcely had the Third Kentucky been in its position ten minutes when a minié ball struck its brave commander, Lieut.-Col. Samuel McKee, above the eye, and he fell from his horse, while the regiment lost one-fourth its number in killed and wounded. The courageous Maj. Collier, though wounded in the leg and breast, refused to leave the field and stayed with his men to the end. Seeing that the Third Kentucky had suffered so severely, Gen. Hascall ordered the Fifty-eighth Indiana and Twenty-sixth Ohio to their relief as a second line; then placing Estepp's battery between them a little way to the rear, he kept the One Hundredth Illinois further back in the rear." The slaughter was frightful, and Gen. Donelson, after losing fifty per cent of his effective strength, finding himself unable to break the line in his front, ordered his men to move into the cedars west of the Cowan House, and finally retired toward the Wilkinson pike. The loss of the Third Kentucky in killed, wounded and missing in the engagement was 133, out of a total of 313 taken into action.

In the disaster which befel the right wing at Stone River the Fifth Kentucky was involved, but all that heroic courage on the part of officers and men could do to compen-

sate for the blunders of superior officers, was most gallantly done. Col. Berry took into the action 320 men, and of this number lost nineteen killed and eighty wounded, Capt. Ferguson among the former, and Lieut.-Col. Berry, Maj. Forman, Capts. Speed and Lovett, and Lieuts. Dissell, Sheppard and Powell among the latter; twenty-six were missing. During the engagement the color-bearer was shot, and down went the flag, but in a moment it gleamed aloft again in the hands of three men struggling who should have it. Sergt. Baker bore it throughout the remainder of the day.

The old Nelson division was commanded by Maj.-Gen. John M. Palmer, and Hazen's brigade, formed in two lines with the Sixth Kentucky and Forty-first Ohio in front, formed the center of the division. Gen. Hazen, referring to the assault made by the Confederates upon Cruft's brigade, mentioned, says: "The Sixth Kentucky was not immediately under my observation from the first assault until late in the day, but the portion of time it was with me, and I have reason to believe at all other times, it fought unflinchingly, and is deserving of all praise. It repelled three assaults of a rebel brigade from the Cowan House endeavoring to reach the wood, and only retired when its ammunition was exhausted. The loss of the regiment in the engagement was, in killed, two officers and eleven enlisted men; in wounded, six officers and eighty-eight enlisted men. Among the killed was Lieut.-Col. George T. Cotton, a brave and efficient officer, and Capt. Charles S. Todd, who fell while pressing his men on to victory. Among the wounded officers were Lieuts. Bates, Dawkins, Armstrong and Frank."

On the march of the army northward in September, Col. Stanley Matthews' brigade, in which the Eighth and Twenty-first Kentucky were serving, moved to Louisville, where, in October, it was assigned to the old Crittenden division, then under command of Gen. Van Cleve. In the battle of Perryville the right wing, under Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, had no opportunity to participate, and the first battle of importance in which these regiments took part was Stone River. Van Cleve's division, consisting in part of the Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Twenty-first Kentucky Infantry, was ordered to move at 7 A. M. on the morning of the 31st of December, to attack Breckinridge's division on the right of the Confederate army. Before this movement could be carried out, the Confederate attack came with the force of a cyclone upon the right of the Union line. Van Cleve was at once recalled, and the Third Brigade, commanded by Col. S. W. Price, Twenty-first Kentucky, assigned to the defense of the ford. "Who commands this brigade?" asked Gen. Rosecrans, appearing suddenly upon the scene. "I do," replied Col. Price. "Will you hold this ford?" "I will try," was the modest response. "Will you hold this ford?" "I will die here, sir." "Will you hold this ford?" "Yes, sir." "That will do," said the general, as he plunged the spurs into his horse, and dashed into the thick of the fray.

The Eighth and Twenty-first remained at the ford, which was held according to promise, while the Ninth and Eleventh Kentucky, commanded by Cols. Grider and Mottley, accompanied the First Brigade to the rescue of the right wing. The tide of battle had set in with disaster to the Union arms. The line of battle suddenly improvised by Gen. Rosecrans from the reserve and the left wing lined the turnpike, waiting for the cloud of stragglers from McCook's command to emerge from the cedars and pass through the line. Rarely had greater responsibility rested upon a single line of battle. Defeat meant the rout of the Union army and the undisputed march of the Confederates through Kentucky, from which they had just been driven. It was a thrilling moment when the order was given to advance. Steadily as if on parade the line moved forward in irresistible strength. The Confederates fell back, and the shock of battle came after the Confederate skirmish line, retiring upon the main body, rallied to defend the ground they had won. Col. Beatty formed his brigade with the Ninth Kentucky and Nineteenth Ohio in the first line, and the Eleventh

and Seventy-ninth Indiana in support. In the engagement which ensued, the Second Brigade was driven back, leaving the First Brigade to bear the brunt of the fight. It was in a dangerous position, and a charge was necessary to save it from terrible loss. This was effected with the skill and precision characteristic of this model brigade, and the battle raged with redoubled fury, resulting in the triumph of the Union arms. During the fight the men of the Ninth and Eleventh Kentucky bore themselves like heroes. Gen. Van Cleve having been wounded while the battle was in progress, Col. Beatty assumed command of the division, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Ben C. Grider, Ninth Kentucky. New Year's day was occupied by both armies in caring for the wounded and moving into new positions. The division was advanced across Stone River, where its commander was directed to take position on the elevated ground beyond the ford, with the tacit understanding that his post was more one of observation of the Confederates' movements than that of an army on the defensive.

The assault of Breckinridge's division on the 2d of January is more fully described in the sketch of the Confederate Kentucky brigade. Beatty's entire division, sadly decimated by the fight of the 31st of December, numbered little over 2,000 bayonets. To attempt to hold the position was folly, but receiving no orders to fall back, the sturdy commander held his position as long as possible, when, finding that to remain longer must result in the loss of his command, the order was reluctantly given to retreat. It was delayed too long and a hand-to-hand fight ensued. The Ninth and Eleventh retired in as good order as possible, the Eighth and Twenty-first after a desperate battle were forced back and all reformed on the west bank of the river. The success of the Confederates was short lived. Fifty-four pieces of artillery sent a shower of iron among them. Volleys of musketry plowed through their ranks and they were compelled to retire.

Gen. Rousseau refers to Col. Forman, who fell at Stone River while bravely leading his men in action, as "My brave boy-colonel of the Fifteenth Kentucky." Col. John Beatty commanding the brigade says: "Col. Forman, Fifteenth Kentucky, was killed in the cedar woods on the morning of the 31st. He was a brave man and an excellent officer. Capt. Bayne of the same regiment fell at the same time while urging his men forward."

In the desperate struggle between Rousseau and Cleburne for the possession of the cedars, Beatty's brigade moved up in line with the regular brigade, Scribner's brigade following as support. Filled with exultation by their victory over Johnston on the extreme right the Confederates rushed forward upon the solid columns of Rousseau and VanCleve, only to be hurled back torn and bleeding in the conflict. Brigade after brigade was brought up only to share the fate of the first. The Union line was never broken after the first assault, for the heroic men who composed it realized the immense responsibility of the situation.

The officers killed and mortally wounded at the battle of Stone River, in Kentucky regiments, were:

Capt. Miller R. McCullock, Second Cavalry; Col. Samuel McKee, Third Infantry; Capt. Alexander B. Ferguson, Fifth Infantry; Lieut. Frank Dissell, Fifth Infantry; Lieut.-Col. George T. Cotton, Sixth Infantry; Capt. Charles S. Todd, Sixth Infantry; Capt. Robert B. Hickman, Eighth Infantry; Capt. John B. Benton. Eighth Infantry; Capt. Sandon C. Minter, Eighth Infantry; Lieut. Wade B. Cox, Eighth Infantry; Capt. William T. Bryan, Ninth Infantry; Capt. Demetrius B. Coyle, Ninth Infantry; Lieut. Algernon S. Leggett, Ninth Infantry; Lieut. Frederick F. Carpenter, Ninth Infantry; Col. James B. Forman, Ninth Infantry; Capt. Aaron S. Bayne, Ninth Infantry; Lieut. L. Frank Todd, Ninth Infantry; Lieut. Sebastian Stone, Twenty-first Infantry; Lieut. John H. Bevill, Twenty-first Infantry.

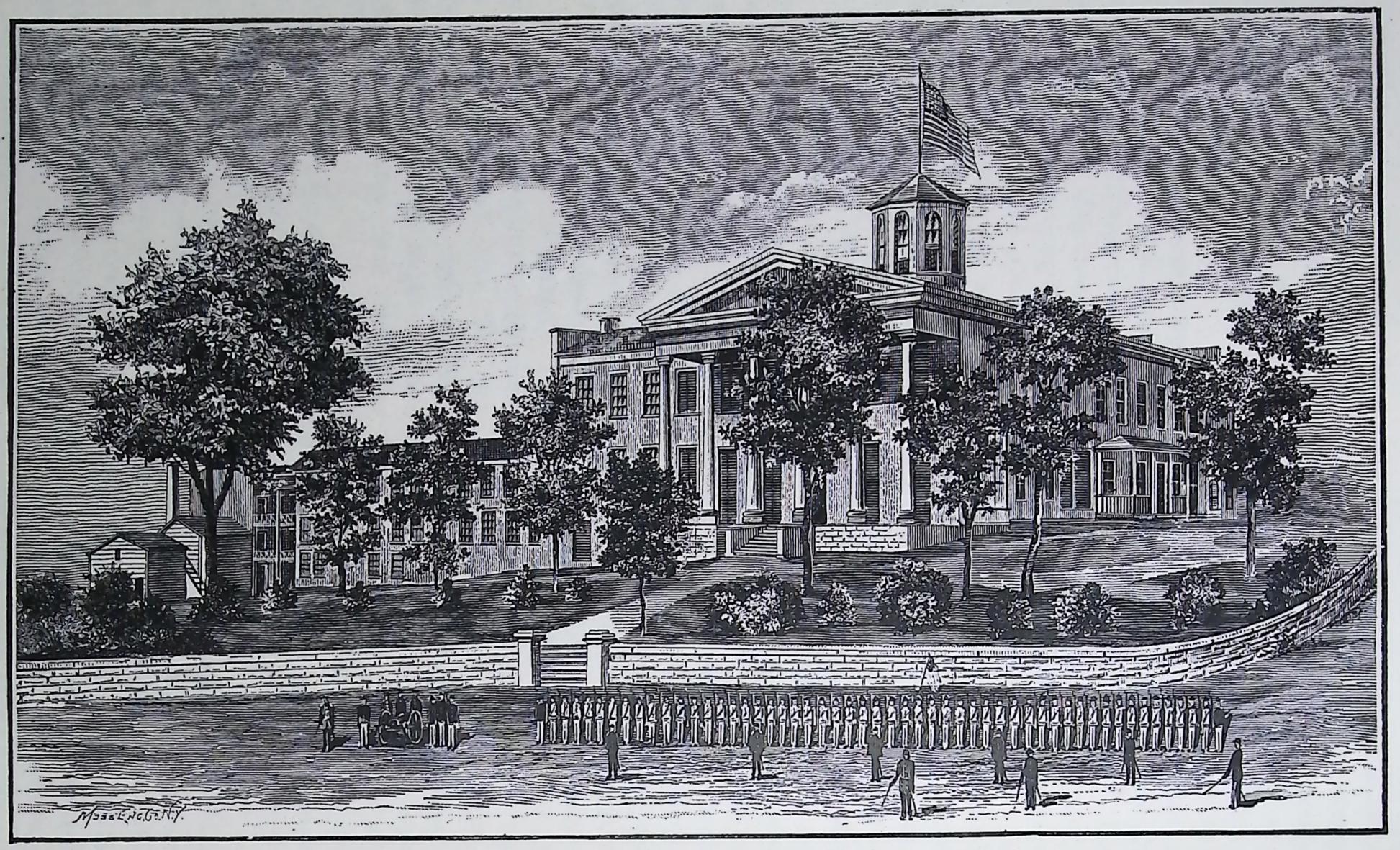
The stupendous preparations for the capture of Vicksburg drew toward Memphis, in November and the early part of December, 1862, the two divisions commanded by Gens. Morgan and A. J. Smith, largely re-enforced by regiments of the new levy, together with a large number of regiments not brigaded. To this force was added the division of Morgan L. Smith, and Gen. William T.

Sherman was assigned to command. That portion of Gen. Curtiss' troops stationed on the east bank of the Mississippi was directed to join him. Admiral Porter's gun-boat fleet was directed to co-operate, and when the expedition sailed from Memphis, on the 25th of December, its effective strength was estimated at 40,000 men. The flotilla entered the mouth of the Yazoo and the troops disembarked on the 27th.

Gen. Steele's division of Curtiss' army had been taken on at Helena, Ark., and two brigades under Hovey and Thayer were landed above the mouth of Chickasaw bayou with orders to feel their way along its eastern bank. Blair's brigade of this division was assigned to Morgan who, with his three brigades commanded by De Coursey, Lindsay and Sheldon, landed below the bayou. Morgan L. Smith was on his left—his two brigades under Gens. A. J. Smith and Stuart on the main road from Johnston's plantation to Vicksburg, with orders to bear to the left and cross the bayou about one mile south of where Morgan struck it. The division of A. J. Smith was delayed one day at Milikin's road awaiting the return of Gen. Stephen G. Burbridge's brigade, which was detached at that point on an expedition to destroy the Vicksburg & Shreveport Railroad. On their arrival, the two brigades of this division under Gen. Burbridge and Col. W. J. Landrum, formed the extreme right of the line of battle, and during the night of the 27th the ground in front was strongly reconnoitered.

Gen. Martin L. Smith, the commander of the defenses at Vicksburg, whose successful repulse of the gun-boats the previous summer had entitled him to the confidence of the Confederate government, surmising that the next attack would be made from the northern side to gain access to his rear, had applied himself to strengthening his position along the Chickasaw Bluffs for a distance of thirteen miles. A line of works extended to Haine's Bluffs, manned by about 1,200 men, with abundant artillery planted along the sinuosities of the ridge, so as to gain a cross fire upon every available point of attack. Gen. Pemberton, confronted by Grant at Grenada, was unable to spare a man to re-enforce Vicksburg until the opportune arrival of Stevenson's division from east Tennessee, when Vaughn's brigade was at once detached and placed by Smith in the trenches on the left. Having aligned his troops Gen. Sherman announced that the signal for a simultaneous rush upon the works would be a volley of artillery in Morgan's front. Struggling through the water and mud of the sluggish bayou, Blair's and De Coursey's brigades plunged forward. The water was too deep for the main portion of the line to cross and the position was stormed by a portion of these two brigades. Reaching the opposite bank the Forty-second Ohio was detained under cover by Col. De Coursey, but the Twenty-second Kentucky, led by the brave Monroe, rushed forward with a cheer to join their comrades in the charge. Their leader fell, but they pressed on through a tangled abatis, over dead and wounded men, under a storm of grape and canister shot raining down upon them from the works above their heads. Of the whole force, but eight regiments reached the second line of works. They had struggled over ground, to enter upon which was to encounter death.

Lieut.-Col. Dustin led his Fifty-eighth Ohio to the foot of the last line of works and fell dead upon the parapet. Near him lay the brave major of the Thirty-first Missouri, dying of a mortal wound. For a few minutes the situation was such as to appeal to the stoutest heart, but the line stood firm, rapidly melting away under an enfilading fire that swept every square yard of the ground in front of the works. No support was anywhere in sight; of 40,000 men but this handful was sent into the jaws of death. The works above their heads were manned by a disciplined force, thrice their number, whose well-aimed rifles dealt death at every discharge. If there is a limit to human endurance the men of Blair's and De Coursey's brigades showed no signs of having reached it. With courage undaunted they still strove to reach the summit of the works, where as many as succeeded were received



KENTUCKY MILITARY INSTITUTE, NEAR FRANKFORT.—SEE PAGE 507.

upon the points of bayonets and thrust back. All along the base their bodies lay in ghastly heaps, the life-blood welling from gaping wounds. Each man fought for his life, officers and men intermingled in the strife, and recognized no rank but that which valor gives. The brief carnival of death was closed only by the order to retreat, but to retire was as hazardous as to go forward; to hesitate was to be lost. They finally withdrew, however, leaving behind them a trail of dead and wounded to be cared for by the victorious Confederates.

The following regiments were in this assault, which must remain in history as one of the bloodiest on record: The Twenty-ninth and Thirty-first Missouri, Thirteenth Illinois, Fifty-eighth, Sixteenth and Fifty-fourth Ohio, and the Twenty-second Kentucky. Landrum and Burbridge on the right of the line performed the duty assigned them, which was to engage the troops in their front, and by a vigorous fusilade they prevented Vaughn from adding his force to that already in front of Blair and De Coursey.

The attempt upon Vicksburg having failed, Gen. McClernand, who assumed command of the corps on its arrival at the mouth of the Yazoo, determined upon the capture of Arkansas Post, on the left bank of the Arkansas River, fifty miles above its mouth. It was garrisoned by a division of infantry, 3,000 strong, under command of Gen. Churchill; and the fort, a full bastioned earthwork, was manned by three nine-inch columbiads in the casemates commanding the river, and smaller guns facing landward. An earthwork extending inland 700 yards to a bayou was defended by infantry and light artillery. Above the fort the river was open to navigation, and into it the "Blue Wing," a steamer laden with arms and ammunition for Sherman's army, after its capture by Confederate gun-boats, was taken. On his way down the river to assume command of the corps, Gen. McClernand had heard of this exploit, and on reaching his command, finding that nothing further could be accomplished in that direction, turned the prows of his boats up stream in search of game more easily bagged. His first duty was to organize the army into two corps. Gen. Morgan was assigned to command of the Thirteenth Corps, consisting of A. J. Smith's division and his own now under Gen. Osterhaus. Steele's division and that of Morgan L. Smith, now commanded by Gen. Stuart (Smith, having been wounded), constituted the Fifteenth Corps, under command of Gen. W. T. Sherman.

By passing the mouth of the Arkansas and ascending the White River as far as the canal connecting the two rivers, the Confederates were thrown off their guard, and the fleet appeared within a few miles of the fort before its presence was known to the garrison. Gen. Churchill was informed by his pickets that a powerful fleet had entered the Arkansas from White River on the 9th of January, and rightly surmising that the fort was the objective point, he dispersed his troops to meet the attack. Of his three brigades, he sent Deshler's and Dunnington's into the trenches below the fort, retaining Garland's in reserve.

The forenoon of the 10th was spent in debarking from the boats, three miles below, whence Gen. Sherman moved rapidly toward the rear of the fort, with orders to move forward until his right rested on the river above it. Morgan followed, taking position on Sherman's left, completing the line of investment, while Col. Lindsay was sent with his three regiments, the Seventh Kentucky, Forty-ninth Indiana, and One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, and a battery of artillery, across the river to take position opposite to and above the fort, to cut off escape in that direction. These movements were as nearly executed as circumstances would permit, when night set in and the shivering troops bivouacked without shelter, and with no food but that found in their haversacks.

While the troops were moving to their allotted positions in the line of investment, the gun-boats opened upon the troops within the works below the fort, which caused their withdrawal under cover of the heavy guns, when Adm. Porter at once advanced to

test the metal of the guns within the fort. During the night Churchill received a telegram from Gen. Holmes, his department commander, directing him to hold out until re-enforcements arrived, or until all were dead, "which order," says Churchill, "I communicated to my brigade commanders with orders tc carry it out in spirit and in letter."

Gen. Steele's division resting on the bayou in rear of the fort formed the extreme right of the line of battle and Osterhaus the left, De Coursey in reserve and Stuart and A. J. Smith in the center. Eight batteries of artillery were stationed at intervals along the line and a section of twenty-pounder Parrotts was posted on the river bank concealed from the fort by fallen trees to dismount the gun in the lower casemate. The cavalry was disposed in the rear with orders to force stragglers to the front, a vocation peculiarly agreeable to the men on horseback. Lindsay's battery had an enfilading fire across the river upon the Confederate line which carried away a battle flag and killed several men. "Eager to do still more," says McClernand, "the Seventh Kentucky Infantry embarked on one of the gun-boats, that had passed the fort, to cross the river, but before the regiment could get over the enemy had surrendered."

In the fight that ensued the entire line moved forward gallantly and gained the cover of a belt of woods. The twenty-pounder Parrotts demolished the casemate and silenced a nine-inch columbiad, and by 4 P. M. every gun except a six-pounder Parrott on the land side had yielded to Porter's artillery. Two boats passed up the river and joined Lindsay in enfilading the Confederate line, which still held out in obedience to Holmes' iron-clad order. Two attacks made on the right were repulsed and on the left every charge made was driven back with heavy loss. A. J. Smith now deployed nine regiments of Burbridge's and Landrum's brigades, supported by three regiments in reserve, and moving steadily forward drove the Confederates toward the open ground in front of the right of the rifle pits. Sheldon's brigade dashed forward upon the fort, but was halted by the deep ravine on the lower side. De Coursey advanced against a galling fire. The Nineteenth Kentucky and two other regiments were sent to re-enforce Sherman. Burbridge's brigade went forward, following its gallant leader, who, mounted upon a swift and powerful steed, calling upon his escort to follow him, dashed forward and came suddenly upon the fosse surrounding the fort. Behind him were his troops hotly engaged. There was not time to rein up, and, leaping the ditch, the general found himself alone in presence of the enemy.

The men took aim at his head, but the address of the officer saved his life. "Recover arms," he shouted, and with instinctive obedience the soldiers brought their guns to a perpendicular. Before they had time to recover their senses, the general had dismounted and was about to surrender, when he caught sight of a white flag floating from a bastion of the fort. Calling the attention of the guard to it, he passed within the fort; drawing a small United States flag from his pocket he mounted to the top of the fort, and, securing a ramrod for a flag staff, gave it to the breeze. The sight of a white flag floating from the fort brought Churchill in hot haste to the spot. It had not been raised by his order, and the irate commander, encountering a Federal officer within the fort, hardly knew what to make of the situation. Gen. Burbridge immediately called upon him to surrender, but remarked jocularly "I do not know whether I am your prisoner or you mine." Outside the fort the storm of battle that had raged unceasingly for four hours had nearly ceased and the entrance of several of Burbridge's staff, led by the faithful Lieut. John Throckmorton, decided the question. Col. Dunnington now appeared upon the scene from an angle of the fort opposite the entrance. Both officers offered their swords but were referred to Gen. McClernand, who entering at this moment received their surrender. The loss in the Union troops was 129 killed, 831 wounded and seventeen missing; total 977. That of the Confederates, sixty killed, eighty wounded and nearly 6,000 prisoners. The spoils consisted of seventeen

pieces of artillery, 5,000 stand of arms, 130 swords and a large quantity of ammunition.

In the Vicksburg campaign, the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, under command of Lieut.-Col. J. Lucas and Col. R. B. May, served in the First Brigade of Osterhaus, Ninth Division, Thirteenth Corps. The brigade was commanded by Brig. Gen. T. T. Garrard, the former colonel of the regiment, until June, when Col. Keigwin was assigned to command. The Nineteenth Kentucky Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. J. Cowan, was in Col. Landrum's (Second) brigade of A. J. Smith's (Tenth) division, Thirteenth corps, and the Twenty-second Kentucky, under Lieut.-Col. Monroe, was in Col. Lindsay's (Second) brigade of Osterhaus' division. Col. Sheldon relieved Col. Lindsay in command of the brigade in June, when the latter assumed command of the division, retaining it until after the fall of Vicksburg. The First Brigade of the Tenth Division was commanded by Gen. S. G. Burbridge, formerly colonel of the Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry. Thus four brigades of the Army of the Tennessee were commanded by Kentuckians. They took part in all the battles of Gen. Grant's movement to the rear of Vicksburg, and won the following glowing tribute from the corps commander.

HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
NEAR VICKSBURG, June 5, 1863.

Governor:—I have the honor to inform you that there are two general officers and three regiments, the Seventh, Nineteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky, in the Thirteenth Army Corps, Department of the Tennessee, under my command, who crossed the Mississippi River with me at Bruinsburg, below Grand Gulf, on the 30th day of April, and who took part in the battles of Thompson's Hill on the 1st of May; Champion Hills on the 16th; Big Black Bridge on the 17th of May; and at Vicksburg, beginning on the 19th of May and continuing up to the present time.

I am most happy, sir, to congratulate you, and, through you, your noble State for the victories won by the common effort of her brave sons with those of sister States, and to bear testimony to the gallantry, bravery and good conduct of her officers and men in all these bloody struggles. They bore themselves with the unflinching steadiness of veterans, both under galling fires of artillery and musketry, and in making charges upon fortifications.

They have shown themselves compeers and fit companions in arms with brave men of sister States in a series of battles, in which it has become impossible to make particular mention of those who distinguished themselves, without mentioning, individually, both officers and men.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN A. MCCLERNAND,
Major-General, Commanding Thirteenth Army Corps, Department of the Tennessee.

His Excellency,
JAMES F. ROBINSON, Governor of Kentucky.

The limits of this work will not permit more than the merest outline of Gen. Grant's operations in rear of Vicksburg. By a series of bold movements his army, under skillful corps, division and brigade commanders, often acting independently, succeeded in separating the army under Gen. Pemberton from that commanded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and confining it to the works at Vicksburg.

Both Gens. Bragg in Tennessee and Pemberton in Mississippi were nominally under command of Gen. Johnston, but in the exercise of their discretion disobeyed his orders whenever in their judgment occasion demanded. If implicit obedience had been yielded to him the Vicksburg campaign would, beyond doubt, have had a different result. Bragg, resting quietly behind his works at Tullahoma, was repeatedly urged to send strong re-enforcements to Johnston to enable him to attack Grant's investing line from the rear and compel him to abandon the siege. With the railroad communications at his command this movement need not have occupied but a few days, and the increase of Johnston's army by 30,000 men would have been sufficient to crush Grant between the forces in his front and rear.

After an ineffectual attempt to cut a channel for the gun-boats across the peninsula, formed by a bend in the Mississippi River opposite Vicksburg, the problem was solved by Adm. Porter on the night of the 16th of April, when with his fleet and three transports he ran the blockade, followed a week later by six more transports, each towing two barges laden with forage and rations. After five hours' bombardment of the works at Grand Gulf, it became evident that they could not be carried, when the blockade at this point was run, and the troops, marching

to Hard Times Landing, were ferried across the river to Bruinsburg.

As soon as the Thirteenth Corps was landed and could draw three days' rations in haversacks, the troops were started on the road to Port Gibson, near which place, on the 1st of May, the advance of the Confederates was met, and after a hard fight defeated and pursued toward Port Gibson. Col. S. A. Sheldon, commanding the Second Brigade at the time, says: "The Sixteenth Ohio and the Twenty-second Kentucky obliquing to the left entered the ravine on the front and left of the enemy's position, and advanced under cover very near the enemy, and maintained their position until near night, doing considerable damage to the enemy by a continuous and well directed fire." He mentions among other officers Maj. Worthington, commanding the Twenty-second Kentucky, as behaving ably and gallantly.

The next two weeks were occupied in bringing up supplies and advancing into the interior as far as Raymond, which was garrisoned by Osterhaus' division, but in obedience to orders from Gen. Grant the division moved north, and on the 15th, captured Bolton's Station with several prisoners. Smith's division bivouacked north of Raymond; Hovey's, Carr's and Blair's divisions were near at hand, all fronting toward Edward's Station, where the Confederate army was supposed to be in force. Early on the morning of the 15th, Smith advanced supported by Blair on the southern road. Osterhaus moved on the middle road followed by Carr, while Hovey marched by the northern road. Thus McClernand's corps moving on parallel roads encountered Pemberton's advance about 7.30 A. M. and the battle of Champion Hill ensued. Gen. McPherson was in support of Hovey's division with his entire corps; a line of skirmishers connected with Smith's and Osterhaus' divisions; Blair moved a brigade to the support of the right, while Ransom's brigade performed a like service upon the left. At 10 A. M. Gen. Hovey advanced upon the Confederates, who were posted on a wooded hill some sixty or seventy feet in height, midway between Vicksburg and Jackson, known as Champion Hill. The appearance of Hovey's division at the base of the hill was the signal for opening a galling fire of artillery and musketry, but the brave fellows pressed forward and by 11 o'clock the engagement was general along the entire line, which continued with increasing fury until noon, when the Confederates fell back, leaving 300 prisoners in the hands of the Union troops.

Quickly rallying, however, the Confederates, re-enforced by fresh troops, poured down the road and renewed the conflict, directing their attack upon Hovey, who was borne back until the ground taken by desperate fighting was lost. The advance of the Confederates, however, was checked by a heavy enfilading fire of artillery, under which they were driven back to the cover of the woods, followed by Hovey's and Crocker's divisions, which pushing forward reached the crest of the hill, and the day was won. In little over four hours nearly one-third of Hovey's division were killed or wounded. Meanwhile, Osterhaus' division had advanced against the right of the Confederate line, Garrard's brigade on the right and Lindsay's on the left, and soon both brigades were hotly engaged, and the reserves were brought up. Lindsay's brigade charged a battery, shooting down men and horses and capturing two pieces of artillery. Garrard, in the meantime, was pushing his lines forward on the right. The Seventh Kentucky, the Forty-ninth Indiana, and one section of Lanphere's battery, formed the advance, and, driving the Confederate skirmishers from one ravine to another, they pushed forward toward the main position in a fierce charge that brought them under the fire of the guns upon the hill, where they were obliged to halt.

Finding that a further stay at Champion Hill would place the army in jeopardy, Gen. Pemberton now determined to fall back upon Vicksburg, which he did, followed by Osterhaus and Smith. "Thousands of the enemy," says Osterhaus in his report, "were found scattered everywhere and fell into our hands as prisoners. In one instance Col. Lindsay with the Sixteenth Ohio and Twenty-second

Kentucky Infantry alone took more prisoners than the whole number of his brigade combined." The pursuit was kept up as far as Edward's Station, where McClernand's corps bivouacked for the night. The lines were pushed forward, however, at other points and especially by Gen. Lawler, whose division dashed forward under a severe fire, and with fixed bayonets drove the Confederates from their works, but not until they had succeeded in burning the bridge across Big Black River. During the following night and morning, the bridge was rebuilt by Patterson's Engineers, and the army crossed and took up the line of march for Vicksburg.

In the alignment of his troops before Vicksburg Gen. Grant assigned McClernand's corps to the left. The right of the corps stretched across the railroad, and the left, reaching southward, closed the roads leading into city.

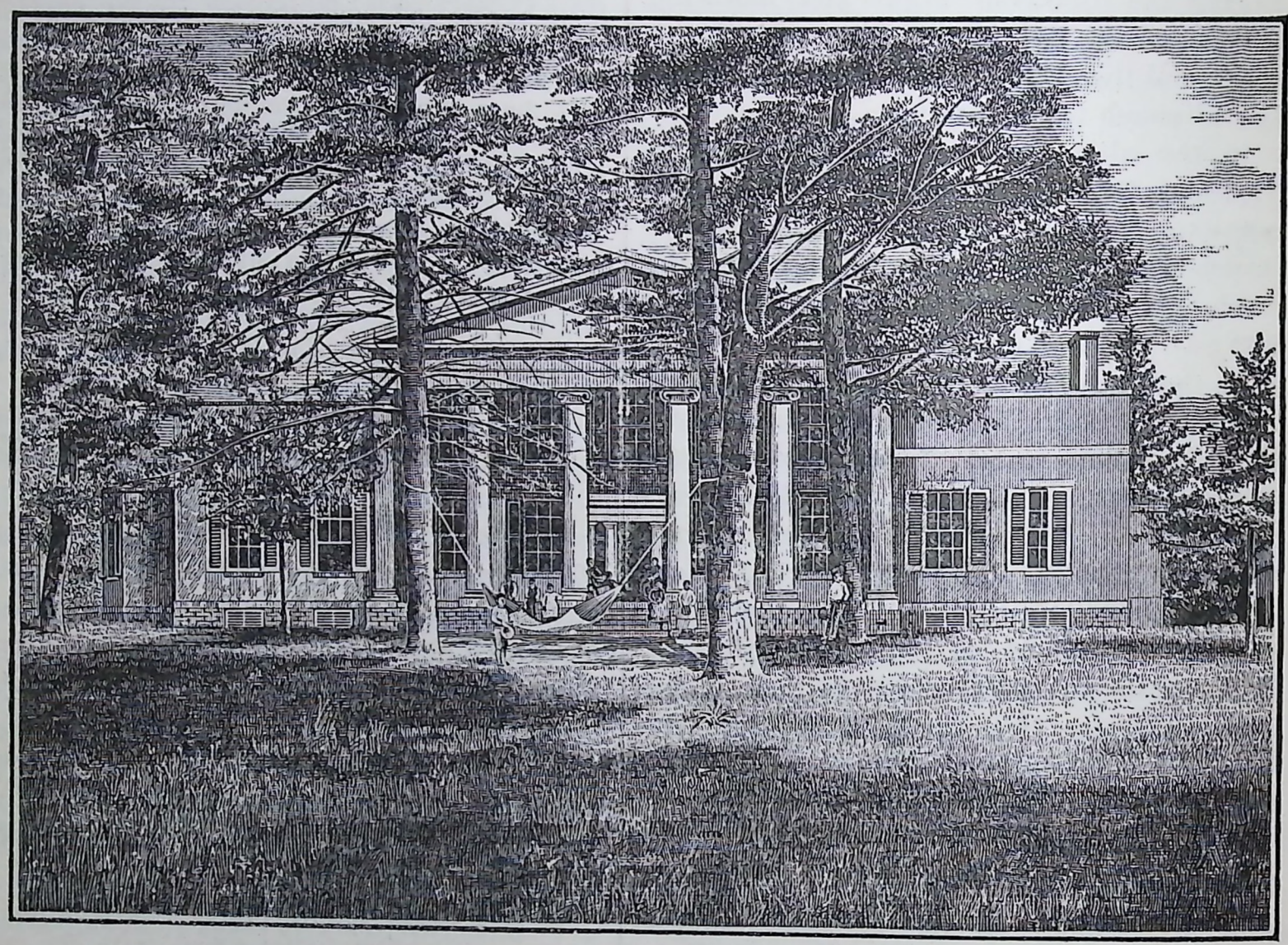
On the 22d of May, an attempt was made to carry the works by storm, the three corps acting simultaneously. In this movement the divisions of Gens. Osterhaus and Smith bore a prominent part. Gen. Osterhaus formed the column with the Twenty-second Kentucky and Forty-second Ohio on the right, the One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, Forty-ninth and Sixty-ninth Indiana in the center, and the Seventh Kentucky and One Hundred and Eighteenth Illinois on the left, the Sixteenth and One Hundred and Twentieth Ohio deployed as skirmishers. Gen. Osterhaus says: "precisely at 10 o'clock the column advanced against a terrific fire from the rifle-pits and forts. The Seventh Kentucky, leading the left column, advanced to the top of the hill and marched over the naked brow of it through a murderous fire from the great redoubt on the left; they suffered heroically. All the columns reached the top of the hill, and came within so short a distance from the works that all orders and commands given on the enemy's side could be distinctly understood by our men."

Here the division remained during the day, unable to advance or retreat until nightfall, when it was withdrawn. They kept up a rattling fire, however, and aided materially in the success or their comrades on the left. McClernand gives a graphic account of the charge made by Landrum's brigade.

Five minutes before 10 o'clock the bugle sounded the charge; at 10 o'clock my columns of attack moved forward, and within fifteen minutes Lawler's and Landrum's brigades had carried the ditch, slope and bastion of a fort. Some of the men, emulous of each other, rushed into the fort, finding a piece of artillery, and in time to see the men who had been serving and supporting it escape behind another defense commanding the interior of that they were in. All of this daring and heroic party were shot down except one, who recovering from the stunning effect of a shot seized his musket and captured and brought in thirteen rebels who had returned and fired their guns. The captor was Sergt. Joseph Griffin, who I am happy to say has since been promoted. Within fifteen minutes after Lawler's and Landrum's success, Benton's and Burbridge's brigades, fired by their example, rushed forward and carried the ditch and slope of another heavy earthwork and planted their colors upon the latter.

There is no doubt but that if McClernand had been promptly supported at this juncture the works could have been carried and the day won. His troops were the only troops who gained a momentary foothold within the intrenchments, and a heavy column pushed forward in support would doubtless have forced its way to the rear of the Confederate lines. It was not done, however, and the many valuable lives lost in the useless slaughter were wasted to no purpose. The loss in McClernand's corps alone was 1,487 in killed, wounded and missing.

In the siege that followed, the Kentucky regiments and Patterson's Engineers were constantly on duty, winning by their courage and constancy the highest encomiums from their commanding officers. After the surrender of Pemberton on the 4th of July, they were sent to Louisiana, where they remained on duty during the continuance of the war. The men of these splendid regiments have good reason to be proud of their record, undimmed as it is by a single act of cowardice or insubordination.



COLORED DEPARTMENT DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM—DANVILLE.

CHAPTER XVII.

KENTUCKY TROOPS IN TENNESSEE AND GEORGIA CAMPAIGNS.

THE four days' struggle in front of Murfreesboro (December 31, 1862—January 3, 1863), known as the battle of Stone River, was succeeded by a period of inactivity in middle Tennessee. Rosecrans had immediately taken possession of the town, while Bragg had retired to Tullahoma, strongly fortifying his position there, as well as an advanced position at Shelbyville. Here the two armies closely watched each other; the Federal general, by his threatening attitude, preventing his antagonist from sending needed re-enforcements to Johnston, who was vainly striving to raise Grant's siege of Vicksburg. Early in June, however, the Army of the Cumberland moved from its position, and in August found its way over the mountains to Stevenson and Bridgeport, necessitating the withdrawal of Bragg, first to Chattanooga, and in the early part of September to Lafayette, Georgia. On the 10th instant the national troops entered Chattanooga.

This brilliant campaign, which resulted in wresting middle Tennessee from the Confederates, was obscured by the more bloody, but not more successful, capture of Vicksburg, and battle of Gettysburg, and in comparison with these events attracted less attention than its real importance merited. The movement would have been made much earlier but for the certainty that in case of success, which was never doubted by the brave commander, the defeated army of Gen. Bragg would have joined Gen. Johnston at Jackson, Miss., and enabled him by the augmentation of his strength to imperil the operations before Vicksburg.

But the campaign was not to close without a savage struggle. The Confederate general, receiving re-enforcements from the army in Virginia, determined to contest the possession of Chattanooga in a pitched battle in the valley of the Chickamauga, and having attempted on the 17th and 18th to fall upon detatched corps of Rosecrans' army, without securing any advantage, he prepared for a grand attack on the next day.

Gen. Cruft's brigade went into action on the 19th of September, with an effective strength of seventy-six officers and 1,300 enlisted men, of which 128 were artillery. The Second Division of the Twenty-Fifth Army Corps, commanded by Gen. Palmer, was detatched from the corps and ordered to report to Gen. Thomas. Line of battle was formed to the right of McNamar's house on the Rossville Road, in echelon, Hazen's brigade on the left, Cruft's brigade in the center, and Grose's brigade on the right. The First and Second Kentucky, Cols. Enyart and Sedgewick were in the latter; the Sixth Kentucky, Col. Shackelford, in Hazen's brigade, and the Twenty-Third Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Foy, in Grose's brigade.

The battle opened in this part of the field with a successful charge by the Confederates, which drove the division back from its first position, but no rout ensued, and on the arrival of re-enforcements under Gen. Turchin, a counter charge was made which resulted in regaining the lost ground. In this charge the Kentucky regiments displayed their usual gallantry. During the night, rapid firing in front of Johnson's division indicated a night attack, and Cruft's brigade moved up on the right and Grose followed soon after. The night was far spent when the new line was formed, and the remaining hours were utilized in the erection of rude breastworks along the bank of a stream. The morning of the 20th

found the division in good position for withstanding an attack. The men wearied by hard fighting and loss of rest were yet in good spirits, and the steadiness with which they fought and held their line is the best evidence of their courage.

The loss in the Kentucky regiments of Palmer's division was as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
First Kentucky	5	61	17	83
Second Kentucky	2	26	3	31
Sixth Kentucky	15	93	11	118
Twenty-third Kentucky	11	52	6	69
Total	33	232	37	301

The Third Kentucky, under Col. H. C. Dunlap, was in Harker's brigade of Wood's division, Twenty-first Army Corps, and formed a portion of the command of Col. Harker, which made a bold reconnaissance from Chattanooga to Gordon's Mills in the wake of the retreating army of Gen. Bragg on September 11th. On this march the brave Lieut.-Col. Bullitt, with eight companies of the Third Kentucky, formed the skirmish line which drove the straggling cavalry and infantry through the defile in the mountains and across the Chickamauga Creek, where, the Confederates making a stand, Col. Dunlap was ordered to re-enforce them with the remainder of the regiment. So promptly was this done, that the regiment was dubbed "Harker's cavalry." On the morning of the 12th, Hazen's brigade, advancing from Peavine Valley, formed a junction with Harker. The two brigades remained at Gordon's Mills until the arrival of the corps, the main body of which marched *via* Ringgold from Chattanooga. In the battles of the 19th and 20th, the Third Kentucky won the especial commendation of the brigade and division commanders for soldierly conduct and steadiness under the most trying circumstances. Col. Dunlap refers as follows to the action of his regiment at the moment of Longstreet's attack upon the right center of the Union line of battle: "Lieut.-Col. Bullitt and Adjt. Hunt behaved gallantly in gathering from the retreating mass some 400 stragglers, which they rallied upon the hill, that developed itself as part of the important key to the safety of the army."

The loss of the Third Kentucky in the battle was 113 killed, wounded, and missing.

The Seventeenth Kentucky replaced the Eleventh in Col. Samuel Beatty's brigade, after the battle of Stone River, and at Chickamauga the Kentucky regiments engaged in Van Cleve's division were the Eighth, Lieut.-Col. James D. Mayhew; the Ninth, Col. George H. Crane, and the Seventeenth, Col. Alex. M. Stout; the first named in Barnes' and the two latter in Beatty's brigades. The Twenty-first under its intrepid commander was left at Shell Mound to look after the rear and protect communications with Bridgeport when Crittenden's corps marched into Chattanooga, and so it came about that one of the best fighting regiments in the army took no part in the battle of Chickamauga, other than as anxious listeners to the cannonading on the other side of Lookout Mountain. "Left behind and forgotten," was the angry comment of Col. S. W. Price, as he returned from his perch on a spur of Raccoon Mountain, where he had gone to gain from the roar of the battle some idea of how it fared with his comrades in the fight.

While Harker and Hazen were feeling for the Confederates in the direction of Lafayette, Beatty, who had moved with the main portion of the Twenty-first Corps to Ringgold, was sent with his brigade on a reconnaissance in the direction of Dalton, the object of Gen. Rosecrans being to ascertain beyond doubt the position of Bragg's main army. The result was to locate him at Lafayette, a belief which subsequently developed into a certainty. On the 13th, the corps having moved to Gordon's Mills, Van Cleve's division advanced on a reconnaissance toward Lafayette, Beatty ina dvance. The Confederates, consisting of three regiments of Wheeler's cavalry and a section of artillery, were driven some three miles, when, no considerable force appearing, the division returned to camp. At 10 A. M., the 19th instant, Palmer's division being heavily engaged, Van Cleve was ordered with the First and Second brig-

ades to his support. In this movement the Ninth and Seventeenth Kentucky were in the second line of Beatty's brigade. In the charge that ensued, the brigade captured a battery. The Confederate line overlapping the division to the right and continuing to advance, made it necessary for Van Cleve to fall back to a new position in the rear. On the morning of the 20th, the two brigades moved by order of Gen. Rosecrans, in response to Gen. Thomas' request for re-enforcements, to the left. Barnes' brigade had been detached on the previous day, and was engaged near the extreme left of the line.

The First Brigade, followed by the Second, marched by the left flank, in the rear of Brannan's division, with the general order to fill any vacant place in the line, but finding none, the men were ordered to lie down to avoid the effects of a fire they could not return. While in this position the attack by Gen. Longstreet came with the force of a cyclone, sweeping through a gap in the line, made by the withdrawal of Wood's division from its position in line, on the right of Brannan, and left of Sheridan. In response to the repeated calls of Gen. Thomas for re-enforcements to the left, which was greatly imperiled, and which it was agreed must be held at all hazards, Brannan's division was ordered to move in rear of Reynolds, and report to Gen. Thomas. Gen. Wood, next in line, was ordered to move to the left, and connect with Reynolds, while Davis and Sheridan, of McCook's corps, were directed to move to the left, and close the gap formed by this movement. When the order was given, there was no appearance of danger in the front of the center and right, but there was heavy fighting on the left. When Brannan and Wood received the order the advance of the Confederates from the woods was plainly visible. Brannan, who was near Reynolds, turned to him, and said: "I have an order to withdraw my division; shall I do so in the face of this attack?" Gen. Reynolds' reply, as stated to the writer, was: "Remain where you are, and I will assume the responsibility of countermanding the order." Gen. Wood obeyed the order, as to moving to the left, but finding Brannan still on his left, moved in rear of his division, and was caught in flank by the assault. Wood had but two brigades, George P. Buell's and Harker's; his second brigade, Wagner's, being at Chattanooga.

The military reader will readily imagine the scene of confusion which followed. Wood's veteran brigades were scattered like chaff before the wind. The right of Brannan's division, being without support, crumbled away. The head of Sheridan's column, moving rapidly to carry out the order to close up on Wood, was caught in the flank, and Gen. Lytle, the brave commander of the leading brigade, fell with a mortal wound. The line was rent in twain, and each side of the gap recoiling before the storm of musketry fell back in disorder. There was no panic, however, such as was witnessed at Stone River, when the right wing melted away as if by magic. Detached companies and regiments clung together, and at the first appearance of a nucleus, rallied around the flag. The Seventeeth Kentucky, under the masterly leadership of Col. A. M. Stout, remained nearly intact, and formed on the ridge, which formed one side of the ravine through which Longstreet's victorious army marched after passing through the line. It was the wish of Gen. Longstreet, as expressed years later, to the writer, to move on without halting upon Chattanooga, and it was so evidently the right thing to do, that Gen. Rosecrans believed he would do it, and made his dispositions to meet the changed condition of affairs. This involved the necessity of looking after his rear; hurrying the army trains to Chattanooga ahead of Longstreet, placing the reserve artillery, supported by Wagner's posts and Spear's brigades, in position to defend the place, and thus forming a rallying point for the broken columns of his army. It was easy to give the orders for these things to be done, but everything depended upon the prompt execution, and turning to Gen. Garfield he rapidly enumerated the various movements necessary to insure the defense of Chattanooga, until the main army could be brought off the field. Gen. Garfield replied that he could much

easier be the bearer of the general's orders to Gen. Thomas, which was agreed to, and under these circumstances Rosecrans rode rapidly away, to make arrangements for the safety of his army.

Meantime, a strong line was formed at right angles with Brannan's, facing toward the right, along the crest of the ridge, composed of troops of Wood's, Van Cleve's and Brannan's divisions, strengthened by such troops as could be spared from the main line, which defeated the flank movement of Longstreet. His intention to move upon Chattanooga was frustrated by Bragg, who, anticipating danger from the detachment of so large a portion of his army, ordered him to move upon the flank. In the defense of the right flank, as now formed, the Third, Sixth, Ninth and Seventeeth Kentucky Regiments took a prominent part. Eighty officers and enlisted men of the Third Kentucky were wounded, within fifteen minutes, in the angle formed by Brannan's division and the new line. A portion of the reserve corps, under Gens. Granger, Steedman and Whitaker, appeared in the nick of time upon the right, and went into action with a fury that nothing could withstand, and the day was saved. At the same time the Eighth Kentucky was actively engaged on the right, and, though flanked and compelled to fall back, maintained its organization, and fought bravely during both days of battle, and was the last to leave the field.

The loss in the Kentucky regiments of Van Cleve's division was as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Eighth Kentucky..	3	31	2	36
Ninth Kentucky...	2	45	13	60
Seventeenth Kentucky.....	6	105	15	126

Gen. John Beatty's brigade of Negley's division of the Fourteenth Corps moved early on the morning of the 20th to a position on the left, and formed his line by direction of Gen. Thomas perpendicularly to the left of Gen Baird's division. This strong support to the extreme left of the line was imperatively needed to secure it from a flank attack, but was subsequently changed by an order to Beatty to advance to a ridge in his front. Gen. Beatty represented to the officer bringing the order that the movement would leave a wide interval between him and Baird, but after hearing that the order was imperative, and that the interval would be filled by Negley, he advanced against heavy opposition. The Fifteenth Kentucky, Col. Taylor, became immediately engaged, but pushed steadily forward. The gap between the brigade and Baird's troops on its right gradually widened, and Beatty called upon Baird to send some of his troops to cover it. This movement had been observed by the Confederates, who, pressing forward, filled the interval, and turned with the evident intention of capturing the brigade, or at least one regiment, the Forty-second Indiana, then busily engaged in its front. This design was frustrated by Gen. Beatty's battery, which opened with grape and canister, and the Confederates fell back. The force in front proving too heavy for further advance, Beatty withdrew his brigade. The Confederates, following briskly, captured two guns of Beatty's battery. The Fifteenth Kentucky and the One Hundred and Fourth Illinois, with their accustomed steadiness, succeeded in checking the further advance of the Confederates, but the Eighty-eighth and Forty-second Indiana were compelled to make a wide detour to escape capure and did not regain the brigade.

Col. Stanley came up soon after with the Second Brigade of Negley's division, and, relieving the two regiments, they took position in rear as support. In the hard fight that followed, the Fifteenth Kentucky was especially distinguished. Being ordered to haul off by hand two pieces of artillery which had been abandoned by the gunners, they enlarged upon their instructions and gathered up five pieces, and attaching them to limbers that they found upon the field, succeeded in saving them all. The loss in the Fifteenth Kentucky was five killed, forty-three wounded and fifteen missing; total, sixty three.

Baldwin's brigade of Johnson's division, Twentieth Army Corps, with the division, moved on the morning of the 19th from the corps, and took position on the extreme left of the general line of battle, three miles east

of Crawfish Springs. The Fifth Kentucky, Col. W. W. Berry, was posted on the left of the front line of Baldwin's brigade. A charge being ordered, the line advanced rapidly against a galling fire of musketry and artillery, driving the Confederates over a mile. Half an hour later, being heavily re-enforced, they returned the attack. The Ninty-third Ohio formed on the left of the Fifth Kentucky, but, the Confederate lines extending beyond the left of the brigade, the Ninety-third staggered under the blow. Col. Baldwin, with heroic courage, seized the colors and shouting "Rally round the flag, boys," the regiment sprang forward with such impetuosity as to repulse the charge and capture two guns. The Fifth Kentucky, standing in line, swept its front with continuous volleys of musketry.

Quiet then reigned for an hour and a half when the storm again burst with renewed fury. Baldwin's brigade withstood the shock, but a regiment on its right broke, and the Confederates rushing into the gap commenced a furious assault upon Baldwin's right. Here Col. Baldwin was shot, leaving the brigade without a commander. The Fifth Kentucky and the Ninety-third Ohio were completely cut off, the Confederate line being between them and the reserve. But darkness came to their relief, and silently, on double quick, the two regiments passed the Confederate flank, joined the reserve, faced about and for half an hour the most terrific fighting of the day took place. The two lines were but a few yards apart and a hand to hand fight followed. It was a desperate struggle, but the Confederates were drawn back and the line was held. At this moment Col. Berry, as ranking officer, assumed the command of the brigade, and Gen. Baird's division, coming up, formed on the extreme left of the main line of battle.

The divisions were now aligned as follows: —counting from left to right—Baird, Johnson, Palmer, Reynolds, Brannan, Negley, Sheridan and Davis; Ward and Van Cleve in reserve. During the night Gen. Rosecrans called his corps commanders together, and in the conference which took place it was agreed that the left must be held, as it guarded the main Lafayette and Chattanooga Road. To this end, Negley was withdrawn from the line, Wood ordered to take his place, and Van Cleve was ordered to the rear of Brannan in reserve. This formation remained until the withdrawal of Wood caused the disaster of the afternoon. The Fifth Kentucky occupied a position in the second line.

The Confederate line, formed in echelon, attacked first on the left and followed with successive strokes along the Union front. This attack was well adapted to produce the result which followed, as the troops on the left of the Confederate line, concealed from view, awaited the weakening of the Union right before advancing. When the attack fell upon Berry, he at once moved up his rear line, but some of Baird's troops giving away, necessitated a half wheel and charge upon the Confederates. The Fifth Kentucky, now led by Capt. Huston, rapidly cleared the fields in their front, and, as Col. Berry expressed it, "with an impetuousty never excelled," struck the Confederates in flank, and drove them pell-mell a mile and a half, capturing many prisoners, among them Gen. Adams. Lieut. Huston, a promising young officer, was killed in this charge.

The loss of the Fifth Kentucky in this engagement was 15 killed, and 110 wounded. Total, 125.

The Fourth, Tenth and Eighth Kentucky Infantry Regiments, although among the first mustered into the service, missed the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the battles of Shiloh, Perryville and Stone River.

The Fourth, Lieut.-Col. P. B. Hunt, and the Tenth, Col. William H. Hays, formed a portion of the second brigade of Brannan's division commanded by that superb soldier, Col. John T. Croxton, which had the honor of opening the battle of Chickamauga. A Confederate brigade was reported to have crossed Chickamauga Creek and to be cut off from the main body by the Union cavalry. Croxton's brigade was ordered forward to attack it. Advancing about one mile on the

Ringgold Road, the brigade halted and formed in line of battle, the Fourth Kentucky on the left, Seventy-fourth Indiana on the right, the Tenth Indiana on the center, and the Tenth Kentucky and Fourteenth Ohio in reserve. The skirmish line was at once attacked by Forrest's cavalry and fell back to their place in line, which opened fire and caused a hasty retreat by the venturesome cavalry. Resuming the march in line of battle the brigade soon came upon the Confederate infantry, which developed into an overwhelming force. Finding that the force in his front far exceeded a brigade and was in fact an army corps, Croxton at once ordered a retreat, which was successfully effected. In this fight the brave commander of the Fourth Kentucky was severely wounded, and Maj. R. M. Kelly, of the regiment, inspector-general of Brannan's division, assumed command. Having taken position on a ridge, the brigade held its position until relieved by King's brigade, when it fell back, replenished its cartridge-boxes and returned to the right of King's, now severely pressed.

The Confederates, three lines deep, were advancing in force, when, a charge being ordered, the two brigades sprang forward drove them back and captured five pieces of artillery which they brought from the field. After a desperate struggle, in which the Fourth and Tenth fought with courage and determination, the Union troops were flanked and driven back. They fell back, however, slowly, and in good order, and seizing the first favorable position held it until relieved by Johnson's division. On the morning of the 20th, the brigade crossed the Chattanooga Road toward the front and took position near Kelly's house. Rude fortifications were thrown up, and every preparation made to resist the attack that all knew to be impending. In the terrible battle that ensued, Col. Croxton was seriously wounded, and was compelled to relinquish the command to Col. C. M. Chapman, Seventy-fourth Indiana. The brigade became separated when the charge of Longstreet fell upon the right center of the main line, but the organizations clung together and rendered good service in repulsing the assault upon the ridge. Gen. Turchin's brigade of Reynold's division, to which the Eighteenth Kentucky was attached, took part in the engagement of the 19th, at the point where Cruft's and Hazen's brigades being heavily pressed called for assistance. Gen. Cruft refers to the timely aid rendered by the Eighteenth Kentucky, Col. Milward, and the Ninety-second Ohio.

Gen. Turchin was in the rear of his column at the time when these two advance regiments of his brigade were ordered by Gen. Reynolds to re-enforce Palmer, and coming up soon after brought up the remaining portion of his command and took position between Palmer and Johnson, where, about 4:30, P. M., he met a charge by Law's brigade of Hood's division with a counter charge which drove them back. In this he was joined by Cruft's brigade, after which, as related by both brigade commanders, they withdrew to their original position.

In the fight of the 20th, the Eighteenth Kentucky was in reserve most of the day, but joined in the timely charge made by the brigade, when, flushed with success, Longstreet's troops were driving the dissevered fragments of Brannan's division. It was a forlorn hope, but the intrepid brigade was equal to it. Turchin says: "The command 'Forward!' was given, and with a yell the brigade rushed forward and broke to pieces the confronting columns of the rebels. They fled pell-mell, and notwithstanding the fire of artillery on front and flank they pushed forward and took the guns." Col. Milward, of the Eighteenth Kentucky, being wounded, Maj. Hall took command. The loss in the Kentucky regiments was as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Fourth Kentucky	25	153	12	190
Tenth Kentucky	21	134	10	165
Eighteenth Kentucky.	7	45	33	85

Among the surgeons who bravely remained at their post of duty at the field hospital, and were captured by the Confederates, was Surgeon Joseph Fithian, of the Eighteenth Kentucky.

The officers of Kentucky regiments killed or mortally wounded at the battle of Chickamauga were:

Lieut. Frank N. Sheets, Fourth Cavalry; Capt. James M. Bodine, Second Infantry; Capt. Henry S. Taylor, Third Infantry; Lieut. Alban D. Bradshaw, Third Infantry; Maj. Charles L. Thomasson, Fifth Infantry; Lieut. John W. Huston, Fifth Infantry; Lieut. John Ryan, Fifth Infantry; Capt. Peter Marker, Sixth Infantry; Capt. John McGraw, Sixth Infantry; Lieut. Thomas Eubanks, Sixth Infantry; Lieut. Frederick V. Lockman, Sixth Infantry; Capt. Seth P. Bevill, Tenth Infantry; Lieut. John H. Myers, Tenth Infantry; Lieut. Joseph L. McClure, Fifteenth Infantry; Lieut. John D. Millman, Seventeenth Infantry; Capt. James W. Anthony, Seventeenth Infantry; Capt. W. W. Culbertson, Eighteenth Infantry; Lieut. Joseph C. Hoffman, Twenty-third Infantry.

The result of this battle was the retirement of the Federal army to the defenses of Chattanooga, where it was closely followed by the victorious foe. Bragg at once seized the natural fortresses of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and placed the bulk of his forces in an almost impregnable position overlooking the city. The withdrawal of the Federal forces from the passes of Lookout Mountain, left the way open for the attack upon Rosecrans' natural line of communication with his base of supplies at Bridgeport, and the enemy's pickets soon held the river from that point to Chickamauga Creek. Railroad communications in his rear were cut off by a successful cavalry raid, and the Army of the Cumberland, cooped up within the fortifications of Chattanooga was forced to subsist upon the meager supplies which could be wagoned over the Walden Ridge by a circuitous and mule-killing route.

This predicament caused the early dispatch of re-enforcements from the Army of the Potomac, and the removal of Sherman's forces from Memphis to this point. But in the meantime, the situation grew more serious, and on Grant superseding Rosecrans, the evacuation of the city seemed inevitable. The new commander arrived on the 23d of October, and at once set about recovering the possession of the river. Operations against the main position of the enemy, however, were delayed until the arrival of Sherman in November.

In reorganizing the Army of the Cumberland, after the battle of Chickamauga, the Kentucky regiments were assigned as follows:

	Brigade.	Division.	Army Corps.
First Infantry, Col. D. A. Enyart	1st	1st	4th
Second Infantry, Col. T. D. Sedgewick	1st	1st	4th
Third Infantry, Col. H. C. Dunlap	3d	2d	4th
Fourth Infantry, Maj. R. M. Kelly	3d	3d	14th
Fifth Infantry, Col. W. W. Berry	2d	3d	4th
Sixth Infantry, Maj. R. T. Whitaker	2d	3d	4th
Eighth Infantry, Col. S. M. Barnes	2d	1st	4th
Ninth Infantry, Col. G. H. Cram	3d	3d	4th
Tenth Infantry, Col. W. H. Hays	3d	3d	14th
Fifteenth Infantry, Maj. W. G. Halpin	1st	1st	14th
Seventeenth Infantry, Col. A. M. Stout	3d	3d	4th
Eighteenth Infantry, Lieut.-Col. H. K. Milward	3d	3d	14th
Twenty-first Infantry, Col. S. W. Price	2d	1st	4th
Twenty-third Infantry, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Foy	2d	3d	4th

By this arrangement the First and Second Regiments were in Cruft's brigade, and the Eighth and Twenty-first in Whitaker's brigade, of Stanley's division; the Third Kentucky in Harker's brigade, of Sheridan's division; the Fifth, Sixth and Twenty-third in Hazen's brigade, and the Ninth and Seventeenth in Beatty's brigade, of Wood's division, Fourth Army Corps. The Fourth, Tenth and Eighteenth were in Phelps' brigade, of Baird's division; and the Fifteenth in Moore's brigade, of Carlin's division, Fourteenth Army Corps. All the regiments above mentioned participated in the battles about Chattanooga, November 23d to 25th, except the First, Second and Fifteenth.

A preliminary movement of considerable importance was the capture of Moccasin Point by Hazen's brigade on the night of October 27th. The Tennessee River, in its tortuous course after leaving Chattanooga, runs southward a short distance, then turning abruptly northward forms a tongue of land, called Moccasin Point. After reaching a

distance of seven or eight miles in this direction, it sweeps gracefully around a curve and resumes its southern course, when bearing westward it flows past Bridgeport, the base of supplies for the army. The possession by the Confederates of the tongue of land formed by the latter curve, compelled a wide detour northward *via* Anderson's Cross Roads to supply the suffering army. Gen. Rosecrans, with a view to the possession of the direct road to Bridgeport, formed the plan, subsequently carried out by Gen. Thomas, of landing a force under cover of night at Brown's Ferry and seizing the upper end of Lookout Valley simultaneously with the advance of the troops, then on their way from the Army of the Potomac. The river being commanded by batteries at the base of Lookout Mountain rendered the undertaking both difficult and dangerous.

Hazen's brigade was selected for the enterprise and the result proved that its execution was confided to competent hands. With a picked force of 1,200 men, divided into squads of twenty-five each, of which the Fifth, Sixth and Twenty-third Kentucky Regiments furnished eleven squads of twenty-five men, and one of seventy-five, under competent officers, Gen. Hazen embarked upon pontoon boats; the squad of seventy-five from the Twenty-third under Lieut.-Col. Foy was in advance, and silently floated down the river under the Confederate batteries. Many a heart stood still as the noiseless procession glided phantom-like under the shadow of Lookout Mountain and out into the light beyond. For full two miles the route lay under the muzzles of Longstreet's artillery, which had full sweep of the river. The oars were not used; not a word was spoken; the slightest noise would open the brazen throats of a dozen cannon. Three miles down the river, the flotilla came under the guns of the Confederate pickets, but by keeping well under the shadow of the opposite shore the boats were unobserved until the first boat was within ten feet of the landing at Brown's Ferry, when the men of the Twenty-third leaped ashore, and, with the brave Lieut.-Col. Foy at their head, pushed down the road, driving the Confederates before them. As the boats came up, the men disembarked, and soon forming a line of battle, were prepared for the attack that was anticipated. The assault fell first upon Col. Foy, who repulsed it, driving the Confederates to the right where they were met by Col. Wiley, who, re-enforced by Col. Langdon, pursued them across the valley. Entrenchments were rapidly thrown up, the pontoons were formed in a bridge, artillery was brought over, and when morning dawned the astonished Confederates were dispossessed of the coveted peninsula. Gen. Hooker, advancing in the meantime from the western end of the valley, encamped on the following night near Wauhatchie, where a battle was fought, resulting in the defeat of the Confederates, and permanent occupation of the valley.

The next exploit of Hazen's brigade was, in connection with the division, the capture of Orchard Knob, an eminence between the Union and Confederate lines in front of Chattanooga, on the 23d of November. In this daring movement Col. Berry, of the Fifth Kentucky, was wounded. During the last half mile after meeting the Confederate pickets, Hazen's brigade was constantly under fire, from which it suffered severely, but pushing forward the position was captured, and with it the greater part of the Twenty-eighth Alabama Infantry.

Stanley's division, stationed at Whiteside, near Bridgeport, was at this time under command of Gen. Cruft, ranking brigade commander. With two brigades of his division under Whitaker and Grose, he took part in the capture of Lookout Mountain.

The departure of Longstreet's corps and Buckner's division from the line of investment at Chattanooga to attack Burnside in the vicinity of Knoxville left Bragg but 32,700 infantry and artillery, divided into two corps, commanded by Hardee and Breckinridge. The Confederate line extended from the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge around to the western base of Lookout Mountain. Stevenson's division occupied Lookout Mountain and Chattanooga Valley at its base. On the 24th of November the

troops on the mountain consisted of three brigades under Gens. Walthall, Moore and Pettus.

In the assault made by Geary's division of Hooker's corps and Whitaker's brigade, the latter was in support, but in the advance up the rugged mountain side, owing to irregularities in the ground it gradually pushed itself to the front and took part in the fight even before the summit was reached. Drifting clouds enveloped the lofty crest of the mountain, and the precipitous sides were involved in an impenetrable mist. In this "battle above the clouds" the Eighth Kentucky Infantry bore a prominent part. The Twenty-first Kentucky not having joined the brigade at this time was temporarily assigned to Davis' division of the Fourteenth Corps.

At noon, when Walthall's main line was reached, Whitaker's brigade had by hard climbing and desperate hand-to-hand fighting found its way around to the right, and was exactly in the right place. Hastily deploying their lines, the brigade commanders gave the order to charge, and never was the command, that carries with it death to the brave, obeyed with a heartier will. The men of Gettysburg and Chickamauga stood shoulder to shoulder, and, with a courage that nothing could withstand, rushed forward to the attack. A few minutes of desperate fighting ensued, when half of Walthall's men threw down their arms and were sent to the rear as prisoners. Pushing forward, the plucky little army found itself in possession of the plateau beneath the crest of the mountain. Whitaker refers in his graphic style to the assault upon the lines at the Craven House:

Steadily and firmly advancing, my brigade reached the base of Lookout's bold, projecting point. Its profile is delineated from beneath against the sky. In good order my bold command, now become one line, swung round the crest, the right wing being the pivot, with the flags of the Fortieth Ohio on the left and the Eighth Kentucky floating free and triumphant on the right. With beating hearts we heard the soul stirring vivas of our country's friends, and responding boldly we charged upon the rallying columns of the enemy. A portion of Gen. Geary's division meeting overwhelming opposition from the rifle pits in the orchard before reaching the Craven House, and having no cover, were falling back. The Confederates were sending re-enforcements from the summit of the mountain over a depression in the cliff some hundreds of yards to our rear, on the west side of the mountain. The Eighth Kentucky, Col. Barnes, was halted on the crest of the ridge with orders to deploy skirmishers to drive the Confederates back and to hold the crest at all hazards. This was well and gallantly done.

While Geary and Whitaker were steadily fighting their way to the summit of the mountain, Osterhaus' division of Sherman's army and Grose's brigade were pressing forward from below, and at about 3 P. M. the latter joined Whitaker's brigade on the plateau near the Craven House. Osterhaus came up on the left followed by Carlin's division, the Fifteenth Kentucky in advance.

The storming of Lookout Mountain will always rank as one of the boldest achievements of the war. Gen. Geary footed up the assault as follows: "1,940 prisoners, 125 of the Confederates killed and 300 wounded and left on the field, 2,800 stand of arms, 2 cannon, 5 battle flags, 50 officers' swords and 1,000 intrenching tools captured, at a loss of 150 men killed and wounded, 52 of whom were in Whitaker's brigade." Early in the morning of the 25th, Gen. Whitaker called for volunteers from the Eighth Kentucky to scale the cliff that overhung the plateau and take possession of Lookout Point. It was not known what force was there. Capt. Wilson of Company C, Sergts. Davis, Wager and Wood and privates Witt and Bradley at once stepped forward. It was a hazardous undertaking, but these brave men were equal to it, regardless of the result. The regiment soon followed and their flag, the gift of the loyal women of Estill County, was given to the breeze amid the wild cheers of the dauntless men whose valor had driven 4,000 men from the summit of Lookout Mountain, and cheered by the exulting shouts of the main army hundreds of feet below.

The smoke of battle was still hovering over the lofty crest of Lookout, from which the flag of the Eighth Kentucky floated in triumph, when Gen. Bragg ordered the con-

centration of his entire army on Missionary Ridge. On the right was Hardee with four divisions, under Cleburne, Stevenson, Cheatham and Gist, numbering over 20,000 men. Breckinridge on the left commanded three divisions under Bate, Hindman and Steward, 15,000 strong. In the battle which ensued Cleburne on the right was charged with the defense of that wing, and so well did he perform this service that Sherman's army failed to dislodge him. On the left Breckinridge with Stewart and Hindman's division confronted Hooker, who, with Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps, Cruft's division of the Fourth Corps, and Osterhaus' division of the Fifteenth Corps, advanced across Chattanooga to assault the left of Bragg's line of battle. The attack was brief and decisive. The Confederates fell back along the ridge toward the center of their line, followed by Hooker's infantry on the ridge and his artillery in the valley.

The sun shone brightly down upon a scene of surpassing grandeur. Every movement of the troops in the valley was distinctly visible from the headquarters of Gens. Thomas and Grant at Fort Wood and Gen. Bragg on Missionary Ridge, where "the enemy," says Bate, "like a huge serpent uncoiled his massive folds into shapely lines in our immediate front."

The Army of the Cumberland, now commanded by Maj.-Gen. George H. Thomas, was aligned in the center as follows: Johnson on the right, then Sheridan, Wood, Baird and Davis, with their divisions in line awaiting the signal of attack. The Eleventh Corps, under Gen. Howard, was in position in rear of Thomas' left, ready to move to any portion of the field where it might be needed. The same regiments which had fought at Chickamauga, diminished in numbers, by re-enforcing the right and left now prepared for the magnificent charge which will go down in history as one of the grandest in military annals. Noon had arrived, but, thus far, Sherman's sledge-hammer strokes had produced no apparent effect. Between his advance and Hardee's front there was a deep ravine and a steep ascent, a second Chickasaw Bluffs, and beyond it—death.

The headquarter flags of the contending armies floated defiantly in the breeze, and there was not a soldier in the ranks who did not know that a great and decisive battle was to be fought that day. That Missionary Ridge would be carried, when the signal was given for the advance, was confidently believed by every Federal soldier, and to be the first upon the summit was the goal of each one's ambition. The Third Kentucky in Harker's brigade, the Fifth, Sixth and Twenty-Third in Hazen's brigade and the Ninth and Seventeeth in Beatty's brigade were near together, and contested the honor of first reaching the summit. The Fifteenth in Carlin's brigade was on the right, and the Fourth, Tenth and Eighteenth in Phelps' brigade of Baird's division were near the left of the line.

While Gen. Sherman, with the pluck and persistence that formed his prominent characteristic, was sustaining the shock of battle on the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge, and Hooker's victorious columns were advancing along the ridge from the south in the wake of the retreating Confederates, the order came for the Army of the Cumberland to advance and carry the rifle pits at the base of the ridge. Only this and nothing more. The assault is tersely described by Gen. Grant as follows:

> These troops moved forward, drove the enemy from the rifle pits at the base of the ridge like bees from a hive, stopped but a moment until the whole were in line, and commenced the assault of the mountain from right to left almost simultaneously, following closely the retreating enemy without further orders. They encountered a fearful volley of grape and canister from nearly thirty pieces of artillery, and musketry from still well filled rifle pits on the summit of the ridge. Not a waver was seen in all that long line of brave men. Their progress was steadily onward until the summit was in their possession. In the charge the casualties were remarkably few for the fire encountered. I can account for this only on the theory that the enemy's surprise at the audacity of such a charge caused confusion and purposeless aiming of their pieces.

Gen. Thomas says:

> Our troops advanced steadily in a continuous line The enemy, seized with panic, abandoned the works at the foot of the hill and retreated precipitately to the crest, pursued closely by our troops, who, apparently inspired by the impulse of victory, carried

the hill simultaneously at six different points, and so closely upon the heels of the enemy that many of them were taken prisoners in the trenches. We captured nearly all their cannon and ammunition before they could be removed or destroyed. After halting for a few moments to reorganize the troops, who had become somewhat scattered in the assault of the hill, Gen. Sheridan pushed forward in pursuit and drove those in his front, who escaped capture, across Chickamauga Creek. Gens. Wood and Baird, being obstinately resisted by re-enforcements from the enemy's extreme right, continued fighting until darkness set in, slowly but steadily driving the enemy before them. The alacrity displayed by officers in executing their orders, and the enthusiasm and spirit displayed by the men who did the work, cannot be too highly appreciated by the nation for the defense of which they have on so many memorable occasions nobly and patiently exposed their lives in battle.

An army officer, who witnessed this magnificent pageant from Orchard Knob, is accustomed to say, when referring to it, "the grandest sights I ever witnessed were, sunrise on the ocean, Niagara Falls, and the charge of the Army of the Cumberland at Missionary Ridge." In this engagement the Kentucky regiments maintained their reputation for courage and discipline, and were among the first to plant their colors upon the summit of the ridge.

It was evident to every general officer that the troops were disobeying orders in advancing beyond the rifle pits at the base of the ridge. Grant inquired of Thomas by whose orders they were ascending the ridge. "By their own, I think," said the philosopher. "It is all right, if it turns out right," was the response. As it turned out right, all were willing to excuse this breach of discipline. A contest ensued between Gens. Hazen and Sheridan as to which first gained the crest, the latter claiming the honor for Harker's brigade, the former stoutly claiming it for his own, but as these brigades were largely composed of Kentucky troops it is probable that but little if any difference in time elapsed between their arrival.

The Twenty-first Kentucky took a hand in the fray, simultaneously with Sheridan's advance at midnight across Chickamauga Creek. The division of Gen. Davis, which had during the day acted as reserve to Gen. Sherman, moved around the nose of the ridge along the river bank, and, crossing the creek, moved upon Chickamauga Station, near which it bivouacked for the night. At 8 o'clock, on the following morning, the division advanced, preceded by the Twenty-first Kentucky, deployed as skirmishers. Gen. Davis says: "The Twenty-first Kentucky moved forward in a beautiful skirmish line, and, when nearing the suburbs of the town, encountered the enemy in a very sharp skirmish." The flames which now streamed upward from the burning station indicated the destruction of stores, and the regiment pushed forward and compelled the Confederates to abandon a considerable quantity of supplies undestroyed. The Twenty-first made a gallant fight against a portion of the Confederate Kentucky Brigade, and, re-enforced by the Eighteenth Illinois, got the better of their opponents, compelling them to retreat in the direction of Graysville.

While the Army of the Cumberland, under Gen. Rosecrans, was advancing its lines and closing the gateway to east Tennessee and Virginia, by seizing and holding possession of Chattanooga, the Army of the Ohio under Gen. Burnside was pushing eastward from Kentucky to the capture of Knoxville and the valley of the Tennessee. Knoxville was occupied on the 3d of September, and Cumberland Gap, defended by a garrison of 2,000 men under Gen. Frazier, was captured on the 10th near the date of the occupation of Chattanooga by the Twenty-first Army Corps.

Gen. Simon B. Buckner, in command of the Department of East Tennessee, had, in obedience to the order of Gen. Bragg, evacuated the valley, and ordered his command of 7,000 men to the Confederate Army of the Tennessee, leaving Burnside an undisputed march to Knoxville. With no Confederates in his front, the obvious duty of Gen. Burnside was to re-enforce Gen. Rosecrans with at least so much of his infantry as would compensate for the increased force added by Buckner to the army of Gen. Bragg. His army of 25,000 men was composed of two corps, the Ninth

and Twenty-third. The latter, consisting of cavalry and infantry, marching over the mountains, reached Kingston in ample time to join Rosecrans, and render much needed assistance at the battle of Chickamauga.

The Kentucky regiments participating in the campaign culminating in the siege of Knoxville, were:

Eleventh Infantry, mounted, Col. S. P. Love, Pennebaker's Brigade.

Twenty-seventh Infantry, mounted; Lieut.-Col. J. S. Ward, Pennebaker's Brigade.

	Brigade.	Division.	Army Corps.
Twelfth Infantry, Maj. J. M. Owens	1st	3d	23d
Thirteenth Infantry, Col. W. E. Hobson	2d	2d	23d
Sixteenth Infantry, Col. J. W. Gault	1st	2d	23d
Twenty-fourth Infantry, Col. J. S. Hurt	2d	3d	23d
First Cavalry, Col. S. Adams	1st	4th	23d
Eleventh Cavalry, Maj. M. Graham	1st	4th	23d
Twelfth Cavalry, Maj. J. B. Harrison	1st	4th	23d

The Eleventh and Twenty-seventh, mounted infantry, under Col. C. D. Pennebaker, formed an independent brigade during the months of September and October, after which they were assigned to the cavalry corps and formed the Third Brigade of Col. Wolford's division.

Gen. Burnside, having obtained almost undisputed possession of east Tennessee, concluded, about the 1st of November, to place his army in winter quarters. Col. Chapin's Brigade of White's Division, of which the Thirteenth Kentucky formed a part, was stationed midway between the main army at Lenoirs and Loudon, with pickets on the Holston River. Mott's brigade of the same division, in which the Sixteenth Kentucky served, was stationed at Kingston, on the extreme right of the line. The Third Division (Hascall's), in which the Twelfth and Twenty-fourth Kentucky were brigaded, occupied the intrenchments at Knoxville. The Eleventh and Twenty-seventh, mounted infantry, with the cavalry regiments, were stationed at points on the flanks of the army.

Gen. Wheeler's cavalry, detached from Bragg's army to co-operate with Longstreet in his operations against Burnside, arrived at Sweetwater on the 11th of November, 1863, and on the following morning moved forward toward Maryville with orders to capture whatever Federal force could be found there. This force was Col. Wolford's cavalry brigade, consisting of the First, Eleventh and Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, numbering 1,126 officers and enlisted men. Wheeler's force was vastly superior, comprising two divisions.

Dibrell's brigade, pushing forward in advance, came upon the Eleventh Kentucky, which fell back, after a sharp fight, upon the main body, which in turn was compelled to retreat across Little River with a loss of 200 killed, wounded and prisoners. Emboldened by his success, Wheeler pushed forward in pursuit and on the following morning came upon Wolford, who, re-enforced by Pennebaker's brigade, had made arrangements to meet him at Stock Creek.

Wolford had partially torn up the bridge, and his forces, 1,500 strong, were posted in a strong and elevated position behind a fence inclosing a thick wood. In their front were open fields descending toward the wood upon which Wheeler was advancing; on their right was the Holston River, while their left rested upon the steep side of a high ridge. It was afternoon when the head of Wheeler's column appeared, and it at once encountered a brisk artillery fire, wounding, among others, Maj. Buford of Wheeler's staff. Wheeler at once dismounted Martin's division, and crossing the river under a heavy fire attacked the left of Wolford's line, driving it back. While this was in progress a force had been busily engaged repairing the bridge, and soon Armstrong's division crossed it and charged on the right, which resulted in driving the entire force back under cover of the guns in the fortifications on the heights south of Knoxville.

Information of the movements of Longstreet reached Col. Chapin on the night of the 13th, and a reconnaissance to Huff's Ferry, demonstrated that a large force was there preparing to cross the Holston. Cha-

pin's brigade was at once withdrawn to Lenoirs. Returning on the following day, reenforced by Ferrero's division of the Ninth Corps, Chapin's brigade encountered Longstreet's pickets about two miles north of the Holston. The Thirteenth Kentucky, under command of Col. William E. Hobson, advanced gallantly, in connection with the One Hundred and Seventh Illinois, and drove the Confederate pickets nearly to the landing. "Up to this time," says Chapin in his report, "the two regiments had been about equally engaged, but now the enemy seemed to concentrate in front of the Thirteenth Kentucky. The summit of the hill being wooded made good cover for the rebels, and the side toward the Thirteenth Kentucky being bare, offered no cover for our men who were still in the woods at the foot." Gen. White now came upon the ground and ordered the two regiments to charge. "This was done," says Chapin, "in most gallant style by both regiments, the Thirteenth Kentucky charging up the bare hill in the face of a galling fire, driving the Confederates off the hill, and holding it until the next morning. In falling back to Lenoirs, Chapin's brigade acted as rear guard.

The escape from Lenoirs with all the baggage of a large army required the utmost activity, as the road to Knoxville led by Campbell's Station, a point on the road from Huff's Ferry about equidistant from both points. The baggage trains were pushed forward and Hartranft's division sent to guard them to Campbell's Station, then to take positions to protect their passage. Here a fight ensued in which the indomitable courage of the Ninth and Twenty-third Corps saved the train from destruction. The troops did their full duty and under cover of darkness fell back upon Knoxville. Chapin closes his report with a glowing tribute to the Thirteenth Kentucky and its gallant commander.

The dawn of day found the infantry safely behind the entrenchments at Knoxville, while the cavalry, under its heroic commander, Gen. William P. Sanders, held back the advance of Longstreet's column during the entire day. Alluding to the death of this splendid soldier, Gen. Burnside says: "The troops worked all day and night and by daylight, on the morning of the 15th, were tolerably well under cover. Still the work was continued, the enemy being held at bay on the Kingston Road by the cavalry under Gen. Sanders, and on the Clinton Road by Col. Pennebaker's mounted regiments. The hours in which to work that were secured to us by the gallant conduct of our cavalry were worth to us a thousand men each. It is sad that they were bought at such a price as the life of that most gallant and chivalric soldier and noble gentleman, Brig. Gen. William Pitt Sanders. I hope I may be pardoned this allusion to the only classmate I had at the siege of Knoxville. Gen. Sanders falling in front of the work occupied by Benjamin's battery, it seemed appropriate that the fort should be named for him." Thus the principal fort in front of Knoxville was named in honor of this noble Kentuckian. Before it raged for hours one of the fiercest conflicts of the war, but, as if the soldier whose name it bore had imparted a portion of his daring spirit to its defenders, the flag upon its crest was never lowered to the enemy.

In assigning the troops to their positions in the works around Knoxville, Chapin's and Reilly's brigades were placed on the ridge adjacent to Temperance Hill, which was heavily manned with artillery, while Hoskin's and Casement's brigades continued the line from Bell's house to the Holston River. This arrangement brought the Kentucky regiments nearly in line on the north side of the town, where an attack was anticipated. The event proved that the assault was determined upon where it could be most readily repulsed, and when it came the garrison of Fort Sanders proved equal to the emergency.

On the 18th Gen. Wheeler joined the main army with his cavalry, whence he was sent with three brigades to capture Mott's brigade at Kingston. Col. Mott gives the following brief account of the repulse of the Confederate attack: "The attack was made at daybreak on the 24th of November, and after a

brisk engagement of seven hours' duration the enemy was handsomely whipped and driven back, with a loss of 250 killed, wounded and prisoners; among the killed was Col. Russell of the Third Alabama. Too much cannot be said in praise of the cool and determined bravery of the officers and men under my command. As an instance, I may mention the case of Capt. Murphy of the Sixteenth Kentucky, who, with a single company, charged a rebel regiment and demanded its surrender. There were many instances in which officers and men performed prodigies of valor."

After his repulse at Knoxville, Longstreet retired up the valley to Rogersville in time to avoid a battle with Sherman, who, immediately after the battle of Missionary Ridge, set out with a well-equipped army, consisting of Blair's, Howard's and Granger's corps, to the relief of Gen. Burnside at Knoxville. The cavalry followed closely, and took position at Bean's Station. Longstreet had no sooner reached Rogersville than he was informed of the isolated position of the cavalry, and determined to capture it. Gen. Martin, who had superseded Wheeler in command of the cavalry, was ordered to march down the south bank of the Holston, and cross opposite to Bean's Station. Gen. W. E. Jones, with two brigades of cavalry, was to pass down along the north side of Clinch Mountain, and prevent the escape of the Union forces by the gap in that direction, while a heavy force of infantry, Bushrod Johnson's two brigades in advance, moved by the direct road from Rogersville to Bean's Station.

About 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 13th of December, after a toilsome march, the infantry reached the Union pickets, drove them in, and attacked with vigor. Wolford's brigade fell back, skirmishing and twice halting, disputed the way with great spirit to protect the retreat of the main body from the station. The Confederates continued to advance in the face of a destructive fire, when, finding the force overwhelming, the rear guard was ordered to withdraw, which, under the cover of darkness, it successfully did.

Gathering his forces together, Gen. Longstreet fell back to Rogersville, and went into winter quarters, thus ending the east Tennessee campaign.

When Longstreet laid siege to Knoxville, Gen. Burnside ordered the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry to Cumberland Gap from Morristown. After the siege was raised by Gen. Sherman, the Thirty-fourth was ordered to Tazewell, Tenn., the colonel of the same being placed in command of a brigade composed of the Thirty-fourth Kentucky, One Hundred and Sixteenth and One Hundred and Eighteenth Indiana Infantry, Eleventh Tennessee Cavalry and Eleventh Michigan Battery. Here, on the 24th of January, 1864, the brigade was attacked by Col. Carter with about 1,800 men. In this fight the Thirty-fourth again distinguished itself for undaunted bravery under severe fire. In the engagement, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, the Confederates were repulsed with a loss of thirty-one killed and many more wounded.

On the 26th of January, the regiment was again ordered to the gap under command of Gen. T. T. Garrard, where it remained on one-third rations for nearly three months. News having been received by the general commanding that a simultaneous attack would be made on the gap by Gens. Jones and Vaughn approaching in different directions, he ordered fifty-five men of the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry to proceed to Powell River bridge to prevent Vaughn's forces from crossing and forming a junction with Jones. The detachment of the Thirty-fourth arrived at the bridge just as Vaughn's advance guard was entering it, and repulsed them after a short fight. Being armed with Colt's five-shooters, their small numbers were enabled, by undaunted bravery and their efficient arms, to contend with this large force and compel them to retire.

On the 17th of April, 1864, Gen. Garrard was relieved of the command of the gap, and Col. W. Y. Dillard, of the Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry, remained in command until the 8th of November, 1864, when the Thirty-fourth was ordered to Knoxville,

which place was threatened by Gen. Breckinridge from the direction of Strawberry Plains. The regiment, reduced to 304 men, was ordered to proceed to Knoxville *via* Tazewell and Walker's Ford, a road much infested with guerrillas. On arriving at Walker's Ford, on Clinch River, it was unable to cross, owing to the high water and want of a ferry-boat, and was consequently compelled to return to the gap and take the Jacksboro Road. The regiment arrived at Knoxville on the 18th of November, and remained there on provost duty until February 2, 1865, when it was ordered back to the gap.

On the 20th of April, the Thirty-fourth proceeded up the Virginia Valley in the direction of Gibson's Mills, where a force of the Confederates was reported. On the 22d, it was met by a flag of truce, and a proposition from Cols. Pridmore, Slemp, Richmond and Wicher to surrender their forces, which was at once done, their commands numbering 2,713 men. On the 24th of April, the Thirty-fourth was again ordered to Knoxville, and thence to Loudon, Tenn.; remained here on garrison duty until the 20th of June, and then returned to Knoxville for muster-out, which occurred June 24, 1865.

The promotion of Grant to the rank of major-general in the regular army, and his assignment to the command of the military department of the Mississippi on the 16th of October, 1863, was followed on the 12th of March, 1864, by his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general and his assignment to the general command of all the armies. His new duties requiring his presence in the east, Grant departed for Virginia, leaving Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman in command of the military department of the Mississippi.

The forces, in command of which Sherman was thus placed, consisted of the Army of the Cumberland, under Gen. George H. Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, under Gen. McPherson, and the Army of the Ohio, under Gen. Schofield, and a cavalry corps under Gen. Wilson. The total effective strength of the combined armies on the 20th of April, 1864, was as follows: Infantry, 4,228 officers, 87,838 enlisted men; cavalry, 612 officers, 12,062 enlisted men; artillery, 185 officers, 63,322 enlisted men. Total, 5,025 officers, 106,222 enlisted men.

The preservation of a line of communications over 300 miles in extent by the Union commander, however, involved the necessity of making heavy details to guard bridges, garrison important points and bring forward supplies for the army.

The Confederate army, after its defeat on Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, had retired to Dalton and Resaca, where it passed the winter. Longstreet's corps had retired from the siege of Knoxville to Virginia; Gen. J. E. Johnston had been transferred from the Mississippi in December, 1863, and had superseded Bragg in command, and in May Polk's army was moved from the Mississippi to swell its ranks. The forces thus opposed to Sherman, under command of Gen. Johnston, consisted of two corps under Gens. Hood and Hardee, and a cavalry corps under Gen. Wheeler. Its effective strength at the same date was as follows:

Infantry, 3,446 officers, 35,646 enlisted men; cavalry, 1,209 officers, 10,269 enlisted men; artillery, 203 officers, 3,775 enlisted men. Total, 4,858 officers; 49,690 enlisted men.

To this should be added Polk's command of 19,330 effectives.

The Kentucky infantry regiments which served in the Atlanta campaign were:

First.—Col. D. A. Enyart, Cruft's (First) Brigade, Stanley's (First) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Second.—Col. T. D. Sedgewick, Cruft's (First) Brigade, Stanley's (First) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Third.—Col. H. C. Dunlap, Harker's (Third) Brigade, Newton's (Second) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Fifth.—Col. W. W. Berry, Hazen's (Second) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Sixth.—Capt. I. N. Johnston, Hazen's (Second) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division, Howard's (Fourth) Corps.

Ninth.—Col. J. H. Crane, Kneffler's (Third) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division (Fourth Corps).

Tenth.—Col. W. H. Hays, Este's (Third) Brigade, Baird's (Third) Division (Fourteenth Corps).

Eleventh.—Col. S. P. Love, Byrd's (Third) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twelfth.—Col. L. H. Rousseau, Reilly's (First) Brigade, Cox's (Third).

Thirteenth.—Col. W. E. Hobson, Bond's (Second) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Fourteenth.—Col. G. W. Gallup, Strickland's (Third) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division, (Twenty-third Corps).

Fifteenth.—Col. M. C. Taylor, Carlin's (First) Brigade, Johnston's (First) Division (Fourteenth Corps).

Sixteenth.—Maj. J. S. White, Reilly's (First) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Seventeenth.—Col. A. M. Stout, Kneffler's (Third) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division (Fourth Corps).

Eighteenth.—Col. H. K. Milward, Este's (Third) Brigade, Baird's (Third) Division (Fourteenth Corps).

Twentieth*.—Lieut.-Col. L. B. Waller, Strickland's (Third) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twenty-first.—Col. S. W. Price, Whitaker's (Second) Brigade, Stanley's (First) Division (Fourth Corps).

Twenty-third.—Lieut.-Col. G. W. Northup, Hazen's (Second) Brigade, Wood's (Third) Division (Fourth Corps).

Twenty-fourth.—Col. J. S. Hart, Casement's (Second) Brigade, Cox's (Third) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twenty-seventh.—Col. J. H. Ward, Strickland's (Third) Brigade, Hascall's (Second) Division (Twenty-third Corps).

Twenty-eighth.—Lieut.-Col. R. Boone, Wagner's (Second) Brigade, Newton's (Second) Division (Fourth Corps).

The cavalry regiments were brigaded as follows:

The Fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, acting as cavalry, under command of Col. R. M. Kelly, served in Croxton's (First) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

First.—Col. S. Adams, Capron's (Third) Brigade, Stoneman's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Second.—Lieut.-Col. E. S. Watts, Long's (Second) Brigade, Garrard's (Second) Division, cavalry corps.

Third.—Lieut.-Col. R. H. King, Murray's (Third) Brigade, Kilpatrick's (Third) Division, cavalry corps.

Fourth.—Maj. L. Gwynne, Watkin's (Third) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Fifth.—Col. O. L. Baldwin, Murray's (Third) Brigade, Kilpatrick's (Third) Division, cavalry corps.

Sixth.—Maj. W. H. Fielder, Watkin's (Third) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Seventh.—Col. J. K. Faulkner, Watkin's (Third) Brigade, McCook's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Eleventh.—Lieut.-Col. Alexander, Capron's (Third) Brigade, Stoneman's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Twelfth.—Lieut.-Col. Bramlette, Capron's (Third) Brigade, Stoneman's (First) Division, cavalry corps.

Various changes were made in commanders and brigades during the progress of the campaign. The Eighth Infantry did not participate in the active duties of the campaign, the regiment being stationed at Chattanooga as part of the garrison until November 17, 1864, when it was mustered out of service. The Eighteenth Infantry was stationed at Ringgold, Ga., until September, when it rejoined the brigade, and marched with the Fourteenth Army Corps through Georgia to the sea.

Both commanders had been actively preparing for offensive movements, but Sherman being soonest ready took the initiative in what is known as the Atlanta campaign. His army moved forward on converging roads toward Tunnel Hill and Snake Creek Gap on the 5th of May, 1864. Johnston, expecting to be attacked at Dalton, had fortified Buzzard Roost Gap on the direct road, but had neglected to guard the gap through which the Snake Creek road led direct to Resaca in his rear, and but for the indecision of the Army of the Tennessee in moving forward and seizing Resaca, this campaign would have had a far different history. Gen. McPherson did advance to the vicinity of Resaca, which was then held by only two brigades, but subsequently retired and fortified at the gap. This action gave Johnston time to send Hood with three divisions to Resaca, who, finding that McPherson had retired, left one division there, another at Tilton, halfway between Resaca and Dalton, and brought the third back to camp.

On the 12th, leaving Howard's corps and the cavalry to confront the enemy at Dalton, Sherman's entire army, with this exception, passed the left flank of the Confederate army by the Snake Creek Gap, but too late to get in the rear of Johnston. That watchful general, not to be caught napping after the intimation he had had, observed this movement from an overlooking ridge, and quietly with-

*The advent of Gen. Bragg into Kentucky, in 1862, was preceded by an extensive raid, made by Gen. John H. Morgan, with a brigade of cavalry. At this time the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry was stationed at Lebanon, where, after a stout resistance, it was captured by the raiders. This misadventure, for a time, removed this fine regiment from the effective force of the army. The officers and men were paroled, and soon after exchanged. The regiment was then stationed at Bowling Green, but was removed a little later to Louisville, where it remained until the opening of the Atlanta campaign. It was then ordered to the front.

drew his army to Resaca, where he faced about and gave battle on the 15th instant. He reached this point on the morning of the 14th; sent Loring's division to observe Snake Creek Gap, and formed a line of battle with Polk on the left, Hardee in the center, and Hood on the right.

Early on the morning of the 13th, Howard discovered that Johnston had withdrawn his army, and moving through Dalton, pushed on eight miles toward Resaca, where he encamped for the night. On the next day he pushed up to the vicinity of the enemy and formed a line of battle. The rest of the Union army advanced through the Snake Creek Gap and formed on Howard's corps. Kilpatrick, moving in advance of McPherson through the gap, encountered Wheeler's cavalry, when a brisk fight ensued. Kilpatrick was severely wounded, and turned the command over to Col. Eli H. Murray, who continued the fight with such success as to drive his opponents back upon their infantry support.

The fight was opened by Carlin's brigade. This brigade, the Fifteenth Kentucky, in advance, crossed Camp Creek and advanced some distance over the open ground in front of the enemy's position under a severe fire of artillery and musketry, where it gained a position which it held during the day. Meantime the lines of investment were slowly closing around the Confederate army, to prevent which Johnston determined to assume the offensive, and, if possible, turn Sherman's left flank. Stevenson's and Stewart's divisions and two brigades of Walker's were formed in column, and, moving to the right under cover of the Oostanaula Hills, fell like an avalanche upon Cruft's brigade. This splendid brigade never fought better, but were driven slowly back across the open fields toward the rear of Wood's division.

Simonson's battery, planted on an eminence, had full sweep of the ground, but could not open fire until Cruft had fallen back far enough to give him range upon the Confederates. Then his guns opened with terrific effect at short range. There were no reserves in this part of the field, and for a quarter of an hour the firing from this noble battery, supported on either flank by Cruft's brigade, was incessant, when on the road in his rear a heavy column of troops was seen approaching at double-quick. This was Williams' division of the Twentieth Corps under the personal command of Gen. Hooker. Moving down the road on the flank of the Confederates, the long line of troops halted only when its rear had passed the battery, which was still working with the rapidity of a steam fire engine. Facing to the right, the line now moved forward, a blaze of fire pouring from their muskets. It was nearly dark, and the Confederates, struck suddenly in flank, fell back down the Resaca road, and all along the line the Union troops had gained ground which they occupied during the night.*

The attempt to turn the right of the Union army was repeated by Gen. Johnston on the following day, and resulted in a desperate fight between Stewart's and Stevenson's divisions, and Williams' and Geary's divisions. On both sides artillery charged with canister and schrapnel was freely used. The fight closed with the repulse of the Confederate troops, but not until the leading regiments were nearly annihilated. During the night of the 15th Gen. Johnston abandoned Resaca, and the campaign for the possession of Atlanta was fairly begun.

Resaca was occupied by the Army of the Cumberland on the morning of May 16th, and Gen. Sherman determined upon immediate pursuit. But a heavy rear guard, seeking every available point at which to offer resistance, rendered pursuit, if such it could be called, exceedingly slow. The cavalry, thrown well to the flanks, the Armies of the Tennessee on the right, Cumberland in the center and Ohio on the left, moved forward on parallel roads when practicable, or through forests when necessary, but always in position to be formed in line of battle. The pioneer brigade of the Army of the Cumberland, formed by Gen. Rosecrans of picked

*This was the last battle for the First and Second Kentucky Infantry. Having enlisted in June, 1861, they had served faithfully for three years, and were honorably mustered out of service at Covington, Ky., on the 19th of June, 1864.

men from each regiment, under command of Gen. George P. Buell, together with the First Michigan regiment of Engineers and Mechanics, fully equipped for the service, with a pontoon train and an ample supply of implements, opened roads, built railroad bridges, and brought forward trains of cars laden with supplies as fast as they were needed by the army.

At Cassville Gen. McCook's division of cavalry had a brilliant passage of arms with Stevenson's division of infantry, where it was Johnston's intention to again give battle, in which he was upheld by Hardee, but was finally dissuaded by Polk and Hood. Accordingly, during the night Johnston crossed the Etowah with all his trains and moved to the stronger position of Allatoona Pass.

It was no part of Gen. Sherman's purpose to waste life hurling his men upon Johnston's works at Allatoona when the position could be turned, and by the same movement threaten Johnston's communications. Moving divisions, to these masterly tacticians, was a work that never confused them. Their orders were obeyed without question, and such was the discipline of both armies that, having once ordered a division or corps to be at a certain point at a given time the commander was at liberty to make all his combinations in the magnificent game with certainty that when wanted the men would be at the place indicated. Covering the Alabama road toward Allatoona with Geary's division, the balance of Hooker's corps was moved to Burnt Hickory, preceded by McCook's cavalry, skirmishing all the way. A Confederate courier was captured, whose dispatches showed that Johnston had divined Sherman's purpose to move upon Dallas, and that he was taking steps to meet him there.

On the morning of the 25th, as the Union army was advancing by parallel roads, Geary's division, the central one of the Twentieth Corps, came upon a division of Hood's corps. In the fight that ensued Geary was winner, and from prisoners he learned that Hood's entire corps was not far distant in the direction of Dallas. The next point of convergence of the roads upon which the various corps of the army were moving was New Hope Church, and Hooker was directed to drive the force in his front beyond that point, and made a vigorous effort to comply, but was arrested by Johnston's artillery, well supported by infantry, at the church, and was obliged to await re-enforcements. Johnston had thrown his whole army directly across Sherman's line of advance, and was ready for defensive battle in a strong position. Reconnoissance to the front and both flanks of Johnston's line were made to ascertain his real position, in which a good deal of heavy fighting was done. McPherson and Davis passed through Dallas on Johnston's left flank and deployed on the east of the Marietta road.

Hardee's corps was on Johnston's left, Hood on his right, and Polk in the center. Sherman's line was formed with Schofield on the left and McPherson on the right, each with one corps, while the center under Gen. Thomas, was composed of the Fourth, Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps. Doubtful whether Johnston would maintain his position, Sherman disposed of his troops so as, by a movement to the right, to place a strong force between Johnston and the railroad, while an attack was being made upon his right flank. Wood's division of the Fourth Corps was designated as the assaulting column, to be supported on the left by R. W. Johnsons's division, of the Fourteenth Corps, and on the right by McLean's brigade, of the Twenty-third Corps. Gen. Wood formed his division in column six lines deep, Johnson on the left, with a brigade front. After feeling the line in various places, a point of attack was selected, and at 5 P. M. the entire column marched briskly forward, Hazen's brigade leading, and having driven in the Confederate skirmishers, made a gallant assault upon the main line, but met with a bloody repulse. The column fell back slowly under the hammering strokes of Cleburne's division, but brought away their wounded.

Gen. Wood's loss in the brief engagement was over 1,400 in killed, wounded and missing. Though no other assault was made

upon the Confederate works near Dallas, there was constant fighting from the 24th of May till the 5th of June, at which time Gen. Johnston fell back to Pine Mountain. The Kentucky regiments in Wood's division, the Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Seventeenth and Twenty-third, displayed their usual courage and fortitude on this trying occasion. To fly before the enemy may be the act of a coward, but to remain under fire until the order is given to fall back, and in doing so to preserve the line, giving shot for shot while the wounded are borne to the rear, requires equal courage in victor and vanquished.

Col. W. E. Hobson, Thirteenth Kentucky Infantry, assumed command of the Second Brigade of Hascall's division in June, Col. Bond being wounded, and was probably the youngest brigade commander in the army. On the 9th of June, Gen. McCook made a cavalry reconnoissance in front, where he found the Confederate army in force on Pine Mountain, with its left resting on Lost Mountain, its center at Gilgall Church and its right extended across the railroad. The advance of Sherman's infantry developed Johnston's position more accurately, when it was found that his lines extended over a series of hills from Kenesaw Mountain to Lost Mountain, with Pine Mountain fortified in front.

On the 14th of June active operations commenced. The Fourteenth Corps and the left of the Fourth advanced a mile. The right of the Fourth closed up on the Twentieth, was formed in front of Pine Mountain, which caused Johnston to withdraw to his works between Kenesaw and Lost Mountain. During the day a shell thrown from Simonson's battery, aimed at a party of horsemen, who appeared on an eminence overlooking the field, killed Gen. Polk.

An advance along the Union line was ordered the next day. Gen. Schofield carried a line of works that had been left exposed by the abandonment of Pine Mountain. Gen. McPherson gained a hill on his left front, and Gen. Thomas advanced a mile and a half in the center, but this movement resulted only in contracting the Confederate lines within its intrenchments. An assaulting column, composed of Newton's and Geary's divisions strongly supported, carried an intrenched skirmish line and advanced nearly to the main line. This proved to Gen. Johnston that an assault could be made with strong probabilities of success, and he fell back to an intrenched position on the south side of Mud Creek. Here the contending armies fought with varying success until the 27th, when Gen. Sherman determined upon an attack upon the Confederate center. Davis' and Newton's divisions were designated as the assaulting column. Newton's division was formed with Harker's and Wagner's brigades in line slightly separated for better cover, and Kimball's in echelon with Wagner's. For fifteen minutes all the artillery available poured a concentrated fire upon the points of attack, then the columns moved forward.

The distance to the works was about 600 yards, and from the moment that the troops left the cover of their own intrenchments they were subject to a galling fire of artillery and musketry. A tangled abatis encumbered their way, the air was filled with death-dealing missiles, but the brave fellows pressed forward, and the brigades of Cols. Daniel McCook and J. G. Mitchell reached the works, but such was their exhaustion they were compelled to halt. McCook ordered his men to lie down; a soldier begged the brave colonel to do likewise; "Oh, no," said McCook in a bantering tone, "I am paid more than you are for being shot at;" the next moment he fell with a mortal wound. The formidable obstructions in front of Harker's and Wagner's brigades proved absolutely insurmountable in the face of the terrific fire to which the troops were subjected. Gen. Harker, the gallant young commander of Newton's Third Brigade, was killed. Some of his men, infuriated at the loss of their beloved general, rushed forward, struggled through the abatis, and fell dead upon the parapet.

The aggregate loss in Newton's and Davis' divisions in this assault, in nearly equal proportion, was 1,580 killed, wounded and

missing. This terrible sacrifice brought no adequate reward. Gen. Sherman now determined to do what might well have been done earlier, to turn Johnston's position by moving to the right, which movement, observed by the latter, caused him to abandon his position at Kenesaw and fall back across the Chattahoochee.

In the two months since the campaign opened the loss in the Army of the Cumberland alone was 133 officers and 1,972 enlisted men killed, 510 officers and 10,798 enlisted men missing. Total, 14,274.

While the infantry of both armies had been engaged in daily passages of arms, the cavalry had been equally active. Gen. Steedman, commanding the district of the Etowah, which was organized on the 10th of June, sent Col. Louis Watkins, commanding the Third Brigade of McCook's cavalry division, with the Fourth, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky Cavalry, to Lafayette, where he was attacked by Gen. Pillow with 2,000 men. Col. Watkins refused to surrender, and with 400 men held the place until re-enforced by the Fourth Kentucky, mounted infantry, whose vigorous attack repulsed, and finally routed the Confederates. Pillow's loss was about 300 men, including eighty captured. The loss of the Kentuckians was sixty.

The folly of the Confederate war department was in nothing more strongly exemplified than in detaching Gen. Forrest from Johnston's army, at a period when the only hope of preventing Sherman's advance was to destroy his communications with Nashville and Chattanooga. This bold cavalryman, raiding in western Tennessee, accomplished nothing in comparison with the work he might have performed along the extensive railroad lines required for the transportation of supplies to Sherman's army. Johnston's infantry and artillery, numbering less than one-half of the same arms in Sherman's army, often necessitated the use of Wheeler's cavalry in the rifle-pits along his front, thus affording it no opportunity to demonstrate upon Sherman's rear.

Johnston's next line of defense was selected on high ground on the south bank of Peachtree Creek and the Chattahoochee, below the mouth of the creek. In the defense of his fortifications he had an auxiliary army of militia.

On the 16th of July Gen. Sherman gave orders for an advance toward Atlanta, the objective point of the campaign. Early on the morning of the 19th the Fourth Corps reached Peachtree Creek, and finding the bridge destroyed, Wood's division constructed another, and forcing a passage drove the Confederates from their defenses, while Stanley crossed the north fork of the creek some distance north against strong opposition. To the right Davis' and Geary's divisions fought their way over the stream. Early the next morning the remaining divisions of the Army of the Cumberland crossed the stream, and two divisions of the Fourth Corps moved to the left to connect with Gen. Schofield. This movement left a wide interval in Gen. Thomas' line, and but for the determined valor of this magnificent army would have resulted in its defeat.

At 3 P. M. the Confederates rushed from their concealments in the woods. A division attacked Newton in front, another passed his left flank altogether and thrust itself between Pea-vine and Peach-tree Creeks, and a third attacked his right flank. Gen. Newton first repulsed the column on his left and drove it to the woods with Bradley's brigade and the reserve artillery. Wagner's and Blake's brigades repulsed the attack in front, then turning upon the column on his left he threw his whole command against it with such force as to drive it back into the woods.

Meantime Gen. Ward's division of the Twentieth Corps advanced from cover, and after a spirited fight drove the Confederates back far enough to connect his right with Geary, and his left with Newton, where he fortified against immediate attack. Gen. Williams came forward with his division on the right of Geary.

In the furious contest that ensued, the Confederate line attacked with courage and determination, but the most daring assaults were repulsed again and again, until exhausted and bleeding at 6 P. M. the troops

were withdrawn by Gen. Hood, whose loss in the engagement was nearly 3,000 men. The loss in the Army of the Cumberland was about one-half that of the Confederates, but it comprised some of the bravest and best of the rank and file of the army. Newton, Stanley and Wood, though heavily engaged, lost very few men in proportion to the Twentieth Corps.

During the following night, Gen. Hood, who had by direction of the Confederate government superseded Gen. Johnston in command of the army, on the 18th, withdrew his forces within the fortifications of Atlanta.

On the 22d, while the Army of the Tennessee was moving into position on the left of the line of investment, Gen. Hood again attacked with such vigor as to gain a temporary advantage. Gen. McPherson was killed in the opening of the engagement, and the command devolved upon Gen. Logan. After a bloody engagement, Hood again withdrew into the city. On the same day, Gen. Roussseau arrived at Marietta with his cavalry, from a most successful raid upon the railroads southwest of Atlanta.

The garrison of Atlanta, although vastly inferior in point of numbers to the investing army, by fighting on interior lines was able to present a solid front at any point where it might be assailed; and finding that the occupation of Atlanta by Gen. Hood's army could be prolonged indefinitely, so long as he retained possession of the railroad leading southward to Macon, Gen. Sherman determined to destroy it.

To accomplish this object a cavalry expedition was fitted out, after the return of Gen. Rousseau, under command of Stoneman with 4,000, and McCook with 5,000, which by its strength gave promise of success. The expedition marched from Marietta on the 27th of July. McCook crossed the Cattahoochee at Riverton and moved at once upon Palmetto Station, where he destroyed two miles of the railroad track. At Fayetteville he burned 100 bales of cotton, burned a supply train of 400 wagons, killed 800 mules, saving a large number, and captured several hundred quartermaster's employees and train guards.

Gen. Stoneman marched through Covington, detaching Garrard's division to go to Flat Rock, between his line of march and Atlanta; thence moved down the Ocmulgee to Macon. Lieut. Davidson, with a battalion of the Fourteenth Illinois Cavalry, was sent eastward on the Augusta Road, where he captured and destroyed a large number of cars laden with army supplies, and burned a depot and several bridges.

The two forces were ordered to concentrate at Lovejoy's Station on the Macon Railroad, and McCook obeyed the order, arriving at the place and time agreed upon. Stoneman appears to have paid no heed to his instructions, but marched at once upon Macon, where, his approach having been announced, the bridges were burned, and he was obliged to content himself with shelling the city. Meantime Gen. Hood, having been informed of the movement, dispatched all his cavalry in pursuit of the raiders, and McCook found himself surrounded by a superior force. Falling back from Lovejoy's he made a rapid march to Newman's, where he came in contact with an infantry column cut off from railroad communication with Atlanta, and on the march to join Hood's army. The Confederate cavalry, close upon his heels, compelled him to fight and suffer great loss. The Fourth Kentucky, mounted infantry, under Col. R. M. Kelly, acting as a rear guard, was cut off from the main column and several hundred of the regiment captured. McCook finally reached the Union lines with about two-thirds of his command.

Gen. Stoneman fared even worse. In attempting to retrace his steps from Macon he took the road toward Hillsboro, and early on the morning of the 30th found himself in presence of a heavy force of cavalry, infantry and artillery. His three brigades, under command of Cols. Biddle, Capron and Adams, were deployed in line of battle, but before the action had fairly commenced Gen. Stoneman received a flag of truce demanding his surrender. He sent a message to his brigade commanders that he was about to surrender,

but giving them permission to cut their way out if they chose to attempt it. Col. Silas Adams, in command of the First, Eleventh and Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, on receipt of the message at once mounted his men, who rode away, reaching Marietta in safety.

Col. Capron whose brigade was stationed on the extreme right failed to receive the message until too late to act upon it with the same success. The falling back of the Kentucky regiments left a wide gap in the line, through which poured a strong column of the Confederates, and a running fight took place for the possession of the horses of Capron's brigade, in which the cavalry were beaten by the more fleet-footed infantry men. Gathering together a few hundred of his command, Col. Capron set out for Marietta, marching day and night for three days. Making a wide detour to the eastward to avoid the enemy, he encamped for the night near Mulberry's Creek, where he was surprised and most of his force captured. Gen. Stoneman was taken prisoner, together with most of Biddle's brigade. The failure in execution of Gen. Sherman's plans for cutting Hood's communications with Macon, convinced him of the necessity for a flank movement in force, which he soon after put in execution.

In the month of July the loss in the Army of the Cumberland was 40 officers and 547 enlisted men killed, 160 officers and 2,592 enlisted men wounded, and 17 officers and 344 enlisted men missing; total, 3,709.

Though Hood's army had been roughly handled during the month, his losses were much less, and his army as much out of reach of his antagonist as at any period of the campaign. His fortifications extended along the railroad to East Point, a distance of fifteen miles, and were so strongly manned as to resist any effort made by Gen. Sherman to carry them. Several attacks were made upon them by the Fourteenth Corps supported by Schofield's corps between the 1st and 10th of August, but without success.

Hoping to force Sherman to fall back, Hood about this time dispatched Wheeler, with all the cavalry of his command, northward, to cut the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, but the activity of Gens. Steedman at Chattanooga, Rousseau at Nashville and Granger at Decatur, prevented him from inflicting any serious damage, and he was soon forced to seek shelter south of the Tennessee. Taking advantage of the absence of Wheeler's cavalry, Gen. Sherman determined upon another effort to break Hood's communications. Gen. Kilpatrick, on the 18th, dashed out of his entrenchments at Sandtown, striking the West Point Railroad near Fairburn, and moving thence to Jonesboro met and defeated Ross' cavalry, and commenced the destruction of the road, but, being attacked by Jackson's cavalry and a force of infantry, was compelled to fall back. He then made a circuit to Lovejoy's Station, and while breaking the road was again attacked. Finding his force nearly surrounded he formed his column, and saber in hand cut his way through the investing line, making his way back to his camp.

In all these movements the Kentucky regiments before mentioned bore an honorable part. Wherever duty called them, these brave men bore their colors into the thick of every important engagement from Resaca to Atlanta, and whether fighting with Stanley at Resaca, Wood at Cassville, Hooker at Kenesaw, or Newton at Peachtree Creek, their conduct was characterized by the most exalted courage and patriotism.

The time had now come when Gen. Sherman determined to cut loose from his communications and place his army south of Atlanta. On the 28th of July, the Twentieth Army Corps under command of Gen. H. W. Slocum took position on the north bank of the Chattahoochee, while the entire investing line moved by the left flank to West Point, where the railroad was thoroughly destroyed. The work went on during the night of the 29th, and on the 30th the army moved forward to the Macon Road.

Immediately on reception of information of Sherman's movements, Hood sent Hardee's and Lee's corps to Jonesboro and prepared to follow with Stewart's. Gen. Hardee took position on the summit of a wooded ridge and at once commenced fortifying. The Fourteenth Corps, being nearest the position,

moved forward at once to attack him. The Fourth Corps, commanded by Gen. Stanley, and the Twenty-third Corps having farther to march and being hindered by having to break up the road came up later. The troops of the Fourteenth Corps which participated in the assault were Carlin's and Morgan's divisions and Este's brigade of Baird's division. Morgan's division carried its entire front; Carlin's division pressing forward leaped the works, and bayonet in hand held captive the troops set for their defense, while Este's brigade was equally successful. The Tenth Kentucky and Seventy-fourth Indiana gained the intrenchments in their front, but the remaining regiments met with obstructions that compelled them to halt. The unlooked for success of this brilliant attack caused the Confederates to fall back, losing over 1,500 prisoners.

The next position selected by Hardee was at Lovejoy's Station, where, after a slight attack made by Wood's division, he was left in his works, while most of Sherman's army returned to Atlanta. The objective point of the movement had been gained, and on the 3d of September, Gen. Sherman announced the close of the campaign. During the remaining part of the month, the national forces devoted themselves to recuperation and repairs, and on the 29th Gen. Thomas was sent to Nashville to assume command of the Military District of the Mississippi, although the order to that effect was not issued until later.

On the 30th, Hood crossed the Chattahoochee and threw Stewart's corps upon the railroad north of Marietta, and with the remainder of his army moved upon Allatoona, where Sherman had a large depot of supplies. Gen. French attacked the garrison stationed there on the 4th of October, but experienced a bloody repulse by Gen. Corse. Gen. Hood then moved rapidly toward Resaca, destroying the railroad at various points, followed closely by Sherman, who in doubt as to the real object of Hood's movement, and unable to overtake him, was compelled to attack constantly at disadvantage.

While Hood was pursuing his course toward middle Tennessee, keeping well in advance of Sherman's main army but capturing any small garrison that came in his way, Gen. Forrest had entered the State with the evident intention of destroying the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad. His raid, though more successful at the start than Wheeler's, ended very soon after it began with no permanent injury to the main line of railroad or benefit to the Confederate army. Thus, with an army vastly inferior in numbers to that of his antagonist, Gen. Hood had compelled Sherman to retreat from Atlanta, although the place was still garrisoned by Union troops.

Moving in total disregard to a base of supplies, his erratic course was so difficult to conjecture that Gen. Sherman, in despair of capturing him by a stern chase, sat down at Gaylesville with the Army of the Cumberland, sending Howard with the Army of the Tennessee to Little River, and the Twenty-third Corps to Cedar Bluffs, regardless of Hood's final destination, hoping rather that his course might lead northward, where his capture might be attempted with some hope of success. Gen. Hood's expectations of obtaining supplies for his famishing troops having been blasted by the successful defense of Allatoona and Decatur, but one course was left him by which to save his army, and that was an immediate movement westward (*via* Gadsden and Tuscumbia, Ala.), where he could obtain supplies for his troops.

Gen. Sherman now determined upon the "march to the sea," and, detaching the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps to report to Gen. Thomas, together with all the cavalry except Kilpatrick's division, he moved from Gaylesville with the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeeth and Twentieth Corps—60,000 infantry and artillery, and 4,500 cavalry.

The Kentucky regiments that participated in the grand march were the Eighteenth Infantry, and the Second, Third and Fifth Cavalry. Of those in the Fourth, Fourteenth and Twenty-third Army Corps at the beginning of the Atlanta campaign, the Twelfth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-

third and Twenty-eighth remained for the closing scenes in Tennessee. After the battle of Franklin, the Seventeenth, whose term of service had expired, was replaced by the Twenty-sixth. Twelve regiments were sent back to Kentucky after long and faithful service to await the expiration of the third year of their enlistment.

On the 29th of October, Brig.-Gen. John T. Croxton, to whose vigilance the task of watching the movements of Gen. Hood had been entrusted by Gen. Thomas, reported that the Confederates were crossing the Tennessee at the mouth of Cypress Creek, two miles below Florence, Ala. Gen. Stanley was ordered to concentrate the Fourth Corps at Pulaski and await instructions; Gen. Schofield was ordered from Resaca, Ga., to Columbia; Gen. Hatch, commanding a division of cavalry, *en route* from Memphis, was directed to place his troops south of Columbia, and in conjunction with Croxton and Capron keep a sharp lookout for any forces that might make their appearance north of the Tennessee.

Gen. Schofield, who as a commander of the Department of the Ohio, was the ranking corps-commander under Thomas, had orders to hold the enemy in check until the arrival of re-enforcements at Nashville would enable the commanding general to take the field with an army of sufficient numerical strength to offer some prospect of success in a general engagement. Gen. A. J. Smith, commanding the right wing of the Sixteenth Corps, two divisions, having completed the expulsion of Price's army from the State of Missouri, was directed to report to Gen. Thomas at Nashville. Gen. Steedman had orders to furnish a contingent of colored troops from Chattanooga; Gen. Cruft was placed in command of all soldiers and detachments found at Nashville, who, being *en route* to their regiments in Sherman's army, were cut off from joining it, and Gen. John F. Miller, in command of the post of Nashville, was instructed to arm the employes of the quartermaster's department for service in the fortifications.

With this heterogeneous command, Gen. Thomas was compelled to cope with the same army that Sherman had been fighting all summer, without once defeating it in a general engagement. He had turned away from it when it was drawn up in order of battle at Lovejoy's Station; had followed it when his communications were threatened north of Atlanta, and now, marching away with two-thirds of his army, he left the remainder to fight a decisive battle. But he left Thomas and Stanley, and A. J. Smith.

Gen. Thomas was handicapped at the outset by a difficulty which no foresight seemed able to prevent. His cavalry with the exception of the few brigades above mentioned were without horses. They had been dismounted to furnish horses for Kilpatrick's division, and sent to Louisville to be remounted. Agents were sent through the State in every direction to purchase horses, but for once in its history the supply was exhausted. Its pastures had supplied Union and Confederates with an equally lavish hand. Those which Morgan had spared Burbridge had pressed into the service, and the horseless troops of the Army of the Cumberland wandered aimlessly through the streets of Louisville when their services were imperatively demanded to confront Forrest on the banks of the Tennessee.

As fast as regiments were remounted they were sent to the front, and in a few weeks the cavalry corps was ready for service. The delay in paying its respects to that ubiquitous raider was solely owing to the lack of horseflesh, and to no unwillingness on their part to engage him in mortal combat; but the delay caused Gen. Thomas serious embarrassment, and came near causing his removal from command by the wiseacres at the head of the army, who at a distance of a thousand miles presumed to direct his movements.

To add to the difficulties of the situation, troops did not arrive as fast as the veterans, whose term of service had expired, left the army. Nothing saved the little force of 30,000 men from annihilation but the vigilance of Gen. Canby in patrolling the Mississippi, and preventing Kirby Smith

from uniting his forces with those of Gen. Hood. Early in October he had intercepted a dispatch from President Davis to Gen. E. Kirby Smith ordering him to cross the Mississippi with his entire force. Gen. Magruder had doubtlessly received a copy of the dispatch, as he suddenly retired with his corps of 30,000 men from Gen. Steele's front and moved toward Gaine's Landing. Gen. Canby's vigilance prevented the order from being carried out, and enabled Gen. Thomas to prepare for action. Having established a base of supplies at Cherokee Station, on the Mobile & Ohio Raiload, Gen. Hood proceeded to cross the Tennessee and move to Florence, but did not begin his forward movement until the 21st of November. The Confederate general's object was to place his army between Columbia and Nashville, and then having gained the rear of the Fourth and Twenty-third Corps to turn upon them in overwhelming force. Leaving two divisions of Lee's Corps to make a show of strength in Schofield's front, Hood, at dawn of day of the 29th of November, led Cheatham's and Stewart's corps and one division of Lee's across Duck River on pontoon bridges, and advanced on the road to Spring Hill.

Gen. Wilson, in command of the Union cavalry, immediately notified Gen. Schofield of this movement, and, supposing that the latter would at once put his troops in motion for Spring Hill, which is on the direct road to Nashville, he fell back slowly on the Lewisburg Road, retarding Hood's advance to the extent of his ability. Forrest's cavalry, in Hood's advance, followed Wilson until abreast of Spring Hill, when turning sharply to the left it advanced rapidly to take possession of the place. Meantime Gen. Stanley, marching with Wagner's division, reached a point within two miles of Spring Hill, where he was informed that the Confederate cavalry was approaching the town from the east. He ordered a double quick, and the gallant troops, moving rapidly forward, drove Forrest back.

Believing that he had the two corps now within his grasp Hood left two corps at the crossing of Rutherford's Creek to prevent Schofield from escaping to the defenses of Murfreesboro, and advanced with Cheatham's corps to attack Stanley, who had formed Wagner's division in readiness to receive him. Bradley's brigade was thrown forward to a wooded knoll about three-fourths of a mile east of the town, while Opdycke's and Lane's brigades were stretched out in as long a line as possible east of the Columbia Road to guard the supply and baggage trains which covered the road for miles in the rear.

The blunder of Schofield in permitting Hood to flank him was now apparent even to the most stupid soldier. The command was so widely separated as to bar any possibility of concentration in case of an attack in force, and, but for the equal blunder of Hood in attempting to bag the entire command by separating his forces, he might have got possession of Spring Hill, and then fought Schofield on ground of his own choosing. Cox's division was on the bank of Duck River, opposite Columbia; Kimball's and Wood's divisions confronted Stewart's at Rutherford's Creek. One-half of Rogers' division was far below Columbia on Duck River, where it had been forgotten, and the other half was in the rear of Stanley on the road to Spring Hill. With all this evidence bearing on the subject it was not until 3 P. M. that Gen. Schofield became convinced that Hood had done precisely what he would be expected to do—turned his left flank and gained the road to Nashville.

At the same hour Gen. Hood, with the prospect of brilliant success in view, gave the order to Cheatham to attack, promising support from his nearest division. After a short fight Bradley was compelled to fall back upon Lane, and, being severely wounded, relinquished the command to Col. Conrad; but Cleburne, who followed him closely, met a sharp artillery fire and galling musketry volleys from Lane's brigade, before which his troops recoiled, and finally retired. The short November day was nearing its close when the attack failed, and Hood's golden opportunity was lost. With ten divisions of infantry well in hand, a general assault upon three divisions and a half could hardly have failed.

The danger increased with every hour at Spring Hill, where a narrow bridge had to be crossed by 500 wagons. At 10 P. M., Schofield joined his own corps at Thompson's Station, and moved on toward Nashville, leaving Stanley to extricate his corps and the immense baggage-train as best he might. But Stanley was equal to the emergency. With characteristic skill and energy he sent his train over the narrow bridge, and covering it with a line of troops, snatched his corps and all his supplies from Hood's enclosing grasp.

The march of Stanley's corps from Spring Hill to Frankfort, on the night of the 29th and part of the 30th of November, reads like a romance. With an overwhelming army pressing upon his rear, and a heavy force of cavalry hovering upon his flanks, the corps marched steadily forward, its rear guarded by Opdycke's splendid brigade, which, before the night closed on the last day of November, was destined to furnish one of the most brilliant pages in the annals of military warfare.

On approaching the town, Stanley found the Twenty-third Corps formed in a line, with the flanks resting upon the Harpeth River to cover the crossing of the Fourth Corps, and the trains of the army. Wood's division, by the direction of Schofield, crossed and took position on the north side of the river, in position to contest the crossings above or below the town, should Hood attempt a flank movement, and by the same authority, Lane's and Conrad's brigades of Wagner's division were left a third of a mile in advance of Cox's line, to retard Hood's advance. Opdycke, protesting against this needless exposure of his men, was permitted to pass in the rear of Cox's line, and take position on Carter's Hill.

Reversing the positions, it was Missionary Ridge repeated. As in that memorable charge, the attacking forces became mingled with the attacked, and rushing forward, came in a body upon the main line. It was impossible to direct a musketry fire upon them without destroying more friends than foes, and it was not until the Union brigades had gotten well over the works that the orders were given to open fire. The leading Confederate troops had gained the interior of the works at the key point. Two batteries of artillery were captured and turned to enfilade the Union line, while Hood's entire army poured in ever-increasing volume, toward the breach. Schofield had crossed the river, and at this supreme moment was two miles away. One of the divisions was unoccupied near his headquarters, and one of Stanley's was too far away to render assistance.

Gen. Stanley had ridden to Schofield's headquarters to report his arrival, and was with him when the opening roar of artillery announced the impending battle. Mounting his horse he was quickly upon the scene, but not quick enough to anticipate the gallant Opdycke in ordering his brigade forward to the charge. His men had unslung their knapsacks, stacked their arms, and were busy getting their suppers when the attack fell upon their comrades at the front.

In a moment all was changed. Some new troops sent down by Gen. Thomas to swell the volume if not to increase the strength of Schofield's army, rushing in wild flight from the line of battle, threw away their arms, and ran past Opdycke's position. A colonel of one of his regiments, anticipating his order to move to the front, had thrown his regiment into the road, and thereby gained the advance. Then came the order. As if by magic the entire brigade, a self-constituted reserve, sprang forward into the "imminent deadly breach," supported on the right by Reilley's brigade, those gallant regiments, the Twelfth and Sixteenth Kentucky, in advance. A charge was made that sent the Confederates staggering over the works. Volleys of musketry poured upon them, but with rapidly thinning ranks the heroic soldiers of these two brigades held their ground, giving shot for shot.

Meantime the entire line of works were blazing with artillery full in the faces of the Confederates crowded into a narrow space in the vain hope of carrying the works by overwhelming numbers. Thirteen Confederate brigadier-generals were killed or wounded, 1,700 officers and men were killed, and 4,000

wounded. More than half the losses in the Union army were from Wagner's division, which suffered heavily by the blunder in leaving the two brigades in front of the Union line, and by the heroic charge of Opdycke's brigade. Forrest fared no better in his attempt to cross the Harpeth, where he was met and driven back by Wilson's cavalry. A. J. Smith's first division arrived at Nashville on the 30th, and Gen. Thomas found that he could not move the corps to Schofield's support until the 2d of December. He therefore wrote Gen. Schofield asking if he could hold Hood in check at Franklin three days. The reply came that he could not, and unwilling to risk the possibility of Hood's thrusting his army between the two wings of his army, he ordered Schofield to Nashville. The movement was successfully effected on the night of the 30th, and the 1st of December saw the army united in front of the city. Gen. Stanley having been severely wounded at Franklin, Gen. Wood assumed command of the Fourth Army Corps.

Seven days of unremitting toil were used in forming, from the heterogeneous troops thrown together, an army of infantry and cavalry such as Gen. Thomas believed would be sufficient not only to defeat but destroy his antagonist; but the anxiety of preparation for a decisive battle was not the only perplexity that annoyed him. Daily messages were received from Grant ordering him peremptorily to attack. He explained the reasons for delay, reasons which were regarded as potent by every one of his corps and division commanders, but to no effect. Grant caused an order to be issued placing Schofield in command, but subsequently suspended it. At the end of seven days Thomas announced himself nearly ready for the attack, when a terrible storm of rain and sleet was followed by freezing weather, which covered the ground with ice. Knowing that Hood could not move during this time, he delayed his attack until the ice should melt, telegraphing daily his position and prospects. On the 13th an order was issued by Grant to Gen. Logan to proceed to Nashville and assume command. Gen. Logan reached Louisville on the 15th, where he received news of the battle of Nashville, and with the instinct of a true soldier knew that there was no occasion for him to continue his journey. Grant reached Washington from City Point, Va., bound for the same place, and there heard news from Nashville that changed his destination.

Chaplain Van Horn in his life of Thomas says: "Gen. Hood's first blunder was in not attacking Sherman at Gaylesville, where he had only 60,000 men; his second was in waiting so long at Florence without effort to help his promised re-enforcements across the Mississippi; the third was his failure to crush Schofield at Spring Hill, and the fourth was in offering himself to Thomas to be crushed."

Although Hood's army was intrenched upon a commanding ridge and supplies were furnished by the country, his forces grew weaker day by day. In constant hope of receiving large accessions to his army by the arrival of Smith from Texas, he held his position tenaciously, believing that an attack by Thomas would result in giving him possession of Nashville, and eventually of Kentucky and Tennessee. He had not offered himself to Thomas to be crushed, but chose the best, in fact the only, means of defeating the Union army. This he would undoubtedly have done, had that army been commanded by a weaker general—one who, in blind obedience to an imperative order to advance, would have put his troops in motion up the icy slopes of Overton's Hill.

The morning of the 15th of December was foggy, and in the dense mist the cavalry moved to the right of the army where in conjunction with Smith's Corps they were to "turn" the left of the Confederate line, while Gen. Steedman made an attack with his colored troops upon the right. Both movements were successfully accomplished; Morgan, with his brigade of colored troops, executed his part of the programme so well as to cause Hood to re-enforce his right from his center and left, while Croxton and Hatch, with their brigades dismounted, advanced in conjunction with A. J. Smith's Infantry, and carried several advanced positions with their armament of guns and infantry supports.

The Fourth Corps was formed with Elliott's Second Division on the right, Kimball's First in the center, and Beatty's Third on the left, each division providing its own reserve. Montgomery Hill was carried by Post's brigade, supported by Streight's. Schofield was moved to the right of Smith, where he advanced and drove the Confederates from the hills overlooking the Granny White Turnpike. Steedman advancing, carried the right of Hood's fortifications on the Nolensville Turnpike, and the day closed with decided success to the Union arms. Hood lost 17 guns and 1,200 men by capture. It was believed by many that Hood had commenced his retreat, but no thought of this kind seems to have been entertained by him, as he spent the night in fortifying his second line, where, with his forces more compact, he hoped to repulse every attack made upon him. His line was two and a half miles shorter on the morning of the 16th than on the preceding day, and coursed over the hills constituting the main Brentwood range through which the Franklin Road passes. The right rested on Overton's Hill, his left, driven back, was well refuged, and the apex strongly fortified.

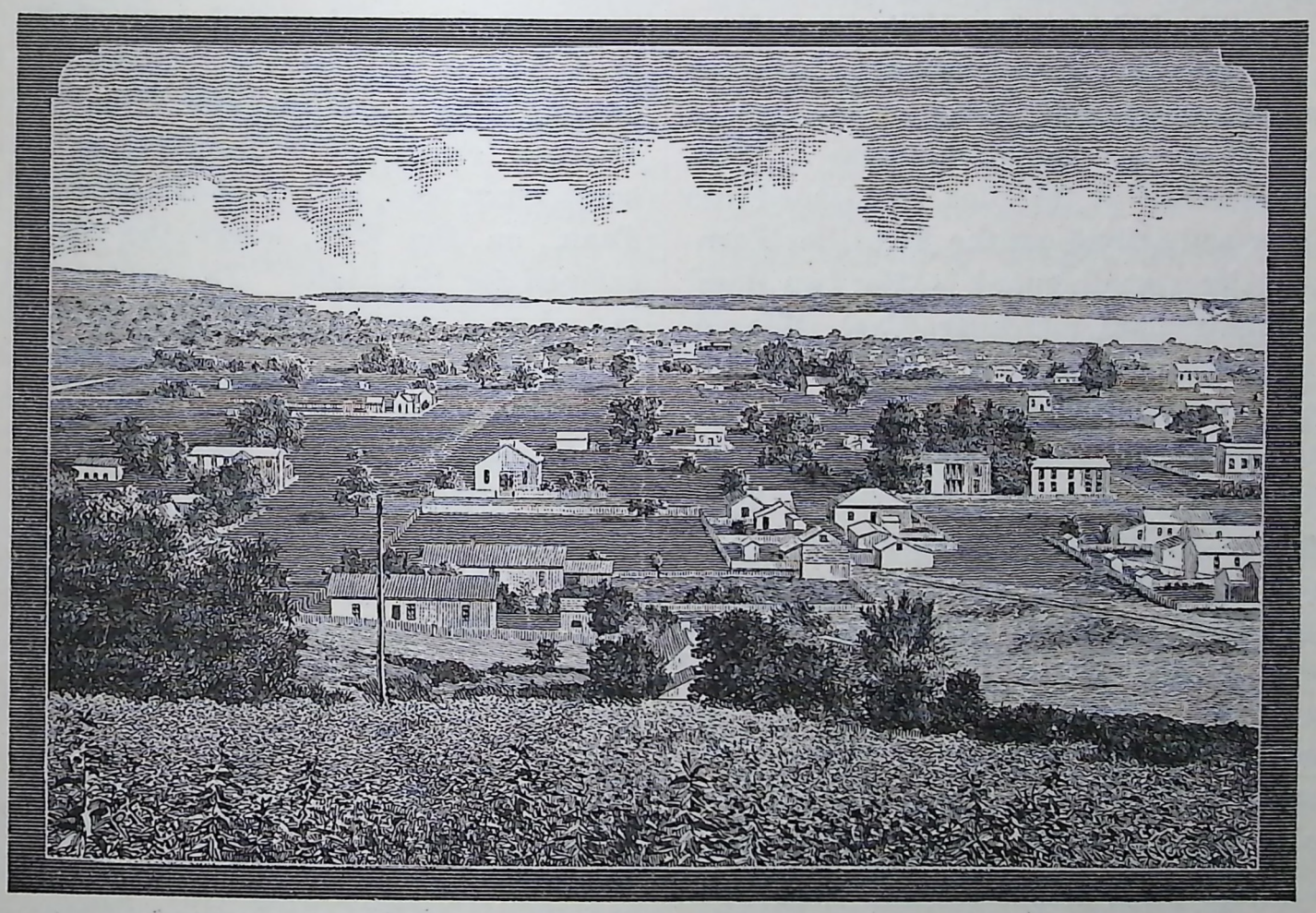
The Union line stretching around Hood's position, the opposite flanks faced each other, with the Confederate force between them, while the cavalry, feeling its way farther and farther to the right, by noon on the 16th had gained the rear of Hood's left flank. This was to be the signal for a general advance along the entire line, but at this moment Schofield requested re-enforcements. Wood and Steedman, weary of delay, attacked Hood's right flank, on Overton's Hill, with Post's and Thompson's brigades supported by Streight's, but were repulsed. Wilson moved in conjunction with McArthur, of Smith's corps, and carried the works in their front. The shout of victory rang out, and, carried along the line, fell upon the ears of the Fourth Corps, who, rushing forward in an impetuous charge, supported by the colored troops on their left, carried the strongest position along the line, and victory was won.

In a few minutes Hood's army was in retreat toward Franklin, followed by the Fourth Corps, which bivouacked near Brentwood, and early on the morning of the 17th continued its march to Franklin, where, finding the Harpeth swollen by rains, Gen. Wood encamped for the night. While the infantry was following in the wake of Hood's retreating army, the cavalry was hanging upon his flanks, charging upon his rear guard, capturing prisoners, artillery and camp equipage. Wood crossed the Harpeth on the morning of the 18th, and continued his march through Franklin and Spring Hill to Rutherford's Creek by the same road over which the corps had marched less than three weeks before, with the conditions reversed. A running fight ensued, but a stern chase is proverbially a long chase, and on the 26th Hood, crossing the Tennessee with the remnant of his command, continued his march to Tupelo, Miss., where, on January 20th, he called the roll of his army, and but 18,934 answered to their names. He had lost one-half of his army in little over a month.

The events thus briefly narrated form a thrilling chapter in the history of the war in the west. The power of the Confederacy, so long upheld by the strong hearts and willing hands of its devoted adherents, was broken, and it only remained for the Union forces to move forward and occupy the land. But even from a Union standpoint, it is impossible to withhold admiration for the zeal and courage, which, under the most adverse circumstances, animated the Confederate Army of the Tennessee. The best blood of the south was in its ranks. Its officers had no superiors in any land for chivalrous bearing upon the field of battle, and, animated by their example, their men followed where they led into the thickest of the fray. At Mill Springs, Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Perryville, Stone River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge and Knoxville, they fought as only brave men can fight. At Resaca, and through 100 days of battle to Atlanta, the soldiers of this army withstood the blows of twice their number, and when at last dispossessed of the city which formed the objective point of the

campaign, when they were supposed to be nursing their wounds, they turned northward, and fell upon the rear of the invading army with unabated energy. The wonderful recuperative power which characterized the Confederate army; their constant submission to privations, such as were rarely experienced by their antagonists; their courage and discipline under the most trying circumstances, form a theme for the historian of the civil war, which to ignore must mark him blindly partisan.

To the possession of these soldierly qualities by the Confederates may be ascribed the long continuance of the war, and that they were cultivated until they came to be regarded as manly attributes, even by men bred in luxurious homes, is due, in a great degree, to the influence and example of the women of the south.



COLUMBUS, AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, LOOKING SOUTHWEST.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MORGAN'S CAVALRY—FIRST KENTUCKY BRIGADE, ETC.

THE Lexington Rifles, a militia company organized in 1857, commanded by Capt. John H. Morgan, was the nucleus of the famous organization known in the annals of the civil war as Morgan's Cavalry.

The organization of a military camp in Garrard County, Ky., in uncomfortable proximity to Lexington, hastened the departure of the "Rifles" for a more congenial climate. On the 20th of September, 1861, Capt. Morgan conceived the idea of removing his guns from the armory, and taking up the line of march for the southern Confederacy. With characteristic skill, the guns were loaded into wagons and started out the Versailles Turnpike under a small guard. After two days' and nights' hard marching, Capt. Morgan, at the head of some 200 men, entered the Confederate camp on the south bank of Green River, where most of the men attached themselves to the various regiments then being organized. Capt. Morgan, with some twenty men of his own company, together with daring spirits from other regiments, tiring of the monotony of camp life here, commenced the series of daring raids that subsequently rendered his name famous. Scouting to the front he obtained the earliest information of the movements of the Union forces under Gen. McCook, then stationed at Nolin Creek.

An order was finally given to mount Morgan's company on condemned artillery horses, which, by the system of exchange then in vogue, soon presented a very respectable appearance.

After the fall of Fort Donelson and the evacuation of Nashville, Morgan, in command of a squadron of cavalry, remained in the vicinity of La Vergne, a small town between Murfreesboro and Nashville, where he formed the acquaintance of the Fourth Ohio Cavalry, an acquaintance that ripened into unpleasant intimacy before the close of the war.

At the battle of Shiloh, Morgan's squadron was attached to Breckinridge's division, after which, at his solicitation, he was permitted to make a dash into Tennessee with a force numbering 325 men, composed of his own battalion, and detachments from Col. Wirt Adams' regiment, and McNairy's battalion. The expedition started on the 26th of April, crossing the Tennessee on a small horse ferry-boat, and reached Lawrenceburg, Tenn., on the 30th, where the troops encamped for the night. The next day he attacked and routed about 400 convalescents employed in putting up a line of telegraph, capturing and paroling many prisoners. Continuing his course toward Lebanon, the column reached that place on the night of the 4th of May, and encamped for the night.

The news of Morgan's operations had, in the meantime, reached Gen. Dumont, at Nashville, who started out with the First Kentucky Cavalry, and Twenty-first Kentucky Infantry, to capture him. The night was dark and rainy, Morgan's pickets were in a house, and before the alarm could be given, Wolford's cavalry came at full charge upon the camp. In the confusion that ensued the command came near being all captured. Morgan escaped with 15 men, and on the 6th reached Sparta, Tenn., where, during the next three days 50 of his men rejoined him. 120 were captured by the Union troops, and six were killed. On the 9th, he left Sparta with 150 men, mostly recruits, and directed his course toward Bowling Green, where, near Cave City, he captured two trains of

cars and paroled a number of prisoners. Morgan returned to Corinth about the middle of May, to obtain equipments for his command and permission to revisit Kentucky.

Capts. R. M. Gano and John Hoffman here joined him with two companies of Texas cavalry; Capt. Basil W. Duke, from whose interesting history of Morgan's cavalry this sketch is in part compiled, having been wounded at Corinth, had collected about thirty of Morgan's men who had been left behind, and accompanied Morgan to Chattanooga, where the remainder of the command was encamped. The three companies to which the squadron was now reduced were soon filled to the maximum by recruits.

The term of service of the First Kentucky Infantry having expired in Virginia, 300 of the men were on their way home, and arrived at Chattanooga at this time. They eagerly embraced the opportunity to enlist under Morgan, and three more companies were formed. Capt. Jacob Cassel was appointed to command Company A, Capt. John Allen to Company B, Capt. Bowles to Company C, Capt. John B. Castleman to Company D, Capt. John Hutchinson to Company E, Capt. Thomas B. Webber to Company F, and Capt. McFarland commenced the organization of Company G. These six companies, and a fragment of the seventh, numbered not quite 400 men. Basil W. Duke was lieutenant-colonel; G. W. Morgan, major; Gordon E. Niles, adjutant; Thomas Allen, surgeon; Dr. Edelin, assistant surgeon; D. H. Llewellyn, quartermaster; and Hiram Reese, commissary. The regiment seems to have had no chaplain. Ten days later the regiment, now known as the Second Kentucky Cavalry, set out for Knoxville. "Some were mounted," says Duke, "and the remainder had great hopes." In the latter part of June, Col. Hunt arrived from Georgia with a "partisan ranger" regiment, and accompanied Morgan on his first Kentucky raid. This increased the force to 870, fifty or sixty of whom were not mounted, and 250 unarmed.

The expedition started on the 4th of July, 1862, and on the 8th, reached Tompkinsville, Ky., where Maj. Jordan, with 350 of the Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry, were captured after a brief resistance. Morgan's loss was insignificant in numbers, but included Col. Hunt, who was mortally wounded. Lebanon, Ky., was captured on the following day, and among the military stores were found a sufficient quantity of excellent guns to arm every man in the command. Abundant ammunition was also secured. Supplying his command with everything needful, the remaining stores were destroyed, and Morgan moved toward Harrodsburg, which place he reached the next morning, and found himself among friends. After two days' rest, the column was again in motion, in the direction of Versailles, with the intention of turning sharply to the right on reaching there and attempting the capture of Lexington. Maj. Gano was detached at Harrodsburg to burn the railroad bridges north of Lexington, and Capt. Allen was sent to destroy the bridges on the Louisville railroad, to prevent re-enforcements from being sent to Lexington from Louisville or Cincinnati, after which they rejoined the command at Georgetown. From Versailles, Morgan marched toward Georgetown, passing Midway, a small town on the Louisville & Lexington Railroad, where Capt. Ellsworth, an expert telegraph operator, taking possession of the office, dispatched Gen. Ward, at Frankfort, that Morgan, with 1,000 men, was moving on that place. After a halt of a few hours the column moved forward and reached Georgetown at night, where Morgan made a halt of two days. He was now in the "blue grass country," the garden of Kentucky, where fine horses, fat cattle, and good rations were abundant. The people of the country were strongly in sympathy with the southern Confederacy, and welcomed their guests with true Southern hospitality.

Here another company was organized under command of W. C. P. Breckinridge, a talented young lawyer of Lexington and a son of Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge. A younger brother, John, was at the time a captain on the staff of Gen. George H. Thomas (Federal), in the Federal Army of the Cumberland, while his cousin John C.

Breckinridge was in command of a division in the Confederate army. This was a fair specimen of the division which took place in the prominent families of the State during the war. On the morning of the 18th, Morgan left Georgetown and moved toward Cynthiana, twenty-two miles distant, where Col. Metcalfe was organizing the Seventh Kentucky (Union) Cavalry. He had about 400 recruits, and they were within a few hours' march of about an equal number of "Home Guards," all under command of Lieut.-Col. Landrum, of the Eighteenth Kentucky Infantry. A brass twelve-pound howitzer had been sent up from Cincinnati, manned by a company of firemen and commanded by Capt. Glass. There were sufficient men and ample courage to defend the place, but lack of discipline and ignorance of the simplest maneuvers neutralized every effort of Col. Landrum to concentrate his forces at the various points where their presence was needed, and after a brief, though under all circumstances a gallant resistance, the place was captured. Col. Landrum behaved with conspicuous courage and was one of the last to leave the town. From Cynthiana, Morgan marched to Paris, where he encamped for the night, and on the following morning, finding that a force of 2,500 cavalry under command of Gen. Green Clay Smith was near the town, he left in hot haste for Winchester, where he was joined by a company of recruits under Capt. Jennings.

While Morgan was thus marching at easy stages through the richest portion of the State, augmenting his forces and remounting his men with little loss and at trifling expense, a condition of the most perfect bewilderment seems to have taken possession of the military authorities at Lexington and Frankfort. With troops sufficient to have surrounded him at any of the points above mentioned, they were marching hither and thither, but always returning to their camps at night, and it was not until after the capture of Cynthiana that a well organized movement was set on foot to capture him. Hearing of this, Morgan met it in the most sensible manner possible. He ran away from it. At Crab Orchard and Somerset 130 government wagons were captured and burned, and several wagons loaded with blankets, shoes and other stores, much needed in the south, were taken along with the column to Sparta, Tenn. Enough of spare horses, guns and saddles were captured to supply all the men who had been left behind. In twenty-seven days Morgan had traveled over 1,000 miles, added 300 men to his force, and paroled 1,200 volunteer troops, at a loss of about 90 of his men.

Gens. Bragg and Smith were at this time making arrangements to invade Kentucky, and Morgan was directed to precede them and inflict as much damage as possible upon the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. Selecting Gallatin, Tenn., as the first point to strike, he set out for that point on the 10th of August, and on his way was joined by Capt. Joseph Desha with a company of men. The Twenty-eighth Kentucky Infantry was encamped two miles distant from the town, but the commander, Col. Boone, slept in Gallatin. Capt. Desha was sent forward, when the column had passed Hartsville, to capture the colonel, who, acting upon the advice of Morgan, wrote the commanding officer of the regiment to surrender without resistance. This was done, and 200 officers and men were paroled and sent northward. A railroad bridge between Gallatin and Nashville was destroyed, and a tunnel 800 feet long was rendered impassable for months. Two stockades were captured and 100 soldiers paroled, but the attack upon a third was repulsed with considerable loss.

A battle that took place on the following day with a detachment of cavalry under Gen. R. W. Johnson was more successful. The respective forces were about equal, with the advantage of experience largely in favor of the Confederates. Gen. Johnson complained that but few of his men would fight, in which opinion Duke differs. He says: "They attacked with spirit and without hesitation, and were unable to close with us on account of their heavy loss in men and horses. They returned two or three times to

the attack until they found their efforts unavailing. They could not use their sabers, and they found their breech-loading carbines only incumbrances." Johnson's entire command was swept away. He was captured, and 200 of his men taken prisoners, 64 were killed and 100 wounded, with a loss to the Confederates of but 7 killed and 18 wounded. Morgan made his camp at Hartsville, where, on the 22d, he was joined by Forrest with a portion of his command. Col. Duke's regiment received its twelfth company at this point, commanded by Capt. W. H. Jones, and Gano's squadron was increased by the addition of a company under command of Capt. Steele.

After a week's rest at Hartsville, the brigade set out for the interior of Kentucky to meet the advance of Kirby Smith's column, then about entering the State from east Tennessee, and reached Lexington on the 4th of September, then in possession of the Confederate forces. Here Gano recruited three companies, which raised his squadron to a regiment. Duke's regiment, the Second Kentucky, now numbered 1,100 men. Cols. Cluke and Chenault were given authority to raise regiments for Morgan's brigade and were actively engaged in recruiting when Bragg was driven out of Kentucky.

Maj.-Gen. George W. Morgan, in command of the Seventh Division of the Federal Army of the Ohio, consisting of four brigades, numbering 7,000 men, was at this time in occupation of Cumberland Gap. Smith had flanked the position, entering the State with 12,000 men, leaving Gen. Stevenson with 8,000 in front of the gap. Finding that the Confederate forces had gained access to his rear, and that there was no further use for his command at the gap, Gen. Morgan determined to evacuate it, and attempt a retreat through eastern Kentucky to the Ohio River. This march afforded Morgan an opportunity, which he eagerly seized, to hang upon the flanks of the retreating army and harass it as much as possible.

While Morgan was operating in eastern Kentucky, Duke with his regiment was playing havoc among the raw recruits in the vicinity of Cincinnati. Augusta was captured and burned, and a battalion of Home Guards put to flight. On the 6th of October, Morgan with his brigade, now consisting of three regiments and a battalion numbering 1,500 effectives, left Lexington and took post between Versailles and Frankfort on the flank of Kirby Smith's army, which was in the vicinity of Lawrenceburg. Duke says: "notwithstanding the efforts that were made to induce Kentuckians to enlist as infantry, very few would do so, and those who did, joined regiments which came in with Gen. Smith. Not a single infantry regiment was raised during the time that the Confederate army was in the State. All of the Kentuckians who joined at that time wanted to ride."

Gen. Abe Buford raised three regiments of cavalry under Cols. Butler, Smith and Grigsby, the last two of which were subsequently assigned to Morgan. Duke estimates the number of Kentuckians who enlisted in the Confederate army during the occupation of the State by Bragg and Smith at 5,000.

In the retreat of the Confederate army from Kentucky after the battle of Perryville, Morgan's and Ashby's cavalry formed the rear guard of Gen. Smith's corps as far as Big Hill, when Morgan obtained permission to retire from the State by way of Gallatin. instead of following the main army through Cumberland Gap.

On the 17th of October, believing that the main portion of the Union army was far enough out of his way to prevent it, Morgan conceived the idea of capturing Lexington, then held by one regiment, the Fourth Ohio Cavalry. The main body was at Ashland, the home of Henry Clay, about two miles from the town. One or two companies were quartered at the court house. After a brisk fight the entire regiment, between 500 and 600 strong, was captured, and with them a supply of Colt's pistols, which were eagerly appropriated by their captors. From Lexington the column moved by way of Lawrenceburg, Bardstown and Elizabethtown to its field of operations on the Louisville &

Nashville Railroad south of Green River, which was reached on the 24th of October.

On the 4th of November Morgan reached Gallatin, Tenn., having captured nearly 500 prisoners and destroyed many miles of railroad, and at this place added another regiment to his command. This regiment was organized with James Bennett as colonel, W. W. Ward, lieutenant-colonel, and R. A. Alston as major.

In the meantime Breckinridge had arrived at Murfreesboro with his division, and learning that a large quantity of railroad cars were collected at Edgefield, instructed Morgan to attempt their destruction, while Forrest, who was also at Murfreesboro, supported by the Kentucky brigade attacked the works at Nashville from the south; but owing to the vigilance of Gen. J. M. Palmer, commanding the post, the expedition proved a failure.

In the latter part of November, the brigade was strengthened by the arrival of Cluke's and Chenault's regiments, a battalion under command of Maj. Stoner, and the old squadron captured at Lebanon in the spring of 1862, exchanged, and ready for work. Morgan's command now consisted of four regiments and two battalions.

The occupation of Hartsville and Castilian Springs by infantry brigades now effectually shut Morgan off from depredations upon the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, which was run to its utmost capacity in bringing forward supplies to the Army of the Cumberland, which was preparing for a campaign against Bragg's army at Murfreesboro. The brigade at Castilian Springs was commanded by Col. John M. Harlan, a bold and vigilant officer, who kept a sharp lookout for cavalry raids. That at Hartsville, commanded by Col. A. B. Moore, was composed of three regiments of the new levy, the One Hundred and Sixth, and One Hundred and Eighth Ohio, and One Hundred and Fourth Illinois Infantry, 1,200 strong. A battalion of the Second Indiana Cavalry and a small squadron of Kentucky cavalry acted as scouts—as the event proved, to little purpose.

The capture of this place was confided to Morgan, who with Cobb's battery and two regiments, the Second and Ninth Kentucky Infantry of Hanson's brigade, 700 strong, in addition to his own command of 1,500, left Prairie Mills, twenty-five miles distant from Hartsville, on the 7th of December, and by a rapid march encamped that night within five miles of their destination. Morgan planned a complete surprise. The infantry and Cobb's batteries reached the ferry at 10 o'clock, and immediately crossed the river. This force moved forward promptly at break of day, fearing that information would reach Col. Harlan of the movement, and when Col. Duke joined the column with a party of his cavalry it was determined to make the attack at once.

The camp was on a hill two miles in advance of Hartsville, which town was at once occupied by a regiment of cavalry, while two more were formed opposite the right flank of the Union line. Cluke's and Chenault's men, after deducting horse holders, numbered 450, which with the infantry made a force of some 1,250 men for the attack. The One Hundred and Sixth Ohio, which received the attack of the cavalry, never having witnessed a battle, and being deprived of the presence of more experienced troops, broke after the first fire and fell back in disorder. The remaining regiment resisted the advance of the Confederate infantry for a short time, when Col. Moore surrendered. The contest lasted an hour and a half, in which time the Union loss was 50 killed and 100 wounded. Gen. Bragg reported Morgan's loss at 125 killed and wounded.

The tents and everything that could not be carried off were burned, a number of captured wagons were loaded with portable stores and arms and hurried over the river, accompanied by the prisoners, who, contrary to the usual custom, were not parolled. Col. Harlan hearing the firing at once put his brigade in motion and hurried to the assistance of Col. Moore, but, with all the haste he could make, his advance only reached the camp to find it in flames. Pressing forward in pursuit Harlan reached the river only in time to rescue a few wagons that had not had

time to cross and to witness the rear of Morgan's column disappear behind the hills on the southern shore.

For this exploit Morgan was promoted brigadier-general. Col. Hanson, who was captured at Donelson, with his regiment, and had just effected his exchange, was also promoted to the same rank, by President Davis. This was probably the zenith of Morgan's fame. His brigade, consisting of seven regiments, with an effective strength of 4,000, had no superior in either army for that dashing courage essential to the cavalry service, and in its ability to endure hardship without murmuring. He was the newly wedded husband of a most accomplished lady, a daughter of Judge Ready, of Murfreesboro, and was the idol of his men.

His fame as a cavalry leader attracted to his banner scores of spirited young men who, finding the service in other commands irksome, sought service in Morgan's cavalry. The command was now organized as a division, composed of two brigades, under command of Cols. Basil W. Duke and William C. P. Breckinridge, as follows:

First Brigade, Col. B. W. Duke; Second Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. Hutchinson; Third Kentucky, Col. Gano; Eighth Kentucky, Col. Cluke; Palmer's Battery of Artillery; Second Brigade, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Ninth Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. Stoner; Tenth Kentucky, Col. Johnson; Eleventh Kentucky, Col. Chenault; Fourteenth Tennessee, Col. Bennett; White's battery of artillery.

The division was reviewed at Alexandria on the 21st of December, when the First Brigade numbered 1,800 effectives, and 200 unarmed. The Second Brigade also had some unarmed men, and was of about the same numerical strength. On the following day the division took up its march for Kentucky, and reached Sand Shoals Ford just before dark. The object of the expedition was the destruction of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in rear of Rosecrans.

On the 24th the column reached Glasgow, and on the next morning marched out by the Louisville Pike, crossing Green River that night, and encamping at Hammondsville.

Turning toward the railroad, the bridge at Bacon Creek, guarded by not over 100 men (who were captured after an obstinate defense), was burned; the stockade at Nolin was also captured, and the bridge burned. On the morning of the 27th, the division moved upon Elizabethtown, which was garrisoned by a regiment of 600 men. Col. Smith, the commander, returned for answer to Morgan's demand for surrender, that it was the business of a United States officer to fight and not to surrender, but his men seemed to be of a different opinion. After a brisk fight the white flag was run up by a subordinate officer, and the garrison surrendered, and handed over 600 fine rifles to the victorious Confederates. The two great trestle works at Muldraugh's Hill, each eighty feet in height, and 500 feet long, Cane Run bridge, and two bridges on the Lebanon branch, were destroyed.

In the meantime, Harlan's brigade was marching thirty miles a day to reach the Confederates. On the night of the 28th Morgan encamped on the south bank of the Rolling Fork, and early next morning commenced crossing the swollen stream, when a shell burst in his ranks, and Harlan's advance appeared on the hill above them. In the rapid crossing that was soon after effected, several horses were killed by shells bursting among them, and the force was a good deal disorganized, but was concentrated at Bardstown on the same evening.

Col. Duke, having been wounded by a bursting shell, the command devolved upon Col. Breckinridge, who brought off the command with little loss. The concentration of troops in his front at Lebanon, and on his flank at Columbia, with Harlan in his rear, convinced Morgan that a rapid flight would be required to save his command from capture. He therefore made a detour to the right of Lebanon, and by rapid marching, although vigorously pursued by Col. Hoskins, made his escape across the Cumberland, and joined Bragg's army at Tullahoma, to which place it had fallen back after its defeat at Stone River.

Here Morgan's division, with those of

Gens. Wharton and Martin, constituted the cavalry corps commanded by Gen. Wheeler. On January 24, 1863, the Second Kentucky lost its commander, Lieut.-Col. Hutchinson, in a skirmish near Woodburg, and Capt. John B. Castleman assumed command of the regiment.

The three months following were spent by the cavalry in picketing the front of Bragg's army. Cols. Cluke and Chenault made a raid into Kentucky, in which they captured Mount Sterling, and subsisted their men for several months, returning to the command after a series of adventures in the mountains of Kentucky. About this time a new regiment was formed by the organization of a number of loose companies, the command of which was given to Col. R. C. Morgan, a brother of of the general.

The winter wore away, and the spring was far advanced before any operations, other than preliminary skirmishing, was attempted by the cavalry of either army. Morgan's cavalry had a long front to picket, and brushes with the Union cavalry were of daily occurrence. Duke says: "But in this year the glory and prestige began to pass away from the southern cavalry."

The war department at Washington was slow to see the importance of maintaining a strong cavalry force, not only to guard the long lines of railroad to Louisville, the true base of all military operations in Kentucky and Tennessee, but to act aggressively upon the Confederate lines of communications as far south as Atlanta. It was in vain that Gen. Rosecrans represented the importance of equipping a force of cavalry equal to, if not superior to, that under the orders of Gen. Bragg. He received nothing but rebuffs for his suggestions, until, in despair, he wrote the telegram to Secretary Stanton, which sealed his fate, regretting that there was "not more of military knowledge at the head of the war department." The secretary pocketed the insult, but bided his time for taking revenge. It came after Chickamauga. The organization of "saber brigades," by Gen. Rosecrans, proved to be the foundation of the efficiency of the cavalry of the Army of the Cumberland. A charge with drawn sabers was a new thing to western cavalry, and proved irresistible on many a hotly contested field.

On the 2d of July Morgan's division crossed the Cumberland to embark upon an expedition which ended in its destruction as a military organization. Twelve miles north, at Marrowbone, lay Gen. Judah's cavalry, ostensibly guarding the crossing, but in reality trusting to the high water to prevent Morgan from getting over. Morgan's effective strength was 2,460, exclusive of artillery, of which there were two three-inch Parrotts, and two twelve-pound howitzers. A regiment of Union cavalry was pushed down to the river to dispute the crossing, but Morgan having crossed two regiments, charged upon it and drove it back upon the camp at Marrowbone, which gave the rear regiments time to cross. The division encamped that night about ten miles on the road to Columbia, and early next morning pushed on to the town, where a detachment of Wolford's cavalry was posted, drove it out, and passing through, encamped six miles beyond.

Col. Moore, in command of a Michigan regiment, was stationed at Green River bridge, and hearing of Morgan's approach, made preparations to give him a warm reception. His position was in a horse-shoe bend of the Green River. Behind him was the toe where the bridge crossed, on either flank was the river, and in his front he had formed a strong abatis by felling trees on either side of the road, behind which he threw up a substantial earthwork, 100 yards in length, commanding the road along which Morgan was advancing. Morgan sent two regiments to cross the river and gain possession of the bridge in Col. Moore's rear, then sent a demand for the surrender of the garrison. Col. Moore's reply was: "The 4th of July is a bad day for surrenders." The only response to this greeting was of course a charge, which was made by two regiments. The first rush carried the men into the tangled tree-tops, where they were slaughtered like sheep by the unerring rifles of the Michigan men. Col. Chenault and Maj. Brent were killed, together with

thirty six men, and twice that number wounded. Finding that the capture of the position would cost him as many men as the garrison numbered, Morgan withdrew, and, crossing the river, left his wounded to be cared or by his brave antagonist, of whom Duke says, "he proved himself as humane as he was skillful and gallant."

The column moved through Campbellsville without halting, and encamped five miles from Lebanon, which was garrisoned by the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry, under command of Col. Charles S. Hanson, a brother of Gen. Roger Hanson, of the Confederate army. Two regiments were stationed on the Harrodsburg Road, within easy supporting distance, but did not reach the town until Hanson's regiment, fighting gallantly against vastly superior numbers, was overpowered and obliged to surrender. Avoiding a battle with these regiments, which made their appearance cautiously, Morgan moved rapidly to Bardstown, reaching that place at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July. Morgan's loss was inconsiderable --some eight or nine killed and some twenty-five or thirty wounded. Among the former were Lieut. Thomas Morgan, a brother of the general, and Lieut. Gardner.

From Bardstown Morgan moved in the direction of the Ohio River, capturing a railroad train within thirty miles of Louisville, and crossing the bridge over Salt River on the morning of the 7th. The secret of Morgan's success in this, as well as in his former raids, was his rapid movements. It was impossible to keep track of him. To aid in mystifying his pursuers as much as possible, Morgan detached five companies to move in different directions through the State, thus for the time throwing Gens. Hobson and Judah off the track of the main body.

Shortly after midnight the column advanced, and at at 10 A. M. reached Brandenburg, on the Ohio River, forty miles below Louisville, where two steamboats, captured by Capts. Taylor and Merriwether, were awaiting the arrival of the division. The Second Kentucky and the Ninth Tennessee were immediately set across the river, leaving their horses behind them, and, forming under the river bank, prepared to protect the crossing of the remainder of the command. While in this position a little gun-boat made its unwelcome appearance, and for a short time threatened to put a stop to the performance, but a few shots from the Parrotts convinced the commander that close quarters were not desirable, and he steamed away up the river for assistance. Before it was obtained Morgan was on the Indiana shore, mounting for a ride of 600 miles through a hostile country, thickly settled, and penetrated in every direction by railroads and telegraphs. The route previously sketched by Morgan, and which was followed with little deviation, lead eastward through Southern Indiana from Corydon, through Salem, Vienna, Paris, Vernon, Dupont, Sumansville, to Harrison, Ohio. Morgan reasoned that the boldness of his movement would convince Gen. Burnside that his objective point was either Cincinnati or Columbus, and that smaller towns would be denuded of troops to strengthen the garrisons of these important points. He felt confident of keeping in advance of the cavalry in his rear, as being in advance gave him choice of the horses of the country through which he passed. To throw the department-commander off the track he here again resorted to the tactics that had proved successful in Kentucky. He sent detachments off in various directions, and after a few hours halt at Harrison moved in the direction of Cincinnati, then turning to the left, at night-fall, marched to the north of it, passing near Glendale, and morning broke just as the column neared the Little Miami Railroad. A halt was made near Camp Dennison to feed the horses and burn a pack of government wagons, when the men were again in their saddles, and did not draw rein until they reached Williamsburg, ninety miles from Sumansville, having made the march in thirty-five hours. Here at 4 P. M. the division went into camp and remained through the night. Resuming the march next morning they halted again before night-fall at Wilkesville, and remained until 3

o'clock next morning, when, on moving out of camp, the raiders found themselves harassed on all sides by militia, who, although declining close quarters, inflicted considerable injury with their trusty rifles at a safe distance among the hills.

At 1 o'clock, on the 18th, the command reached Chester, and halted to enable the column to close up. This halt proved disastrous, as Buffington, the point chosen to cross the Ohio, was not reached until after nightfall, and it was decided to wait until next morning. An earthwork had been thrown up to guard the ford, and Morgan was informed that it was manned by 300 men.

While Morgan had, by rapid marching, traversed the State of Ohio, doing little damage to persons or property, Gen. Hobson at the head of a picked cavalry force had reached the Ohio shortly after Morgan had crossed it, and pushing on in his rear reached Chester a few hours after Morgan had left it for Buffington.

Gen. Judah left the stern chase at Bardstown and proceeding to Cincinnati embarked a brigade of infantry and cavalry on transports and steamed up the river to be ready to intercept Morgan's crossing wherever he might attempt it. His force debarked at Pomeroy a short distance below Buffington on the previous day, and marched along the river road keeping abreast of Morgan who was several miles inland.

On the following morning these two commands, each ignorant of the proximity of the other, prepared for an attack upon Morgan's division, now considerably reduced by straggling and exhaustion. Col. Duke was ordered to draw up two of his regiments in readiness to attack the work at dawn of day, and the Parrotts were placed in position to assist the storming party if necessary.

Had Morgan's pickets been more vigilant they would have discovered long before daylight that the work was empty. It was evacuated during the night. The knowledge of this would have been of priceless advantage, but it came too late. The crossing came near being successfully accomplished, however. The steamer "Starlight," loaded with flour, ran aground on Buffington Bar the day before Morgan's arrival. Capt. Wood, of the regular army, on duty as mustering officer at Marietta, took charge of two companies of militia, and taking a steamboat dropped down the river, where he found the "Starlight" aground. He at once landed his men and manned the earthwork, lightened the steamer and towed her out of reach of Morgan, who was reported to be approaching, held the work until midnight, when he ordered it abandoned.

When morning dawned, Duke charged upon the empty works, then started out the Pomeroy Road in search of the retreating garrison. He ran into Judah's advance guard, and attacking with spirit threw it into confusion, capturing one gun and forty or fifty prisoners, and mortally wounding Maj. Daniel McCook, father of Gen. McCook. By Morgan's order, Duke formed two regiments of his brigade across the road upon which Judah was advancing, while Johnson with two regiments faced toward Hobson, who was moving upon him from the north. In the brief engagement that ensued on the Pomeroy Road, Duke lost his Parrott gun and a portion of the Fifth Kentucky. Meantime the gunboat "Moose" under command of Lieut. Fitch had come up and opened fire. Gen. Shackelford moved up the river with his own and Wolford's brigades to cut off escape in that direction. Notwithstanding the great disparity in forces, Duke and Johnson managed to hold Judah and Hobson in check long enough to enable Morgan with the four disengaged regiments to march out of the valley. Duke says: "The scene in the rear was one of indescribable confusion. While the bulk of the regiments that Morgan was drawing off was moving from the field in perfect order, there were many stragglers from each who were circling about the valley in a delirium of fright, clinging instinctively in all their terror to bolts of calico, and holding on to led horses, but changing the direction in which they galloped with every shell which whizzed or burst near them. The long train of wagons and ambulances dashed wildly in the only direction which

promised escape, and becoming locked and entangled with each other in their flight many were upset, and terrified horses broke loose from them and plunged wildly through the mass. Some of them, in striving to make their way out of the valley at the northern end, ran foul of the section of howitzers attached to the Second Brigade, and guns and wagons were rolled headlong down a steep ravine. Occasionally a solid shot or shell would strike one and bowl it over like a ten pin."

Having held their position until Morgan was well out of the valley, Duke and Johnson determined to withdraw, and followed their leader. The men, who had been fighting on foot, remounted without confusion and retreated in column of fours from right of companies, and for some distance in good order, but there being but two roads by which to escape the men rushed for them. The gunboat sent its shells into the mass, which had now become a mob, and the Seventh Michigan soon came up and dashed pell mell into the crowd.

Cols. Duke and Smith and some fifty officers and men were here captured. In making his way up the river Morgan ran into Shackelford's brigade, composed of the First, Third and Eighth Kentucky cavalry, near Bashan Church. Shackelford thus graphically describes the encounter: "With drawn sabers gleaming in the beautiful sunlight, and with a yell that filled the foe with terror, they rushed upon him and he fled at their approach. The charge was led by Lieut.-Col. Holloway with the Eighth Kentucky, Maj. Wolfley with the Third Kentucky, and Lieut.-Col. Adams with the First Kentucky Cavalry. I do but simple justice to these brave and gallant officers and the veteran soldiers who followed them in that charge, to say that not in this nor any other war have officers and men acquitted themselves with more credit or manifested more determination or valor."

Morgan sent in a flag of truce asking terms of surrender. Shackelford gave them briefly: "immediate and unconditional surrender." Cols. Richard Morgan, Ward and Hoffman with their regiments, about 700 strong, came in and laid down their arms. Cols. Grigsby and Johnson and Capts. Byrnes and Kilpatrick crossed the river with some 300 and made their escape, leaving about 800 with Morgan. Col. Cluke took charge of one brigade and Maj. Webber of the other, and the column moved in the direction of Blennerhasset's Island, and encamped at the foot of a high hill, with his pursuers in front and rear. When night had fallen, however, he formed his men, partially ascended the mountain, and before they were aware of his flight was far on his way toward liberty. Gen. Shackelford was on his track at early dawn, and at 3 o'clock, on the 20th, caught up with him and a fight ensued. While it was in progress Lieut.- Col. Adams was sent with his regiment and one company of the Third Kentucky to take position on the only road by which it was supposed Morgan could escape. He retired to a high bluff, and there received a flag of truce from Shackelford demanding his surrender, which was accepted by all but about 600, who with Morgan started at once on their way. Gen. Shackelford now called for 1,000 volunteers from his command, with the best horses, who would stay in their saddles as long as he would, without eating or sleeping, until they captured Morgan.

All would have volunteered, but only 500 horses could be found fit for the enterprise. Col. Horace Capron, the veteran commander of the Fourteenth Illinois cavalry, with 159 men, and Col. Wolford, with detachments of all the regiments, made up the column which started in immediate pursuit. Col. Jacobs, with the remainder of the command, took charge of the prisoners and returned to Cincinnati. The hardest ride on record now began. This chase began on the morning of the 21st, and continued day and night until the evening of the 24th, when Capt. Ward, with his company of the Third Kentucky and a detachment of the First under Adjt. Carpenter, came upon Morgan's rear guard at Washington. A bold dash drove Morgan out of the town with a loss of several of his men. Morgan made a stand a mile farther east in a dense wood. Shackelford formed

line of battle and drove him two miles across a stream which ran between rugged and precipitous banks.

Morgan tore up the bridges behind him, and took position in the woods beyond on a high hill. Shackelford's force dashed through the stream on both Morgan's flanks, and again he was obliged to seek safety in flight, burning all bridges as soon as his column had crossed them. All through Friday night pursuers and pursued clung to their jaded and famishing horses, which could hardly be urged out of a walk. Daylight dawned upon both columns moving upon parallel roads a mile from Athens. Half a mile beyond, the roads formed a junction. Shackelford pressed on and gained it first. Morgan turned back and sought refuge in the woods. Meantime re-enforcements under Maj. Way, of the Eighth Michigan, and Maj. Rue, with a detachment of the Ninth Kentucky cavalry, joined Shackelford, who, with fresh horses, gained the advance of Morgan and brought him to bay, enabling Shackelford to feed his horses. After doubling upon his track, and practicing every ruse known to the skillful raider, Morgan surrendered to Gen. Shackelford, with the remainder of his command, on July 25th. When Morgan found that capture was inevitable, he surrendered first to a militia captain with whom he was riding, and who, overjoyed at the prospect of capturing Gen. Morgan, offered him any terms he might name, promising to parole the entire command. Shackelford declined to acknowledge the right of the militiaman and took his prisoners to Cincinnati, where Gen. Burnside sent the enlisted men to military prisons and the officers to the penitentiary at Columbus. The stragglers who managed to make their escape were collected by Cols. Johnson and Grigsby and marched through western Virginia to Morristown in east Tennessee, where they joined the command of Gen. J. S. Williams.

Left to their own devices the thoughts of the prisoners naturally turned upon the subject of the most available means by which to regain their liberty. After canvassing various methods, they finally determined upon that which proved efficacious at the hands of Col. Streight and his comrades in Libby prison—a tunnel. "But to tunnel," says Duke, "through the stone pavement and immense walls of the penitentiary, concealing the work as it progressed, required a bold imagination to conceive such an idea." Bold as it was in conception and hazardous in execution, the work was actually accomplished, and on November 26th, Gen. Morgan and Capts. Hines, Hockersmith, Shelden, Taylor, Bennett and McGee emerged from their prison and started in couples on their way to Dixie. Gen. Morgan and Capt. Hines went straight to the depot, where Hines bought tickets for Cincinnati, and when near the city pulled the rope, applied the brakes and sprang off the train. A boy was found, who for $2 set them across the river, where they were among friends. In Boone County the fugitives were provided with good horses, upon which they at once set out for Tennessee. After twelve months of confinement in various military prisons, Cols. Duke, Ward, Morgan and Tucker, and Majs. Webber, Steele and Higley were exchanged at Charleston, S. C.

Col. Adam B. Johnson, who escaped at Buffington, on arriving in east Tennessee, under instructions from Gen. Buckner issued orders for all men belonging to Morgan's command to report to him at Morristown. Many had been left behind when the Ohio raid was undertaken on account of disability to make the trip, and others had been sent off in detachments, while passing through Kentucky, and found their way back to the Confederate lines. These were collected and organized into two battalions under command of Capts. Kirkpatrick and Dortch. The occupation of east Tennessee by Gen. Burnside caused these detachments to move southward with Gen. Buckner, where they took part under Gen. Forrest in the battle of Chickamauga.

In the spring of 1864, Gen. Morgan was sent to take command of the district of southwestern Virginia, including a portion of east Tennessee. The forces at his disposal were two Kentucky cavalry brigades and the militia

of the region. One of these brigades was commanded by Gen. George B. Hodge, and the other by Col. Giltner. The latter had served for a year under Gen. John S. Williams, and was mentioned by Gen. Sam Jones, the former commander of the department, as the best cavalry regiment in his command.

In the latter part of May, Morgan organized his command for a raid into Kentucky. His division consisted of three brigades, under command of Col. Giltner, Lieut.-Col. Alston and Col. D. Howard Smith, about 1,800 strong. He took no artillery. The column reached Pound Gap on June 2d, and, brushing away a small party of Union cavalry, pushed rapidly forward toward Mount Sterling, sending detachments in advance to destroy the railroad bridges north and west of Lexington. Two companies were sent forward, as the column neared Mount Sterling, to take position on the Lexington and Paris turnpikes. The town was easily captured, there being but a small force in occupation, and Morgan pushed forward at once for Lexington.

Gen. Burbridge, in command of the district of Kentucky, was absent on an expedition against the salt works in West Virginia, and this fact had seemed to invite Morgan to occupy the State during his absence. He entered Lexington without opposition, burnt the government depot, and captured sufficient horses to remount his dismounted men. Col. Giltner, who was left at Mount Sterling, had a severe fight in which he lost 14 officers and 40 privates killed, 80 severely wounded and over 100 captured. From Lexington Morgan moved through Georgetown to Cynthiana, where, after a short engagement, a garrison 400 strong surrendered. Gen. Hobson, in command of 1,500 men, on his way by cars to re-enforce the garrison, was met by Col. Giltner and held until the arrival of Morgan, when his entire force was captured.

While Morgan was thus moving from point to point capturing everything that came in his way, Gen. Burbridge reached Mount Sterling, and started at once in pursuit of Morgan. He reached Cynthiana on the 12th, after a rapid march, and meeting Giltner's brigade first, on the Paris Road, engaged it. Morgan came up to his support with the remainder of the division, but was soon defeated and driven toward Augusta. Collecting all the force possible in a rapid retreat, Morgan made the best of his way to Virginia. Moving through Flemingsburg and West Liberty, he passed over the mountains and reached Abingdon on the 20th of June. In justice to Morgan's old command Duke says: "On this raid great and inexcusable excesses were committed, but except in two or three flagrant instances they were committed by men who had never before served with Gen. Morgan. The men of his old division and Giltner's fine brigade were rarely guilty."

Returning to his old headquarters at Abingdon, Va., Morgan collected a force of some 1,600 men, and on the 28th of August set out for Jonesboro to assume command in person for an expedition against Gen. Gillem's cavalry division, then posted at Bull's Gap. Reaching Greenville at night he went into camp, intending to attack Gillem the next day. Morgan stopped at the house of Mrs. Williams. A daughter-in-law, Mrs. Lucy Williams, an ardent Union woman, determined to apprise Gen. Gillem of the presence of Morgan, and the position of his forces. This she did, riding through the Confederate lines and on through the darkness to Gillem's camp, ten miles distant, where she at once communicated with that officer, who lost no time in putting his command in motion for Greenville. Leaving Bull's Gap at midnight, he reached the vicinity of the town before daybreak, where, his men being thoroughly conversant with the topography of the country, he succeeded in eluding Morgan's pickets, and the first notification the latter had of their presence was given by a party of 100 cavalrymen, who dashed into Greenville, followed by Gillem's whole force. It was the party that came in first which rode at once to Mrs. Williams' house. Maj. Garrett of his staff and Gen. Morgan left the house together and sought

to make their escape, but every avenue was cut off. Taking refuge in the garden of the house, Morgan was shot through the heart.

With the death of their leader, this sketch of the cavalry which bore his name will close. The long lines of railroad connecting the Army of the Cumberland with Louisville, its base of supplies, were the lawful prey of the daring leader and his rough riders, while many an outpost, slumbering in fancied security, were awakened at unconscionably early hours by his summons to surrender. The rapidity of his movements, the boldness of his attacks and the audacity of his raids, will long render his name a household word in his native State.

Recruiting for the Confederate army commenced in Kentucky before any attempt had been made on the part of Union men to organize under the United States flag. Two battalions under Cols. Duncan and Pope served under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in the Army of the Shenandoah, at the battle of Bull Run.

Early in the summer of 1861, several hundred men repaired to Camp Boone, at which place Gen. Simon B. Buckner had made his headquarters, and enlisted in the army of the young Confederacy. Most of these had been members of the State Guard, and the advantages of scientific training soon became apparent and bore its legitimate fruit in the subsequent efficiency of the first (Confederate) "Kentucky Brigade."

They were organized into three regiments, of infantry known as the Second Kentucky, Col. J. M. Hawes, succeeded soon after by Col. Roger Hanson; the Third, Col. Lloyd Tilghman, succeeded by Col. Thompson; and the Fourth, Col. Robert H. Trabue. As recruits came in, two more regiments were formed, the Fifth, commanded by Col. Thomas Hunt, and the Sixth, under Col. Joseph Lewis. Two batteries of artillery, Cobb's and Byrnes', were assigned to the brigade.

On the 14th of November, 1861, Hon. John B. Breckinridge, recently commissioned brigadier-general in the Confederate army, was ordered by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to duty in the Second Division, commanded by Gen. Buckner, who at once assigned him to command of the Kentucky brigade. Gen. Breckinridge assumed command on the 16th of November, and with his brigade soon after took position at Oakland Station on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, where, in connection with Gen. Hindman's brigade, it remained in observation of the movements of the Union troops on the north bank of Green River, whose daily augmenting strength excited lively apprehensions that a forward movement would result in the evacuation of Kentucky by the Confederate army. Under cover of these brigades, however, the fortifications at Bowling Green were pushed forward to completion, and by the latter part of January they were regarded as quite formidable.

The flank movement by which the position at Bowling Green was turned, resulting in the surrender of Fort Donelson and the evacuation of Kentucky, took place in February, and re enforcements being demanded, a portion of Buckner's division, in which the Second Kentucky was included, moved to Fort Donelson, where, after a brave fight, it was surrendered to Gen. Grant on the 16th of February, and consequently took no part in the subsequent operations of the brigade during the ensuing summer.

In the retreat from Bowling Green, Breckinridge's brigade constituted the rear guard, and notwithstanding the demoralization consequent upon a retreat in presence of the enemy, the Kentucky brigade, even though each hour's march took it farther from home and kindred, reached Nashville without the loss of a man from its ranks. On the 13th of February, 1862, in the midst of a driving storm of rain and sleet, the brigade crossed the line into Tennessee, while their comrades of the Second Regiment were lying in the trenches on the right of the line of defense in front of Fort Donelson. Gen. Hardee bivouacked his army in line of battle on the night of the 15th, within ten miles of Nashville, in anticipation of an order to embark for the relief of Donelson, but the morning of the 16th brought news that chilled the

hopes of the commander, and sent a thrill of despair to the stoutest heart in his army. Fort Donelson had surrendered. Hardee at once moved forward through Nashville, and on the night of the 16th encamped on the road leading from Nashville southward to Murfreesboro, Tenn. Here Johnston's army was joined by the forces under Gen. George B. Crittenden, which had retreated from Mill Springs, and the masterly retreat commenced that ended at Corinth, Miss., where a junction was made with the troops under Gens. Bragg and Beauregard, and much needed rest given to the weary troops.

On the 21st, the Kentucky brigade, under its accomplished commander, was sent with its battery, ammunition and baggage, to take position at Burnsville, within fifteen miles of Corinth, where it was soon after joined by Statham's and Bowen's brigades of Crittenden's division. This force, consisting, on the 5th of April, of 7,211 officers and men, was called the "Reserve Division," and the command was assigned to Gen. Breckinridge, Col. Trabue assuming command of the Kentucky brigade.

At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Gen. Hardee's advance drove in the pickets of Gen. Prentiss at Shiloh, and the terrible battle began. The second line of battle, under Gen. Bragg, had been pushed forward and intermingled with the front line, and Gen. Breckinridge being called upon to re-enforce the left sent Col. Trabue with his brigade. During the whole of that bloody day the brigade sustained the reputation of Kentucky for martial spirit.

The scene of wild confusion, that reigned on Shiloh battlefield for three hours after the assault upon Prentiss, was never again witnessed by the Army of the Tennessee. Like a pack of hungry wolves upon a sheepfold the yelling Confederates closed upon the Union camps. The air, sulphurous with the smoke of powder, was rent with the crash of musketry, the roar of artillery, and the shouts of officers striving to make themselves heard above the din of battle, in the vain attempt to restore order to their commands. Wounded horses, maddened with pain and wild with fright, rushed across the field or, falling prone upon the ground, crushed their hapless riders beneath their struggling forms. To add to the terror of the scene, and to convince even the coolest and bravest of the hopelessness of the struggle, a never ceasing column of Confederate troops, emerging from the woods, deployed in constantly accumulating force into line of battle in support of those already engaged.

Pressing forward over their fallen comrades, closing the wide gaps torn in their ranks by repeated volleys of artillery and musketry, yelling like demons, they seemed utterly reckless of the leaden hail that strewed the ground with the quivering forms of the dead and dying. Driven back again and again, they rushed forward to the assault with redoubled fury after each bloody repulse. "Cheer, boys, cheer. March away to battle," sang the boys of the Kentucky brigade, as with arms at "right shoulder shift" they moved rapidly to the left to take a hand in the fray. Far away to their right were two other Kentucky regiments, who had covered themselves with glory, fighting under the stars and stripes at Fort Donelson, and now sadly depleted in numbers under the gallant McHenry were holding their ground in Hurlbut's division under a murderous assault. They were the Seventeenth Kentucky, commanded by Lieut.-Col. A. M. Stout, and the Twenty-fifth, under Lieut.-Col. B. H. Bristow. Both of these officers were wounded during the progress of the battle while bravely cheering their men in action.

It was not the fate of these contending Kentuckians to meet at the battle of Shiloh. Soon after entering the woods, Col. Trabue found the ground broken and covered with dense underbrush, compelling him to move cautiously while he covered his front with skirmishers. He soon encountered the left of Gen. Sherman's line, which had fallen back to the Purdy Road, and engaging it drove back a brigade and captured several prisoners from a Missouri Regiment. On his right Col. Tuttle, with his Iowa brigade, in connection with Prentiss on his left, had for hours held the "Hornet's Nest" against

repeated attacks from Gen. Cheatham, reenforced by other troops.

Johnston says: "Here, behind a dense thicket on the crest of a hill, was posted a strong force of as hardy troops as ever fought. It was nicknamed by the Confederates the 'Hornet's Nest.' No figure of speech would be too strong to express the deadly peril of an assault upon this natural fortress, whose inaccessible barriers blazed for six hours with sheets of flame, and whose infernal gates poured forth a murderous storm of shot and shell and musket fire, which no living thing could quell or even withstand. Brigade after brigade was led against it, but valor was of no avail. Hindman's brilliant brigades, which had swept everything before them from the field, were shivered into fragments in the shock of the assault and paralyzed for the remainder of the day. A. P. Stewart's regiments made further assaults, but only to retire mangled and disheartened."

During all this time Tuttle's right had been "in the air," with no troops in sight. Gens. Sherman and McClernand were separated from him by a wide interval, and in the absence of the commanding general there was no one to order the closing of the gap. Through this interval in the Union line marched the Kentucky brigade, and closing to the right cut off retreat in the direction of Sherman. Gen. Wallace, who had a few moments before come to this portion of his line, at once gave the order to Tuttle to fall back. In the execution of this order Wallace was killed and a portion of Tuttle's brigade captured. Prentiss' command was soon captured, and the division of Gen. Breckinridge was reunited on the ground where the surrender of 2,000 Union troops promised victory to the Confederate arms. The separate brigades had been for hours fighting toward each other from opposite ends of the Confederate line.

Trabue's brigade formed the extreme left of Bragg's line of defense on the following morning, when, after having withdrawn his troops from the bluff overlooking the Tennessee, Beauregard found himself confronted by a fresh army of 25,000 men under Gen. Buell, and a division of Grant's army newly arrived upon the field. Bragg says in his report "For the gallant and obstinate defense of our left flank, which the enemy constantly endeavored to force, we are indebted to Col. Trabue's small brigade in support of Capt. Barne's battery. Against overwhelming numbers this gallant command maintained its position from the commencement of the action until about 12 o'clock, when, our forces on the right falling back, it was left entirely without support far in front of our whole army. Safety required it to retire. The commanding general ordered a retrograde movement, commencing on the right. This was gradually extended to the left, now held by Ketcham's battery. The enemy evinced no disposition to pursue."

In the subdivision of his department, after the evacuation of Corinth, Miss., Gen. Bragg assigned the Kentucky troops to the district of southern Mississippi and east Louisiana, commanded by Gen. Earl Van Dorn. Baton Rouge, La., had been seized and occupied by Gen. Williams with six regiments of infantry and three batteries of artillery, and the Union fleet had no sooner withdrawn from the bombardment of Vicksburg than Gen. Van Dorn determined upon the recapture of Baton Rouge.

Gen. Breckinridge was assigned to the command of the expedition, which consisted of two divisions under Gens. Clark and Ruggles. The Fourth and Fifth Kentucky served in the First, and the Third, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky in the Second Division.

The troops rendezvoused at Camp Moore, Miss., where they lost a number of men from disease. On the 30th of July, the column, 3,000 strong, commenced the march from Camp Moore. Unaccustomed to the climate, many of the Kentucky and Tennessee troops fell by the wayside, where, under a midsummer sun, tortured with thirst, they experienced the most terrible suffering. The column pushed forward, however, and reached the vicinity of Baton Rouge on the morning of the 5th of August, the ram "Arkansas" having passed Bayou Sara in time to join in

the action. A detachment of infantry with Semmes' battery was sent around by the Clinton Road to drive in the pickets and attack as soon as firing opened in front. The attack upon the front was made by Gen. Ruggles with the Third, Sixth and Seventh Kentucky, and Thirty-fifth Alabama, in one brigade, and three Louisiana regiments in the other, in support of Semmes' battery. Col. Thompson, in command of the Kentucky brigade, held his position with great gallantry after the Louisiana troops had been driven back, and pushed steadily forward toward the center of the town. Col. Thompson was wounded early in the action, and the command of the brigade devolved upon Col. Robertson of the Thirty-fifth Alabama. Col. Hunt of the Fifth Kentucky commanded the brigade in which his own and the Sixth Kentucky were incorporated and led it with great intrepidity. On the right, as on the left, the Confederate line advanced steadily until after several hours' fighting they were massed in a grove in rear of the penitentiary, where in the heat of the contest both Gen. Clark and Col. Hunt fell severely wounded. Capt. John A. Buckner, a skillful officer of the staff of Gen. Breckinridge, here assumed command of Hunt's brigade, which began to fall back, stubbornly contesting the ground. In a few minutes, however, the Kentuckians advanced with a cheer, supported by Smith's brigade. Thompson's brigade, having exhausted its ammunition, had retired to a convenient railroad cut, where reforming they were ordered to charge with the bayonet. In executing this order they were met by a terrible storm of shot and shell from the gun-boats, and were withdrawn after heavy loss.

It was now 10 o'clock A. M. The commanding general had listened in vain for the guns of the "Arkansas," not knowing the misfortune that had befallen it. Not more than 1,000 out of 2,600 men remained in the line. Tortured with thirst they obstinately held their positions under fire from the land batteries and gun-boats, which had a raking fire through the streets, waiting vainly for the appearance of the ram, which was relied upon to sweep the river of the Union gun-boats.

The suburbs of the town in which the military camps were located were in their possession, and the work of destroying camp equipage was continued until late in the afternoon, when information reached Gen. Breckinridge that the ram was lying helpless against the right bank of the river, when he at once retired with the remnant of his command. The attack was conducted with spirit by the Confederates, but the Union troops, after a hotly contested fight, finding themselves outnumbered, wisely withdrew under the cover of the gun boats, and from this coigne of vantage witnessed the destruction of their assailants. Gen. Williams fell mortally wounded when the battle was at its fiercest.

Port Hudson was soon after occupied by Gen. Ruggles, and strongly fortified. Gen. Breckinridge moved with his division to Jackson, Miss. His command had been greatly reduced by battle and disease during the ineffectual attack upon Baton Rouge, and time was imperatively demanded to restore the health of the exhausted troops. The Kentucky brigade bore no part in Bragg's Kentucky campaign, but preceded his army to Murfreesboro a short time previous to the battle of Stone River.

By exchange of prisoners, the Second Kentucky, with its gallant commander, Col. Roger Hanson, now brigadier-general, was restored to the service. This regiment, with the Fourth under Col. Traube, the Sixth under Col. Lewis, and the Ninth under Col. Hunt, with Cobb's battery, participated in the battle of Stone River. Gen. Hanson's brigade, the Fourth of Breckinridge's division, occupied the extreme right of Bragg's line in front of Murfreesboro. In the fight of the 31st of December, the brigade performed no other service than to hold its position, which was not attacked, Gen. Rosecrans finding ample occupation for his troops on the right of his line.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 2d of January, Gen. Bragg sent for Gen. Breckinridge to come to his headquarters for final orders for an attack upon the Union left, that he had decided should be made at once. The

two officers met near a large sycamore tree close to the banks of Stone River not far from where it is crossed by the Nashville Pike. Gen. Breckinridge was opposed to the attack as ordered by Gen. Bragg, and tried to dissuade him from it, predicting disaster, as the ground occupied by the main portion of the Union troops on the bluff on the opposite bank of the river, was considerably higher than that over which the attacking force must march, and it was possible for Rosecrans to mass artillery and sweep the whole field. In urging his opinions he drew with a stick on the ground the position of the contending forces. Considerable time was occupied in the discussion, but Bragg remained firm, and finally ended the discussion by an imperative command to move at once to the attack. As Gen. Breckinridge rode forward toward his command, he met Gen. Preston, commanding his Third Brigade, and said: "This attack is made against my judgment, and by the special orders of Gen. Bragg. Of course we must all do our duty and fight the best we can. If it should result in disaster, and I be among the slain, I want you to do justice to my memory, and tell the people that I believed this movement to be very unwise, and that I tried to prevent it."

Among the regiments of Van Cleve's division, occupying the ground between Breckinridge's advance and Stone River, were four Kentucky regiments—the Ninth, Col. B. C. Grider; the Eleventh, Maj. E. S. Motley; the Eighth, Lieut.-Col. R. May, and the Twenty-first, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Evans, the last two mentioned in the brigade commanded by that brave and accomplished soldier, Col. S. W. Price. Promptly at 4 o'clock the artillery in Polk's front gave the signal for the attack, and the movement began. Breckinridge's division, with bayonets fixed and guns loaded, marched with steady step to the assault.

Owing to irregularities in the ground the lines of the two front brigades were crowded together at the center, and when they reached the ground where Price's brigade was posted in line, the Sixth and part of the Second on the left of Hanson's brigade were entirely crowded out by the river; whereupon these troops waded through it and commenced the ascent of the opposite bank. The line moving rapidly forward came upon Drury's battery, under command of Lieut. Livingston, supported by the Eighth Kentucky and the Fifty-first Ohio, which gave it shell and canister as fast as possible, but, finding that with all his efforts to break the line it continued to advance, he limbered up and withdrew his battery across the river. As the guns withdrew Hanson's men charged with a cheer upon the supporting regiments, and here, for the first time, the Kentucky Brigade met Kentuckians in the shock of battle.

The Eighth Kentucky and the Fifty-first Ohio held their ground so well that Col. Gibson, in command of Adams' brigade, deemed it best to ride forward and consult with Gen. Hanson as to when the second line should move to his support. As he approached he saw the general fall from his horse with a mortal wound. His troops wavered, and Col. Gibson instantly gave the command to his brigade to move forward. The overpowering strength of Breckinridge's division soon forced Van Cleve's division, greatly depleted in numbers by the battles of the two preceding days, to fall back across the river.

Maj.-Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden, commanding the left wing of Rosecrans' army, to which this division was attached, observed the retrogade movement from his position on the summit of the bluff on the opposite bank, and turning to his chief of artillery, Lieut.-Col. John Mendenhall, said, "Colonel, can't you do something for those fellows?" "I think so," said Mendenhall, and, turning his horse in the direction of his batteries, limbered up, and, awaiting orders, soon had fifty-four pieces of artillery playing upon the Confederate line.

The deafening roar of artillery, the hoarse shouts of officers, the shrieks of the wounded, and the fall of branches torn from trees by the hissing shells, formed a scene of wild confusion that once witnessed can never be forgotten. There was but one course to pursue, and that was to retreat. The north bank

was lined with a superior force ready to receive them upon the points of their bayonets, men were being mowed down in swaths, the bodies of the wounded were torn to pieces by the iron hail that nothing could withstand, and reluctantly, yet in verification of his own prediction, Gen. Breckinridge gave the order to retreat. Meantime Col. John F. Miller, commanding a brigade in Gen. Negley's division, had crossed the river on the right of Breckinridge's line, and, followed by the division of Gen. Jeff. C. Davis and other troops, opened fire upon the retreating Confederates. The pursuit continued until dark, and the field was won by the Union troops. Murfreesboro was evacuated on the 3d, and the Army of the Cumberland moved in on the following day.

At the battle of Chickamauga the Kentucky brigade, under command of Brig.-Gen. Ben Hardin Helm, on the morning of September 29, 1863, occupied the left of Gen. Breckinridge's division, which division held the extreme right of Bragg's line of battle. Stovall's brigade was in the center and Adams' on the right. The Kentucky Brigade, under command of Gen. Helm, was composed of the Second Kentucky, Col. J. W. Hewitt; the Fourth Kentucky, Col. Joseph P. Nuckols; the Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. H. Lewis; the Ninth Kentucky, Col. J. W. Caldwell, and the Forty-first Alabama, Col. M. S. Stansel.

The artillery brigade of this division comprised Cobb's, McLane's and Slocumb's batteries.

The position of the division was on the left of a country road leading from Reed's bridge and striking the Lafayette and Chattanooga Road at Widow Glen's House, at which point Gen. Rosecrans had his headquarters. Adams' brigade extended across this road. The country was wooded, and the front, well protected by a heavy skirmish line, was parallel with the Chattanooga and Lafayette Road. Opposed, was a continuous line of Union skirmishers in advance of the main line, the strength of which remained to be tested. The division formed a portion of the force under Longstreet, which pierced the right center of Rosecrans' line, and contributed to the disaster which compelled the Army of the Cumberland to retire from the field.

Gen. Breckinridge, in his official report, refers as follows to the action of the Kentucky Brigade:

At 9:30 A. M., by order of Lieut.-Gen. Hill, I moved my division forward in search of the enemy. At the distance of 700 yards we came upon him in force, and the battle was opened by Helm's brigade with great fury. The Second and Ninth Kentucky, with three companies of the Forty-first Alabama, encountered the left of a line of breastworks before reaching the Chattanooga Road, and, though assailing them with great courage, were compelled to pause. From some cause the line on my left had not advanced simultaneously with my division, and in consequence, from the form of the enemy's works, these brave troops were, in addition to the fire in front, subjected to a severe enfilading fire from the left. Twice they renewed the assault with the utmost resolution, but were too weak to storm the position. The rest of Helm's brigade, in whose front there were no works, after a short but sharp engagement, routed a line of the enemy, pursued it across the Chattanooga road, and captured a section of artillery posted in the center of the road. This portion of the brigade was now brought under a heavy front and enfilading fire, and being separated from its left and without support, I ordered Col. Joseph H. Lewis, of the Sixth Kentucky, who succeeded to the command upon the fall of Gen. Helm, to withdraw the troops some 200 yards to the rear, reunite the brigade, and change his front slightly to meet the new order of things by throwing forward his right and retiring his left. The movement was made without panic or confusion.

This was one of the bloodiest encounters of the day. Here Gen. Helm, ever ready for action, and endeared to his command by his many virtues, received a mortal wound whilst in the heroic discharge of his duty. Col. J. W. Hewitt, of the Second Kentucky, was killed, acting gallantly at the head of his regiment. Capt. Aston Maderia, Capt. H. B. Rodgers and Capt. Gustavus Dedman, of the Second; Capt. P. V. Daniel, of the Ninth Kentucky, and many other officers and men, met their death before the enemy's works, while Col. Joseph R. Nuckols, of the Fourth Kentucky; Col. J. W. Caldwell, of the Ninth, and many more officers and men, were wounded.

The loss in Helm's brigade during the two days' battle of Chickamauga as reported by Col. Lewis were 63 killed and 408 wounded out of an aggregate present for duty of 1,413 officers and enlisted men.

In the assault upon the ridge held by portions of Crittenden's corps re-enforced later by Granger's reserves, the division of

Gen. William Preston bore a part. In the Third Brigade of this division commanded by Col. J. H. Kelly was the Fifth Kentucky under Col. H. Hawkins. Between 4 and 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th the brigade moved forward to the attack. Col. Kelly reports the attack as follows:

Finding that my ammunition was almost exhausted I sent to the rear for re-enforcements or a supply of ammunition. At this juncture I met Col. R. C. Trigg, commanding brigade, and informed him of the position of the enemy, asking him at the same time to co-operate with me in his capture. He agreed, and formed his line on my left with the intention of swinging the whole force to the right. Just as this movement was begun I was notified by one of his staff that the brigadier-general commanding division wished to see me, and I repaired at once to where he was stationed in the field. During this temporary absence the enemy surrendered to Col. Trigg. Immediately after the surrender a force, supposed to be of the enemy, opened a heavy fire, which created considerable confusion, in which a large number of the enemy were making off. Col. H. Hawkins, Fifth Kentucky, here captured 249 prisoners, including two colonels, one lieutenant-colonel and a number of company officers.

Pursuant to an act of the Confederate congress granting medals and badges of distinction as a reward for courage and good conduct on the field of battle the following soldiers of the Kentucky regiments were selected by their comrades in arms:

Second Regiment of Infantry.—Private, Benjamin F. Parker, Company A; Corporal, Mornix Virden, Company B; Private, John Conley, Company C; Corporal, Frank B. Buckner, Company D; Sergeant, William Frazee, Company E; Sergeant, Henry Fritz, Company F; Private, Louis H. Paradoe, Company G; Private, Oscar Hackley Company I; Private, Frank Taylor, Company K.

Fourth Regiment of Infantry.—Lieutenant, B. T. Smith,* Company A; Lieutenant, John L. Bell,* Company K; Sergeant, R. H. Lindsey (color-bearer), Company D; Corporal, Ephraim R. Smith, Company A; Private, John McCreery, Company B; Private; John R. Brinkley, Company C; Private, Thomas H. Covington,* Company D; Private, William J. Watkins, Company E; Private, Freelding Skeggs, Company F; Private, Alexander Smith, Company G; Private, William N. Ballard, Company H; Private, John H. Blanchard, Company I; Private, Mathias Garrett, Company K.

Fifth Regiment of Infantry.—Lieutenant-Colonel, George W. Connor; Adjutant, Thomas B. Cook; Captain, T. J. Henry, Company C; Captain, Joseph Desha, Company I; Private, Frank H. Hasank, Company A; Private, Samuel South, Company B; Private, Richard Yarbrough, Company E; Sergeant, F. W. Campbell, Company F; Private, Winlock N. Shelton, Company K.

Companies C, D, and I declined making selections.

Sixth Regiment of Infantry.—Second Lieutenant, James H. Cole, Company G; Private, Marcellus S. Mathews, Company D; Private, H. Lowber, Company A; Private, Henry Haman, Company H; Private, John Hinton, Company B; Sergeant, F. P. Randle, Company I.

Companies C, E, and G declined making selections.

Ninth Regiment of Infantry.—Corporal, John L. Dunn (since dead), Company A; Corporal, John W. Carrell, Company D; Private, Norborn G. Gray, Company B; Corporal, Nathan Board (since dead), Company G; Private, Andrew J. Kirtley, Co. C. Other selections declined.

At Missionary Ridge the Kentucky brigade formed a part of the force with which Gen. Cleburne repulsed the persistent attacks made by Gen. Sherman on the right of Gen. Bragg's line. When finally the attack by the Army of the Cumberland swept the left and center from the crest of the ridge, Cleburne fell back, covering the rear of the retreating army on its march to Dalton. No casualties occurred in the brigade, but the loss of Cobb's battery, which was left with Bates' division when the brigade was detatched and sent to the right, was a serious disaster. The two armies separated by Rocky Face Ridge went into winter quarters with little disposition on either side to disturb the peace of the other.

The forward movement of Sherman's army in May called the Kentucky Brigade into action. It was stationed to the right of Buzzard Roost Gap, and, while the Fourth Corps occupied the opposite slope, the brigade moved about from point to point, skirmishing and sharpshooting, until the night of the 12th of May, when it marched to Resaca and took part in the battle on the 15th. The brigade suffered a loss of forty in killed and wounded during this battle, having borne the brunt of the attack upon Bates' division. At New Hope Church, on the 27th, Gen. Lewis, in command of two regiments of his brigade, supported by two Tennessee regiments, charged a heavy line of Union skirmishers on the right of the Atlanta road and defeated

*Killed in action.

them with slight loss. On the following day the Kentuckians made a desperate charge, in which many of the most gallant officers and soldiers in the command were killed, while a large number of wounded were taken prisoners.

On the 20th of June, in front of Kenesaw, an attack was made upon the line occupied by Gens. Lewis and Gist, which resulted in driving them back, when both commanders made a counter charge to recapture the works, but failed to carry them. The brigade participated in the fight at Peachtree Creek, but met its severest loss on the 22d of July, when 135 of its best and bravest men were killed and wounded. The brigade was constantly on duty in the various battles and skirmishes between the contending forces until the last of August, when Sherman's movement around Atlanta caused Bates' division to be ordered to East Point. The Kentucky Brigade was detached and sent to Jonesboro, where it participated in the attack and bloody repulse of Hood's army, on the 30th of August. In this action the loss in the brigade was severe in killed, wounded and missing. On the 1st of September, the brigade suffered a loss of 200 in prisoners, and on the next day formed a part of the line drawn up by Gen. Hood at Lovejoy's Station, which Sherman declined to attack.

The campaign had been very severe upon the Army of the Tennessee, and probably few brigades suffered heavier losses in killed, wounded and missing than the Kentucky Brigade. The 5,000 with which the regiments of the brigade entered the service, had dwindled to 120 officers and 1,120 enlisted men in May, 1864. The Atlanta campaign closed with but 278 men in the ranks.

In conformity with an often expressed wish by the men of the brigade, an order was issued at department headquarters authorizing Gen. Lewis to mount his brigade, and, in accordance with this order, the command marched to Barnesville, where 200 horses were obtained. The brigade began at once to increase in numbers; 200 captured at Jonesboro were exchanged and joined the brigade; wounded men came hobbling into camp and by the 19th the aggregate swelled to about 900, 200 of whom, however, were never mounted. The next two months were spent in constant scouting, and on the advance of Sherman's army in November, the brigade joined Gen. Wheeler in harassing the army of Gen. Sherman, as, under the lead of the great commander, it marched down to the sea.

At Savannah the brigade was dismounted by order of Gen. Hardee and placed in the works, where spurs and sabers were thrown aside, and, with their trusty Enfields, the men resumed their infantry tactics. On the evacuation of the city the brigade was again mounted, and performed arduous service in South Carolina until the surrender of the two main armies of Lee and Johnston.

Edward Porter Thompson, from whose interesting "History of the First Kentucky Brigade," much of the foregoing sketch has been compiled, says: "After it was definitely ascertained that the armies under Lee and Johnston had surrendered, Gen. Lewis proceeded to Washington, Ga., where he was met by Gen. Wilson's provost-marshal, prepared to receive surrender of such troops as should report at that point. The arms were laid by on the afternoon of Saturday, May 6, 1865. Paroles were received, the survivors of many trials and many conflicts separated, and the First Kentucky Brigade as an organization was no more."

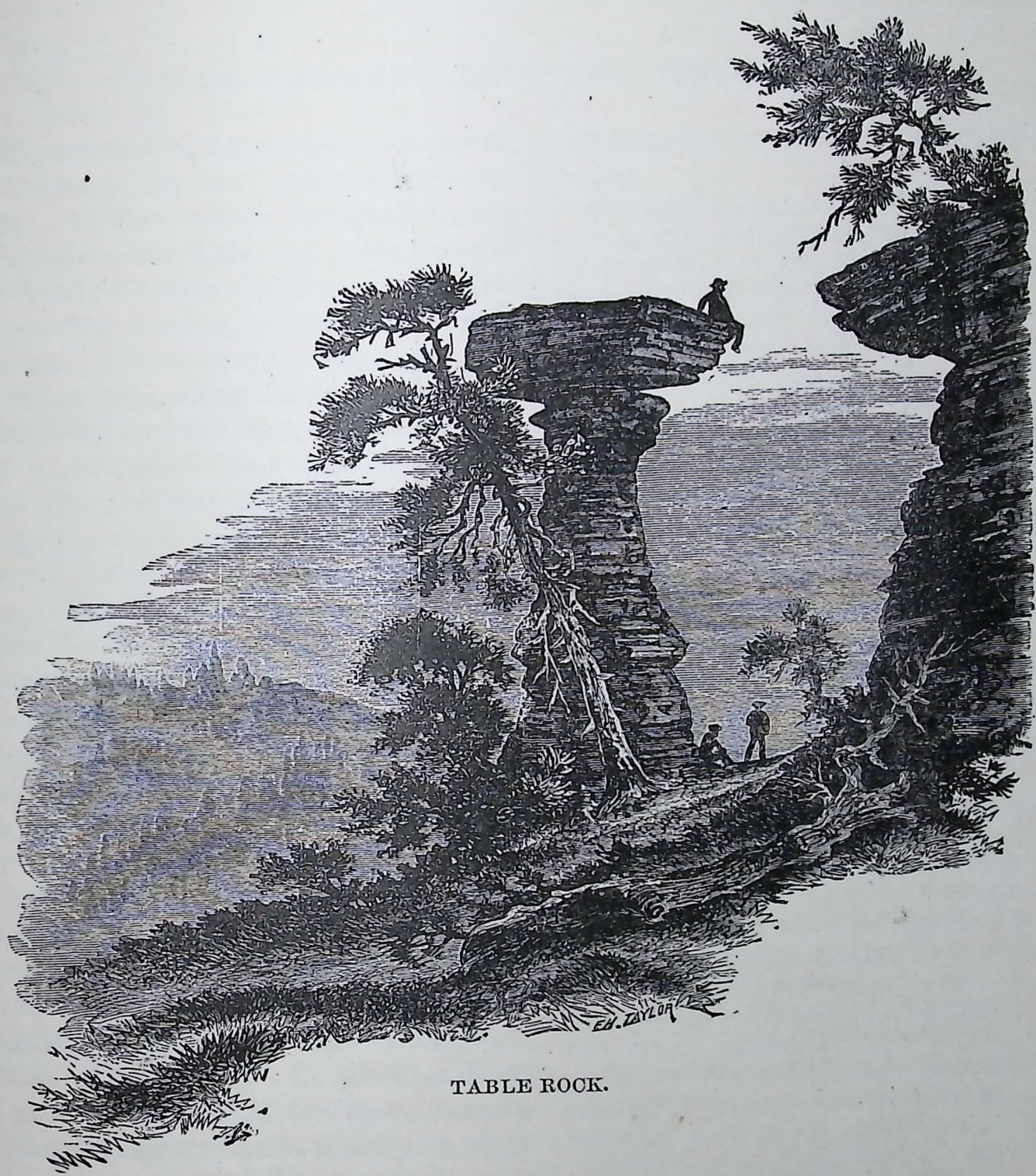


TABLE ROCK.

CHAPTER XIX.

PEACE PROBLEMS, RECONSTRUCTION, ETC., ETC.

THE surrender at Appomattox was the beginning of the end, and the surrender of Gen. Johnston, which followed shortly after, virtually closed the war. The dawn of peace found Kentucky in a less deplorable condition than most of the Southern States. Affairs here, however, were bad enough. The State was overrun with guerrillas, whose depredations were confined to no particular class of victims, but who preyed upon all coming in their way with the same relentless cruelty. These robber bands were independent of any military organization, and acknowledged allegiance to neither Federal nor Confederate government. Many of them had never seen regular military service, but had banded together for the purposes of pillage and the gratification of revenge upon actual or imagined enemies. Toward the close of 1864, there was scarcely a county in Kentucky wholly free from their predatory incursions, and to such an extent did they carry their outrages, as to evoke summary action on the part of the State government, and arouse in the army a bitter spirit of revenge. Known guerrillas captured by regular soldiers, in a majority of cases, met with a short shrift. If honest soldiers were sometimes mistaken for these outlaws, and caused to suffer as such, it was one of the misfortunes of war, and directly attributable to guerrilla indignities. The condition of the State at that time may be compared with that which came with the "Thirty years' war in Germany," and the latter stages of the war between king and parliament in England. The ravages of these outlaw bands continued until the establishment of peace. But with the final suppression of guerrilla warfare, the general state of society still was anything but tranquil. Says a writer of that period:

By the 1st of July, 1865, the State was so secured in its position that with perfect safety the Federal troops could have been withdrawn, and the civil government left to go its appointed way. This was, unhappily, not to be. The armies came home, and went again to their fields and firesides, or, where these were no more, began again to create for themselves places in the world. There were no better and more peaceful citizens than the veterans of the two armies, and no relations were ever more friendly than those between the men who learned to respect each other's manliness in a war that tried them well. Yet it suited the purposes of a political body that had fattened on the system of passes and permits, and the other profitable complications of the civil war, to maintain in time of peace a system that had its only justification in the hard conditions of war, if it can find any justification at all.

If Lincoln had survived, we may well believe that his admirable good sense, which enabled him to help his native State wherever he could see her trouble, would have removed these barriers to the tide of peace and good will that came like a flood upon the people. His death and his replacement by a cheap and small-minded man brought on the last and most painful stage of the struggle, that in which a disarmed and war-worn people were driven to fight for the elementary rights of good government against the tyrannous exactions of a political junta which was insensible to the nobility of the victory.

Fortunately for Kentucky it was not possible for the party in power to sink the State to the depths of degradation into which all the rebellious States were at once plunged. There was no valid pretense at hand for overthrowing the machinery of the State government, though there was every evidence of a desire to do so. Her sufferings were trifling compared with those of the States in that hell on earth, the reconstructed South; still, as we shall see, even Kentucky had a time of purgatorial existence, which delayed the period of quiet, and left a mass of painful memories that will hardly ever be forgotten.

The August election of 1865 showed something of the existing state of affairs. The election was for congressmen, members

of the legislature and State treasurer. To the latter office James H. Garrard was elected over his opponent, William L. Neale, by a small majority. Garrard represented the Conservative party, and Neale the Radical party. Five Conservative and four Radical members of congress were elected; twenty Conservatives and eighteen Radicals were elected to the State senate, and sixty Conservatives and forty Radicals to the house of representatives. There was "very serious interference in many counties with the election by the military. In some cases soldiers prevented voters from going near the polls, and in others arrested and took them off to prison. In Lexington 'citizens stood in front of the polls, and indicated to the soldiers those who were not entitled to vote, and all thus pointed out were not allowed to present themselves to the judges,' so telegraphed the sheriff, W. W. Dowden, to Gov. Bramlette. Negro soldiers were sent as guardians of the polls in several precincts in Mercer County. * * * In Campbell County the board of contested elections decided that on August 7th 'there was such an interference at the different voting places, by armed soldiers, who so governed and controlled the elections as to render it invalid, null and void,' they judged Thomas Jones, the incumbent, not lawfully elected clerk of the circuit court, and declared the office vacant. * * * * The grand jury of Powell County indicted Henry C. Lilly, senator-elect, and John N. B. Hardwick, county judge, for obstructing the freedom of elections."*

The vote for State treasurer stood: for Mr. Garrard, the Conservative candidate, 42,187 to 42,082 for the Radical candidate, a vote, the smallness of which shows that the ex-Confederate element did not vote. Interference with elections were not the only indignities the people of the State suffered. Nearly every form of civil life was more or less disturbed. An example is found in the case of Rev. Lorenzo D. Huston, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) in Newport. He was imprisoned because he had opposed the proposition of the Kentucky conference withdrawing from the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in order to join the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. He was detained in confinement until October, 1865, without trial, and was finally liberated by order of Gen. Grant, "requiring his immediate and unconditional release." The war was over and peace established, but martial law still prevailed in Kentucky. "Every petty officer commanding a post," says a writer, "had summary jurisdiction over the persons of the people, which he could exercise to gratify private malice or to increase his sense of personal importance." The long continuation of martial law in Kentucky is thus explained in the political history of that stormy time:

The Republican party secured substantial control of the other border States, while Kentucky, though she had been the only one of the slave-holding States that had shown a very decided loyalty to the Federal cause, had eluded all efforts of the Republican leaders to cajole or coerce her into its fold. They chose to assume that Kentucky was at this time disloyal, hostility to their party and disloyalty being then, to their minds, synonymous terms. At this time the Republican party was principally in the control of men who had no knowledge of the war, no sympathy with its sufferings or its nobler emotions. They had received great political, and often great pecuniary, profit from its events. Unhesitatingly they stigmatized as disloyal the commonwealth which had given as large a share of its life and treasure to maintain the Union as any other State, which had borne patiently and unflinchingly the most grevious burdens of the struggle, and had in fact clung more closely to the traditions of the Union than any other part of the country.

All this is quite true. While Kentucky was not desolated like some of the more extreme southern States, yet lying as it did, on the dividing line between North and South, it was exposed to the fire of both sides, and suffered from the indignities of both armies. Not the least of its troubles and perils were in the numerous raids made through every part of the State, as already noticed, by the squads of guerrillas who claimed to belong either to the Federal or Confederate cause, but, who, in reality, were only robbers and freebooters, subject to no

*Collins' History, Vol. I, p. 163.

military laws or control. Both governments disowned these lawless gangs, but that did not put a stop to their outrages, which were perpetrated almost daily during the last year or two of the war.

The Freedman's Bureau, one of the most offensive engines of reconstruction to the white people of Kentucky, and of the whole south, and, as it eventually proved, a curse to the colored people, developed new evils, and that too, of a most exasperating type. There never was any necessity for the Freedman's Bureau in Kentucky, however much its operation, may have been needed in those States that had been in rebellion. Its organization here was but another of the indignities heaped upon a loyal State that "had given as large a share of its life and treasure to maintain the Union as any other State." Its first indignity was committed under a recent act of congress, which provided that the wives and children of negro soldiers should be free. As this was prior to the adoption of the constitutional amendments upon the subject of slavery, or the freedom of the slaves, its gross injustice is seen at a glance—the injustice of depriving people of their property without due process of law. The families of Kentucky colored soldiers comprised thousands of women and childen, and the Freedman's Bureau undertook to compel their owners to pay them wages for all the time that had elapsed since the enlistment of their fathers and husbands. Of course this brought confusion, and produced serious difficulties; it caused numerous suits to be filed against slave owners, and entailed upon them endless annoyances. The Hon. Garrett Davis, United States senator from Kentucky, and one of the most unconditional and unswerving Union men of the State during the war, was the first victim of this species of prosecution. A suit was brought against him for wages of former slaves, and many other suits of a similar character were instituted against other citizens of the commonwealth. These suits, however, amounted to nothing, except to still further exasperate the people, and indeed, this seems to have been the original intention of them. The following upon negro testimony in the courts is to the point:

> The last important problem left by the war was the question of negro testimony in the courts. The old slavery laws of Kentucky limited the testimony of the negro in many ways; white men could not be convicted of grave crime by their evidence. These laws should have been at once repealed, and it is to the discredit of the State that they remained upon the statute books until 1872. There is, however, some excuse for this delay. The Freedman's Bureau had constituted itself the keepers of the whole negro population, and had in an unfortunate way removed them from the control of the ordinary civil law of the State. To the appeal for the abrogation of the statute the people answered: "Do away with this interference with the negroes, and we will give them equal position before the law." When, in 1872, the end of this system of supervision of the negro population by the Freedman's Bureau was abandoned, the resistance to the complete assimilation of the negro with the white race in all matters of the law came about. The negro has been found to be a very trustworthy witness, and none regret his full admission to the courts.

The negro, it is an indisputable fact, was the great question involved in the civil war. His emancipation from slavery entailed a heavy pecuniary loss to the people of the State, and yet, when his freedom was brought about, society felt the relief of a patient, whose life is saved at the expense of a limb. Slavery had become somewhat unprofitable, and was yearly growing more so, to an extent more marked in Kentucky than in the far South. The institution was hedged about by humanitarian instincts and laws of Kentucky that were unknown in the cotton and sugar-growing States; black labor, considering the total capital involved and the small returns received, was growing unprofitable in a rapid ratio, while the vast irreducible expense of the institution, the growing impoverished condition of the land, and its utter lack of adaptability to other pursuits, rendered ruin near and inevitable. And so, while the opposition to emancipation was unanimous and determined, when once it was effected the relief was immediately apparent and rejoiced in. The agricultural system has been greatly improved under the new order of things, farm labor is more profitable, the dominant class is more enterprising and vigorous, and the old slave caste is now broken down and the

last vestiges of it fast disappearing. The conditions effected by this radical change have been met with a creditable spirit by both races. Freedom found the negroes destitute of everything but the meager clothing in their possession. A number anticipated the final abolition of slavery in the border States by going into the army, but those who remained found themselves wholly improvided and without resources. In this condition the greatest misery might have followed had the masters cherished a vindictive spirit. A few of the liberated slaves tried their new found wings only to fail utterly in their first flight, and begged to be taken back on the old place. It is undoubtedly true that the physical condition of the freedmen for the first year or two was worse than during the period of slavery (and with many it is still worse), but the masters, partly through sympathy and partly because they needed them, allowed their former slaves to remain. There was no necessity for so great a number, however, and many found it to their interest to emigrate to Kansas and elsewhere. Those who remained found ready employment and considerate treatment generally. Many are doing well, making a good living and educating their children, many are doing but little better than under the old *regime*, and some are doing worse.

The freeing of a large number of ignorant negroes, whose whole training taught them to lie, pilfer, to live improvidently and unchaste, has imposed upon society a heavy burden of responsibility. Twenty years have passed since the war which set them free, but society has not yet adjusted itself completely to the new order of things. Neither race adequately appreciate the full extent of the change that has been wrought, and the responsibilities which it imposes upon each. The negroes, trained to an utter disregard of personal character in themselves, have not yet learned that this must now be cultivated. The whites fail in the same respect. Negroes convicted of felony lose caste with neither race, and find employment at the hands of the whites as readily as the honest black. Women notoriously unchaste are employed by the whites as cooks or servants, and lose no standing in colored society. This fatal lack of self-respect is encouraged by the heedless action of the whites, and so long as it exists is a menace against society, and a successful hindrance to the elevation of the race. Education to such a people is a dangerous power, and religion a sham, and yet, nothing but education, liberal, practical education, will ever raise the colored people to the standard of respectable citizenship. It is the duty of every good citizen to heartily co-operate with well-directed effort to this end, and with better methods, backed by such co-operation, much may be done for the betterment of this helpless ward of the nation.

The indignities perpetrated upon the people by the Freedman's Bureau, as might naturally have been expected, produced results inimical to good order. It bred a spirit of lawlessness that culminated in 1866 in the disburbances of the Ku Klux Klan. This secret tribunal, whose name became as terrible almost as that of the Spanish Inquisition or the Holy Vehme of Germany in the middle ages, was common to the whole south, but its acts were fewer and less serious in Kentucky. The motives for its organization and the results of its existence, have been discussed by a prominent author,* as follows:

The sudden closing of the war left a considerable amount of social rubbish within the State, both white and black. The negroes, as a rule, behaved exceedingly well in their unaccustomed condition, accepting their new lot of citizenship in an excellent spirit; but a portion of them, especially those who had been employed in the army as teamsters and as camp servants, proved very troublesome. Nearly the whole of this part of the negro people had gathered into small separate settlements away from their original homes, and were under the influence of a bad class of white leaders. This demoralized condition of the lower classes of blacks led to a large amount of stealing; no farmer could keep his sheep or pigs from their furtive hands; usually the thieving was not accompanied by violence, but in some cases the trouble was more serious. In many counties the negroes organized themselves into marauding bands; there were a number of outrages upon women, an offense that had always been particularly abhorrent to the people of Kentucky, and which they have always visited with condign punishment when the perpetrators could be found. In

*American Commonwealths, p, 369.

its beginning, at least in Kentucky, the Ku Klux Klan was probably designed to restrain and punish these transgressions. It doubtless did in the outset certain rude acts of justice. Its cheap mystic accompaniments were certainly well designed to strike terror to the superstitious blacks. When it had accomplished the little good that was possible to a system so fundamentally evil, it fell into the hands of the most wretched class of the population, the very element it was designed to overthrow, and became a great curse to society. For a time the organization defied the civil law; the secrecy of its action and the terrorism exercised on witnesses, made it impossible to apply adequate punishment through the courts.

Beginning in 1866, this evil system continued in intermittent action until 1873. Like most social evils in a vigorous State, this system finally brought about its own remedy. For years the country folk tolerated the outrages for the profit they brought to them; their pigs were safer even if the common people of the realm did suffer a bit. The old dislike of lawlessness, common to well organized societies, was lessened by the long time of strife. For several years the Ku Klux vented its outrages upon the essentially criminal class; the rough justice of many of their actions made the mass of the people pardon their worst crimes. Finally, there came a general sense that they were going too far, and that they should no longer be tolerated. When this feeling became general they were speedily crushed out. With the Ku Klux disappeared the last remnant of the greater ills that came in the train of the war. Regarding, then, the Ku Klux system and the Freedmen's Bureau as the closing evils of the war, we may accept 1873 as the last year of that great revolution which began in 1860, moved swiftly to the state of war, raged for four years with a fury of thought, words and actions unequaled in any struggle of the race, and then for eight years left its wreckage to trouble men weary with the nobler part of their great labor.

That part of the development of Kentucky, which can be in any proper sense termed historic, ended in 1873 with the sweeping away of the last cloud left by the war; all the rest of its life is still in the process of evolution. Before we turn to consider the present condition of the State, let us bring before our minds the outline of these years of rapid change through which this people had just passed. In 1860, when, after infinite debate, Kentucky slowly came to the remarkable resolution that she would bar her doors to the great storm that was about to move heaven and earth about her, the commonwealth was still a mediæval society in all its essential qualities; the institution of slavery had acted like a pickle to preserve unchanged much of the notions that belonged in other centuries of the race's life. Her very resolution to stand aloof in a war in which the nineteenth century fought against the seventeenth, shows that the people, despite an intense interest in politics, had not come to a point of view whence they could see where their social life stood in the world. They were as much out of the world of their day as if they had been shut in on every side by mountain heights; a clean-blooded, land-loving, fairly thrifty lot, they had, through their activities, not suffered any of the degradation that comes to other races from their connection with slaves.

Kentucky suffered less, as stated, than her sister States of the south, but the "shock to the commonwealth, arising from the conjoined loss of life and property, defies expression in words, nor do the ordinary accidents of society supply any analogy." Her loss of property was proportionately as great as the loss of life among her soldiers. In 1860 the slave property of Kentucky was estimated at over $100,000,000. This, in 1865, had disappeared, and other elements of wealth had greatly diminished. Describing the condition of the State at the close of the war, it was said that, "although the war as carried on in Kentucky had been, on the whole, a singularly decent struggle, the actual destruction of property was very large. Nearly all the live stock was swept away. A considerable part of the houses had been burned; fences were gone, and the forest, quick to recover its grasp on the rich soil, had changed vast districts of fertile fields into thickets that had to be re-won to the plow. * * * * * * When a city is burned its men remain; a commercial crisis destroys neither the men nor the productive power of a State; a pestilence leaves the real property untouched; but the destruction of a long continued civil war is a thing by itself combining all the evils which an ordinary society can suffer, and adds to those a new element of ruin in the overthrow of the precious trust in civil government."

After the close of the war political parties in Kentucky were reorganized on new lines. The extreme to which the "civil rights" had been carried, disgust at the emancipation of the slaves, the irritation resulting from the acts of the Freedmen's Bureau, and other proceedings "hostile to the governmental integrity of the State," all combined

to make Kentucky an overwhelmingly Democratic State. Pertinent to the subject is the following:

Perhaps the most satisfactory feature in the close of the civil war was the really quick restoration of the civil order in the State and the perfect reunion of the divided people. The prompt and complete abrogation of the severe penalties laid upon the Confederate soldiers and sympathizers, greatly contributed to this speedy return to the conditions of peace. In this course the people of Kentucky set an excellent but unheeded example to the Federal government. By this action they avoided all risks of having a large part of their citizens parted in spirit from the life and work of the commonwealth. This reconciliation was helped by the fact that both Federals and Confederates had played a manly part in the struggle. Not only had the soldiers in both parties shown themselves to be brave and manly men in the field, but the Kentucky troops on both sides had done all in their power to make war decent and honorable, and to lighten its burdens on non-combatants. They could wear their laurels and live their lives together without shame. What was left of the 40,000 who went away into the southern service, came back to their place in the State sadder and wiser men, yet the better citizens for their dearly bought experience. We search in vain for any evidence of hatred or even dislike among these men who were lately in arms against each other. In all the walks of life, in the courts and in the legislature, as well as in the relations of kindred, we find these old enemies going together to their work of repairing the ruin that war had brought on the State—fighting at times their battles over again in good-natured talk, but each dearer to the other for the fearful parting of the war.

The session of the legislature of 1865–66 repealed the laws that disfranchised Confederate soldiers. An act had been passed, during the war, consigning to the penitentiary those Confederate soldiers who had invaded the State. This act was repealed by a vote of twenty-one to fifteen in the senate, and sixty-two to thirty-three in the house. By a similar vote the expatriation act was repealed, as were all other laws which had been passed to "disqualify or punish persons for sympathy with the rebellion." The returned Confederate soldiers comprised a large and valuable portion of the male population of the State, and their restoration to citizenship was an act of wisdom on the part of the legislature. "The dangers arising from the animosities of the war," says one versed in the politics of the time, "were at once done away with, and the breaches that were made in the society of the rebellious States by the continued disfranchisement of its citizens were avoided. It was an absolutely safe measure, considered even from the point of view of Federal politics. The experience of the Confederate soldiers in the years gone by had destroyed all desire of resistance to the Federal authority. It is doubtful if these men had been polled after their return to Kentucky whether they would have voted for a peaceable secession of the Confederate States. The problem of secession had been worked out to the end; the result was generally accepted by the soldiers of the Confederacy as final. To have maintained the isolation of these returned Confederates would have been an act of political madness, and in receiving them in friendliness, the State of Kentucky did an act that unfortunately was not imitated by the Federal government. When, in the centuries to come, the historian looks over the graves of all those who took part in the civil war, and sees their acts cleared of the cloud of prejudice that even now envelops them, we must believe that these acts of reconciliation will stand forth as the noblest features in the history of this commonwealth. He will see in them the best possible evidence of the civil strength, of the State making and State preserving power, of this people. He will certainly note the fact that the Union party in a border State, where passions were infuriated in the presence of immediate war, had a higher element of reason in their action than was found in the whole Federal Union, the greater and dominant part of which saw nothing of war except in the mind's eye."

At the August election in 1867 there were three tickets presented to the voters of the commonwealth, viz.: "Democratic," "Conservative Union," and "Union" or "Republican." John L. Helm, the Democratic candidate for governor, and John W. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, were elected, by an overwhelming majority, over William B. Kinkead and Harrison Taylor,

Conservative Union, and Sidney M. Barnes and R. T. Baker, Union Republican. John Rodman, Democrat, was elected attorney-general over Gen. John M. Harlan (now of the Supreme Court of the United States) and Col. John Mason Brown; Col. D. Howard Smith, Democrat, was elected auditor, over Col. J. S. Hurtt and Silas Adams; James W. Tate, Democrat, was elected treasurer over Alford Allen and M. J. Roark; James A. Dawson, Democrat, was elected register of the land office over Col. J. J. Craddock and J. M. Fidler; Z. F. Smith, Democrat, was elected superintendent of public instruction over Benjamin M. Harney and Rev. Daniel Stevenson. The legislature bore the following complexion: Senate, twenty-eight Democrats, three Union Democrats, and seven Union Republicans; house of representatives, eighty-five Democrats, five Union Democrats, and ten Union Republicans. This shows pretty conclusively how strongly Democratic the State had become under the policy of reconstruction. Gov. Helm was lying very ill at his home in Elizabethtown when the election came off. He never recovered, but died on the 8th of September following. He had been inaugurated governor on the 3d, at Elizabethtown, being too ill to go to Frankfort. Lieut.-Gov. Stevenson was inaugurated governor, as the successor of Mr. Helm, on the 13th of September. In August, 1868, Mr. Stevenson was duly elected governor, a special election having been called, over R. T. Baker, receiving 115,560 votes, to 26,605 for Baker, Republican.

In the presidential election this year Horatio Seymour carried Kentucky by a vote of 115,889 to 39,566 for Gen. U. S. Grant, the Republican candidate. Gen. Grant was elected president by a majority of 134 electoral votes. Nine Democratic congressmen were elected in Kentucky. The Eighth Congressional District gave Gen. Grant 1,259 popular majority, but notwithstanding elected a democratic congressmen. Four years later (1872), the presidential candidates were Horace Greeley and Gen. Grant, with a fifth wheel to the political wagon, entitled Charles O'Conor. The vote of Kentucky was as follows: Horace Greeley, nominee of the Democratic party, 100,212; Gen. Grant, Republican, 88,816; Charles O'Conor, Bourbon Democrat, 2,374; Greeley over Grant, 11,396 majority. A full Democratic delegation was elected to congress. Two years previously (in 1870), Kentucky elected a Democratic delegation to congress. With the exception of one or two districts, Kentucky has ever since elected Democrats to congress; also to State offices.

In the State election of 1871, Preston H. Leslie, the Democratic candidate, was elected governor over Gen. John M. Harlan, by a vote of 126,455 to 89,299. By similar majorities the Democrats elected John Rodman, attorney-general; D. Howard Smith, auditor; James W. Tate, treasurer; J. A. Grant, register of the land office; Rev. H. A. M. Henderson, superintendent of public instruction. To the State senate thirty-five Democrats and three Republicans were elected, and eighty-two Democrats and eighteen Republicans to the house of representatives. In 1875 James B. McCreery was elected governor by the Democrats; in 1879, Dr. Luke P. Blackburn was elected governor, and in 1883, J. Proctor Knott, the present executive, was elected by the usual Democratic majority.

The presidential election of 1876 will long be remembered in Kentucky, as well as in national history. The cry of fraud attaching to it, and the excitement aroused, will not be forgotten for generations to come. From a Democratic standpoint, the popular vote stood: Samuel J. Tilden, 4,300,590; Rutherford B. Hayes, 4,036,298, a popular Democratic majority of 264,292. The elections of South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were contested, and in the final settlement of the contest the result arrived at presented some novel facts, the most important of which were majorities for the Republican national ticket, and for the Democratic State ticket. Years hence it may be a matter of interest to know how this (notorious) election was finally settled. As both parties claimed South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida, congress passed an act providing for an electoral commission to pass upon all matters in dispute, the decision to be final. This commission was composed of five sena-

tors, five representatives and five justices of the supreme court. The senate selected George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen (Republicans), Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard (Democrats). The house of representatives chose Eppa Hunton, Henry B. Payne, Josiah E. Abbott (Democrats), James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar (Republicans). Four justices of the supreme court designated by the act, were Nathan Clifford and Stephen J. Field (Democrats), and William Strong and Samuel F. Miller (Republicans). They chose as the fifth justice Joseph P. Bradley, a Republican. The natural choice would have been David Davis, but he had been elected a senator from Illinois only five days before. The commission divided in voting on the main issues on a party line, the eight Republicans overruling the seven Democrats, and the result was the admission of the Republican electoral votes from the States in contest and the seating of the Republican candidates.*

As finally counted, the electoral vote was as follows: Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana—184 votes for Tilden and Hendricks. Main, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Florida, Lousiana, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, California, Oregon—185 votes for Hayes and Wheeler, a majority of one electoral vote. Had the three States, South Carolina, Florida and Lousiana, claimed for Tilden, been given him, he would have had a majority of thirty-nine votes in the electoral college.

The presidential campaign of 1880 placed four tickets before the voters of the country, viz.: James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, Republicans; Gen. Winfield S. Hancock and William E. English, Democrats; James B. Weaver, Greenbacker; and Gen. Neal Dow, Prohibitionist. The vote in the electoral college was 214 for Garfield and Arthur, and 155 for Hancock and English. In 1884 the Democratic party triumphed, and elected Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks, president and vice-president, over James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, Republicans.

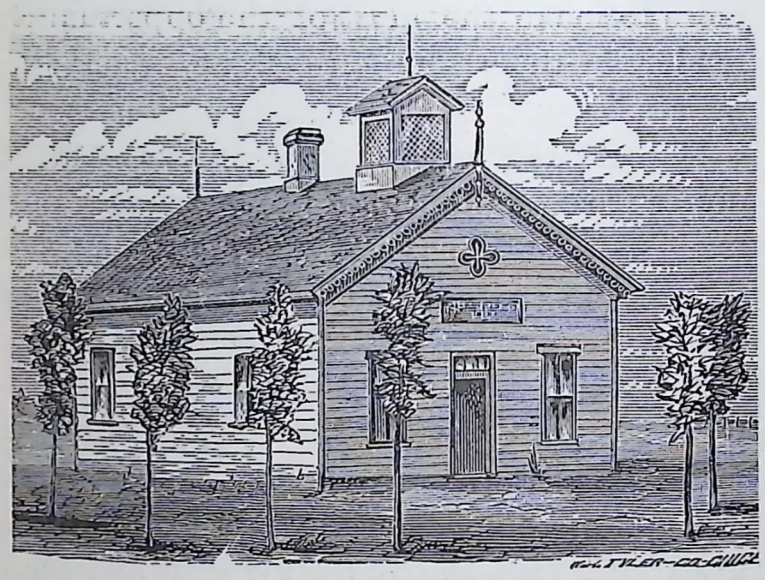
The progress of public education in Kentucky since the close of the war far exceeds that of any other period in the history of the State. But its system of public schools, as compared with those of the northern and western States, is still lamentably defficient. One reason for this has been the unfortunate pride of caste which prevailed among the southern people—to a greater extent prior to the war than now—and which led to the organization and support of hundreds of seminaries, academies, and other high grade schools. These educational institutions were established mainly by private enterprise, and for pecuniary advantages to the projectors. They have greatly retarded the growth of the public schools and the cuuse of public education, and the majority of them, though rejoicing in the high-sounding name of "colleges," are as incapable of giving the pupil a collegiate education as the ordinary graded school of a country village—more so than the graded public school of a northern or western village of 1,000 inhabitants. Since the war, however, the people are growing out of this foolish idea of caste, and it is to their credit that it is so. The late superintendent of public instruction, Rev. Mr. Henderson, very pertinently said:

> Ten years ago, a man in the blue grass country, worth $10,000, would as soon have thought of sending his children to the poor-house as to the public school. The public school was generally regarded as a charity, devised for the education of paupers, but not to be countenanced by the rich, save as a benefaction to the poor. The schools were common in the sense of low, vulgar and inferior. The very accent with which the adjective was pronounced, indicated the contempt in which men of means regarded it. But our citizens have now learned to regard it as common, in the sense of a community of interest, as the laws are common, the common land; as the State is common, the commonwealth, etc. Now the idea of conferring a benefit upon the indigent has given place to the true one, namely, to prepare citizens for the intelligent exercise of thei

*History of Presidential Campaigns, by Edward Stanwood.

suffrages, and to protect society from the penalties of ignorance.

The public schools, form the true foundation of our educational system. Colleges and universities are proper in their place, and should be carefully fostered and liberally endowed. They are essential to a higher education, and we could no more dispense with them than with any other branch of education, or of the government. But the public schools, schools for the education of the masses, should be equally fostered. "With what scrupulous care," says a zealous friend of public education, "does England foster her great universities for the training of the sons of the nobility, for their places in the house of lords, in the army, navy and church. What, then, should be the character of citizenship in a country where every man is born a king and sovereign, heir to all the franchises and trusts of the State and republic? An ignorant people can be governed, but only an intelligent and educated people can govern themselves."



MODERN COUNTRY SCHOOLHOUSE.

The interest being manifested of late years, in the public schools, is ample proof of the intellectual developement of the State, under the new order of things brought about by the war. Illustrative of their increasing popularity, is the following extract from the State superintendent's report, a few years ago:

The wealthiest counties are becoming the best friends of the public schools, and tax payers are voting levies upon themselves to improve their quality, and extend their terms. Half a million dollars are annually raised, by the election of the people, to supplement the public bonus. Tasteful and comfortable schoolhouses are fast taking the places of those old shams and shames, in which the children of the poor erstwhile were corraled. Eighteen hundred have been built within the last eight years. A home supply of teachers, furnished from our best young men and women, are taking the place of impecunious tramps and shiftless natives. The system is no longer an infirmary for the lame and halt and feeble, incompetents to be provided for, no more are pensioned upon the bounty afforded by the school fund. It is not now a "stepping stone" to professions, a temporary expedient, accepted until something better turns up or is turned up. Men and women among us are choosing it for their life work, and emulating each other in their aspirations and achievements of a profession which confers honor, and whose prizes are to be coveted, and whose badges are to be worn with pride. Cities and towns vie with each other in maintaining graded schools better than our average western colleges, with their half-starved faculties. School examinations and teachers' institutes have become occasions looked forward to with anticipations of pleasure, and enjoyed as feasts of soul. Communities bid for these convocations, and rival each other in the tender of hospitalities to their members. At these sessions teachers take on power and inspiration for practical work, when they return to their school-rooms, loaded with valuable suggestions and methods. Discriminating patrons witness the exercises, to determine who among the instructors is best fitted for the post of district teacher. Citizens crowd to the polls to elect the officers of the system, and men are aspiring for the dignities of the trustees office. Aspirants for the county commissionership are as eager for its honors as candidates for county judgeships. Calls for the superintendent are loud and frequent from every part of the State.

He who fails to see these tokens of interest is wilfully and wantonly blind. These and other signs of the times argue that an auspicious period is at hand, when the benefits of education will crush out ignorance, and intelligence hold the ballots that fall in the nation's urn of fate. The importance of our common school system is apparent, when it is remembered that there are only 35,000 pupils in all the universities, colleges, seminaries and private academies of our State, while a quarter of a million of children flock to our 7,000 public schools. In half the counties no schools are taught but common schools. In some of our counties of wealth and refinement, the public schools have absorbed all private educational enterprises, because co-operative effort furnishes a superior quality of education. If our colleges decline in the number of matriculates, the cause is not to be found in diminished interest in education, but in the fact that our public schools are affording at home advantages formerly sought abroad.

This is but proof of the advance made by

the State in educational development since the close of the war. This intellectual advancement is still increasing and improving every year. And there is still room for further improvements. Education alone will stop the lawlessness that stalks abroad in some portions of the State. The refining influence of a good school upon the society of any neighborhood, hitherto without one, has never failed to show happy effects. But a few years ago official statistics showed that Kentucky had 40,000 white voters who could not read. Add to this the negro voters, estimated at 55,000, but few of whom can read, and the majority of whom are far more ignorant than the illiterate whites, and we have 95,000, nearly one-third of the entire electoral population of the State, who are "ignorant of the very means by which to acquaint themselves with the merits of the questions submitted for their decision at the polls." Let this mass of ignorance increase until it rises into a majority, and what will be the result? It requires no prophet to foretell the doom of the State in such an event. This ignorance must and will increase if left to itself, without State encouragement for its own improvement. Citizenship can only be improved, lawlessness lessened, and intemperance driven from the community by education, and the sooner the people awake to this fact, the better it will be for the credit and prosperity of the commonwealth. Competent legislation is required, and, if need be, a reorganization of the entire school system. "It is a singular phenomenon," says Mr. Collins, "of the history of the internal economy of our State for seventy years, that our main attempts at internal improvement and public education, at State expense, and under State superintendence, have been embarrassed or defeated, almost wholly by the misdirection and mismanagement of incompetent legislation." There is too much truth in this to gainsay. If the average legislator has not been criminally neglectful, he has certainly been lamentably indifferent to legislation for the benefit and improvement of public education.

The colored schools are increasing in importance each year. It is highly commendable in the colored people that they evince so great an interest and enthusiasm in the cause of education, and proves that they are desirous of improving themselves, and of becoming good and respectable citizens. In some sections of the State they are taking really more interest in the public schools than the whites. Said Mr. Henderson, in one of his annual reports as State superintendent: "Their system has more than met the expectation of its projectors and friends, and is rapidly, by gratifying development, disappointing the prophesies and hopes of its enemies. The colored people are now taking hold of it with that enthusiasm and earnestness so characteristic of the race, when their interests are at stake, and their claims to notice recognized by authority. They are exhibiting a most commendable zeal in supplementing the fund, and are really doing more to make the most of the opportunities tendered them by the State, than the whites."

The colored people receive a school fund direct from the State, to which is added the taxes paid by themselves. In some localities they have built comfortable houses; in the city of Louisville, and in some of the other larger cities of the State, their school buildings compare favorably with those of the whites, and they are supplied with teachers well qualified for the stations they fill. A gratifying fact, in connection with the education of the colored people, is the interest in the matter, "manifested by representative white men throughout the State, and their earnest disapproval of the policy of bitter antagonism of those who still cherish hereditary prejudice, instead of rising to the level of an intelligence which respects the issues that the changed relations of this race have introduced into the policies of the State." The negroes are now all *freemen*, but their future, without education, would be little better than actual slavery. The older ones, who were brought up and educated to work, are rapidly passing away, while a new generation is coming on—reared without restraints, and to look upon work as one of the relics

of slavery. For these there is no hope but in education. The following may be a little severe, but is not wholly without truth:

The greatest crime of the century was the sudden enfranchisement of 4,000,000 of unlettered Africans. Those who perpetrated this outrage upon our republican institutions, did it in the face of all the social science they had propagated. The North had emphasized the doctrine, that "virtue and intelligence are essential to the perpetuity of the republic;" and yet, in an ill advised hour of heated passion, rendered hot by the fires of civil war, they made a horde of ignorant slaves the peers of their intelligent masters, and thus provided the condition that prostrated the South, and subjected its people to the most destroying despotism that ever ground into the dust a free citizenship. The only indemnity for this stupendous wrong is their education at the national expense. To require the people they impoverished by this act of folly to bear the burden of their education, would be a continued piece of injustice, which no political casuistry can justify, no species of sophistry disguise, and no maudlin philanthrophy dignify with a decent apology.

Berea College is a liberal educational institution located in Madison County, and is open to the education of the colored people on equal terms with the whites. It dates its origin back to 1855—a time when it required an indomitable will and unbounded courage to establish such a school in a slave-holding State. It may, in some degree, be termed an offshoot of Oberlin College, Ohio, as the first teachers, employed in the Berea School, William E. Lincoln and Otis B. Waters, were students who had been educated at that institution. It was the cause of much excitement throughout the surrounding country, and more or less mob violence was exercised against the zealous founders of the school, and also the church which had been established in the same vicinity. Rev. John G. Fee, who was the originator of the school, has been pastor of the church at Berea for nearly a third of a century, and is a native Kentuckian, received many indignities during his early ministrations in this and the adjoining counties, from the rough elements of society, spurred on by those who opposed "abolitionism."

LADIES' HALL—BEREA COLLEGE.

The third teacher of the Berea school was Prof. J. A. R. Rogers. The second term of the school under his administration was opened in

September, 1859, with two additional teachers —John G. Hanson and his wife. It was during this term that the question of admitting colored pupils was discussed in the young men's literary society of the school. After considerable discussion it was decided that, "if any one made in God's image comes to get knowledge which will enable him to understand the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, he can not be rejected." This sentiment was obnoxious to the slave-holding families, and many of them withdrew their children from the school.

Efforts were made, in 1858, to transform the school into a college, by the adoption of a constitution, at a meeting held on September 7th, of that year, at the residence of Rev. Mr. Fee. The following clauses from the document will show the grand object of Berea College:

> This college shall be under an influence strictly christian, and, as such, opposed to sectarianism, slave-holding, caste, and every other wrong institution or practice.
>
> The object of this college shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, at the least possible expense to the same, and all the inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the board of trustees shall be offered its students.

Many difficulties still remained to be surmounted by the friends of the institution, but they persevered. A tract of land containing something over a hundred acres was purchased for $1,800, and Mr. Fee went east to raise funds for the college. But political influences disturbed its peace, and on the 23d of December, 1859, a "committee of safety" visited Berea, and delivered notice to some dozen of those most zealous in the school to leave the county within ten days. They petitioned the governor for protection, but he informed them he could not afford them protection, owing to the excitement caused by the John Brown raid in Virginia, which had just occurred. The families who were forced to leave the place numbered about forty persons. The war soon opened, and with the beginning of hostilities the institution closed temporarily.

In 1865 the school was reopened. A charter for a college was obtained under a general law of the State, the board of trustees reorganized, and other lands were purchased. The admission of colored pupils caused considerable excitement, and half the white pupils deserted the institution. But their places were soon filled, and the requisite qualifications for admission into the institution still remained—"a good moral character." Temporary buildings for the accomodation of the increased attendance were erected in 1866–67. Howard Hall was erected in 1869 by the Freedman's Bureau at a cost of $18,000. It is a three-story wood building with a tin roof. In 1870–71, "Ladies' Hall," was erected. It is a superb building, three stories high, built of brick, and has two fronts of 120 feet each. The Ladies' Hall at Oberlin, Ohio, was taken as a pattern, and "its excellencies, if possible, were improved, and its defects remedied." It is furnished with every modern convenience, and is a very model of excellence in every respect. "All other college buildings, including Howard Hall, Recitation Hall, Office Building, Grammar School, Intermediate School, Primary School, very good buildings, and the chapel, a very fine building, costing $9,000, are situated in the college campus, consisting of two large and beautiful groves of forest trees embracing about forty-five acres. The larger grove, in which the buildings are, is on the high land, and the other in the plain, fifty feet below."

The college owns, besides the buildings, which are estimated at $82,000, 300 acres of land, not including the grounds about the buildings, and worth about $15,000; it owns about twenty-five good business lots, 25x125 feet, and worth $125 per lot. The college has an endowment of $95,000, not including the land.

The following extract, from an article by Prof. A. P. Peabody, of Harvard, on the co-education of the races, will present an appropriate conclusion to this sketch of Berea:

> Of all the experiments in co-education that have been instituted, we regard Berea College, in Kentucky, as the most important in its sphere of influence and in its prophecy of enduring benefit to the

colored race. It has carried the war into the enemy's camp, and has brought its whole Christian panoply and armament into the immediate encounter with the surviving spirit of slavery—a spirit made all the more virulent by the destruction of its body. At other institutions, black students are admitted to an equality with the white; at Berea, white students are admitted to an equality with the black. The trustees and professors at Berea can not invite their white neighbors to unite with them in throwing the doors of their institutions wide open to all that choose to come. They must first gather their little flock of black pupils, with a very few white youths from their own or friendly families, and then they must make their light shine bright enough and far enough to win the regard and confidence of a distrustful and scornful public; and to demonstrate to that unwilling public that it is for their own and their childrens' interest that they patronize this institution. This has been effected. The college has shown its large educational capacity. Its public exercises have been attended in successive years by persons of established reputation as educationists and literary men, and have received their unqualified commendation and praise. There is, for many miles around, no institution of learning that does nearly so much or so well for its pupils. The consequence is that those at first vehemently opposed to it are fast falling into the ranks of neutrals or friends. Many who deemed it a nuisance have already sent their children to it. Its sterling value as a seminary of education is now recognized on all hands. But it is of much more worth for its silent, yet most efficient propagandism of the due relation between the races; for co-education includes within itself or involves as its necessary consequence, equality in all civic and social rights, immunities, duties and obligations.

Kentucky has never encouraged foreign immigration as some other portions of the republic have done. But, on the contrary, the State has opposed it more or less, until within the past few years. The tide of immigration, however, flowing by her northern border to the west and north, enriching the great Northwest, has aroused her to action, and brought the question of foreign immigration to the consideration and attention of the people, and also of the legislature. Within the last five years, a bureau of immigration has been established and facts and statistics and other important intelligence concerning the material resources of the State, have been profusely distributed far and wide. The result of this judicious dissemination of knowledge of Kentucky's material wealth has been the planting of a number of colonies of English, German and Swiss people in the State. Their prosperity shows conclusively that the State affords fine opportunities for immigrants.

The accumulation of aliens from all lands and countries, within a new American State, has been considered by many to be somewhat perilous. Upon this subject a late writer

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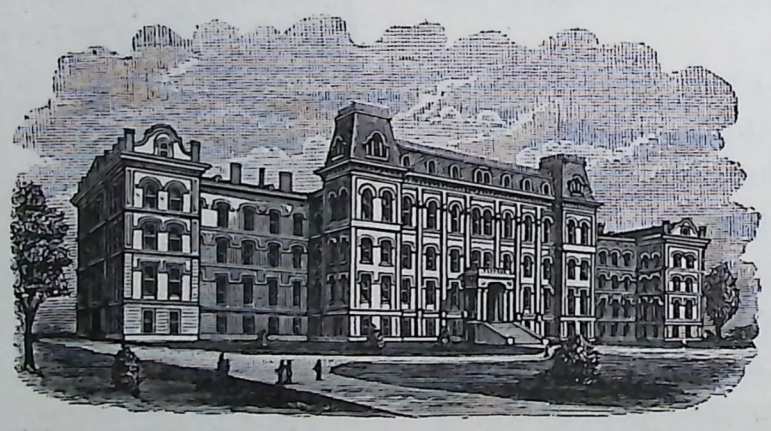
says: "Kentucky has had the good fortune to inherit a nearly pure English blood. Aside from the diminishing negro population, the blood of the people is of a singularly unmixed origin. Her success in meeting the strains of the civil war could not have been secured if its people had not had this singular unity of race and the solidarity of motive that it brought with it. While there are, doubtless, evils that come from this

predominance of English stock and the consequent uniformity of the motives of the people, leading as it does to a certain acceptance of existing conditions, there are other dangers, and graver, which come from the confusion of motives in the States that have a large foreign population, that are much more menacing to society."

There have been several influences that have retarded foreign immigration to Kentucky. The strongest of these influences, perhaps, is the competition with negro labor. The European immigrant is not willing to enter into competition with this species of labor, and the result is they seek those States where slavery never existed. Kentucky has but a small negro population, and it is diminishing in numbers, and there are large tracts of country within the State where there are no negroes, yet the name of a "slave State" clings to it as a plague, driving immigration to other and less fertile regions. This objection to Kentucky must soon pass away, and when it does, and the fine climate and fertile lands of Kentucky become better known to immigrants, then will the tide of immigration turn within her borders. The advantages of Kentucky only need to become well known to induce immigration. The Swiss colonies in Laurel and Lincoln Counties, with the air of prosperity that prevails about them, demonstrate unmistakably the fine field Kentucky presents to the colonist.



MASONIC WIDOW'S AND ORPHAN'S HOME—LOUISVILLE.

CHAPTER XX.

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.

THE late war developed a new phase in every form of life as well in the political history of Kentucky. Everything has changed—much for the better—and a new era has been inaugurated that in intellectual advancement bids fair to surpass the hopes and expectations of the most sanguine friends of the commonwealth. While it cannot be claimed that the scriptural dispensation, when "old things are to pass away," and "all things become new," has dawned, yet the vast changes and improvements seem to indicate an approach to that period. The people emerged from the horrors of war purified "like gold tried in the fire," and at once entered into the work of improving their social and literary institutions, and in restoring peace and tranquility to their State. The press has borne no inconsiderable part in achieving this triumph, and has done more, actual education perhaps excepted, than any other influence brought to bear to reach this grand result.

The press, as an institution, when it happens to fall into the hands of men competent to make it discharge its duty fully and properly, is a most important factor in the advancement of any community. One of the best things that can be said of our nation is, that it has a free press. No man has to be licensed or selected by the government either to print a book or publish a newspaper. It has been circumscribed by no law except natural selection. Any one who wished could start a paper at any time, say almost anything he desired to say, and if he chose not to be suppressed, there was no power to suppress him—except a "military necessity," and once in a great while mob violence. The government foresaw the eventual wants of mankind, and committed the wisest act in all its history in unbridling the press. It was the seed planted in good ground for its own perpetuity, and the happiness and welfare of its people. Says a late writer: "To make the press absolutely free, especially after the centuries of vile censorship over it, was an act of wisdom transcending in importance the original invention of movable types. This enjoyment of a free press, means free speech, free schools, free religion, and, supremest and best of all, free thought. If our government endure, and the people continue free, here will be much of the reason thereof, for freedom, though well established, will not maintain and perpetuate itself, because by the laws of heredity that lurks in every man, more or less, the latter customs or habits or mental convictions of a barbarous ancestry, leave the seeds of monarchy and despotism. The Americans have this (speaking in reference to a Republican form of government) less than any other people in the world; they are further removed from an ancestry that worshiped under kingly rulers: and yet even here it is as true now as when uttered, that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' The press is, therefore, essential to the perpetuation of free institutions in America."

That the press can do no wrong, it would be idle to assert. So great an institution, so varied its interests, so numerous its controllers and guides—he would be a foolish man, indeed, who would even hope that it would ever become infallible. It has committed wrongs against the public quite as often as wrongs have been perpetrated against it. The averages, say, are even. Then, if two wrongs can make a right, a reasonable just-

ice has been done, and the "great palladium" remains to us as the drudge and pack-horse, and at the same time "the crowned king of all mankind." Another, and an able authority,* says of the press: "The grandest temporal blessing God has given to the nineteenth century is the newspaper. We would have a better appreciation of this blessing if we knew the money, the brain, the losses, the anxieties, the wear and tear involved in its production. Under the impression that almost anybody can make a newspaper, scores of inexperienced capitalists every year enter the lists, and, consequently, during the last few years a newspaper has died almost every day. With more than 6,000 dailies in the United States and Canadas, there are but thirty-six a half century old. Newspapers do not average more than five years' existence. * * * Newspapers make knowledge democratic and for the multitudes. The public library is a hay-mow so high up that few can reach it, while the newspaper throws down the forage to our feet. Public libraries are the reservoirs where the great floods are stored high up and a great way off. The newspaper is the tunnel that brings them down to the pitchers of all the people. The chief use of great libraries is to make newspapers out of. Great libraries make a few men and women wise; newspapers lift whole nations into the sunlight. Better have 50,000,000 people moderately intelligent than 100,000 Solons. A false impression is abroad that newspaper knowledge is ephemeral, because periodicals are thrown aside, and not one out of 10,000 people files them for future reference. Such knowledge, so far from being ephemeral, goes into the very structure of the world's heart and brain, and decides the destiny of churches and nations. Nearly all the best minds and hearts have their hands on the printing-press to-day, and have had since its emancipation. Adams and Hancock used to go to the Boston *Gazette*, and compose articles on the rights of the people. Benjamin Franklin, De Witt Clinton, Hamilton, Jefferson, were strong in newspaperdom. Many of the immortal things that have been published in book form, first appeared in what may be called the ephemeral periodical. All Macaulay's essays first appeared in a review; all Carlyle's, all Ruskin's, all Sidney Smith's, all Thackeray's, all the elevated works of fiction in our day are reprints from periodicals, in which they appeared as serials. The poems of Tennyson, Longfellow, Emerson, Burns, Lowell, Whittier, were once fugitive pieces. You cannot find ten literary men in Christendom with strong minds and great hearts but are, or have been, somehow connected with the printing-press. * * * It is sometimes complained that newspapers report the evil when they ought only to report the good. They must report the evil as well as the good, or how shall we know what is to be reformed, what guarded against, what brought down? A newspaper that pictures only the honesty and virtue of society is a misrepresentation. That family is best prepared for the duties of life, which, knowing the evil, is taught to select the good. Keep children under the impression that all is fair and right in the world, and when they go out into it they will be as poorly prepared to struggle with it as a child who is thrown into the middle of the Atlantic and told to learn to swim. * * * Another blessing of the newspaper is the foundation it lays for accurate history of the time in which we live. We, for the most part, blindly guess about the ages that ante-date the newspaper, and are dependent on the prejudices of this or that historian. But after a hundred or two years what splendid opportunity the historian will have to teach the people the lesson of this day. Our Bancroft got from the early newspapers of this country, from the Boston *News Letter*, the New York *Gazette*, and the *American Rag Bag*, and *Royal Gazetteer*, and *Independent Chronicle*, and *Massachusetts Spy* and Philadelphia *Aurora*, accounts of Perry's victory, and Hamilton's duel, and Washington's death, and the oppresive foreign tax on luxuries which turned Boston harbor into a tea-pot, and Paul Revere's midnight ride, and Rhode Island's rebellion and South Carolina's nullification.

*Rev. T. De Witt Talmage.

But what a field for the chronicler of the great future when he opens the files of a hundred standard American newspapers, giving the minutiæ of all things occurring under the social, political, international, ecclesiastical, hemispherical. Five hundred years from now, if the world lasts so long, the student looking for stirring and decisive history will pass by the misty corridors of other centuries, and say to the librarian: 'Find me the volume that gives the century in which American presidents were assassinated, the civil war enacted, and the cotton-gin, the steam locomotive, the telegraph and telephone, and Hoe's cylinder presses were invented.' It is not more what newspapers do for to-day, than the fact that they make a storehouse of history. * * * More than all, the blessings of a good newspaper is in its evangelistic influence. The secular press of this country discusses all religious questions, scatters abroad religious intelligence and multiplies sermons until the gospel comes every week within reach of every intelligent man and woman in America. The good newspaper is to be the right wing of the apocalyptic angel. On the Sabbath the minister preaches to a few hundred or thousand people, and on Monday morning and evening, through the printing-press, preaches to millions. The telegraph gathers for it matter on one side, and the express railway train waits to be loaded with the tons of folded sheets on the other. I set it down as the mightiest force for the world's evangelization."

These lengthy extracts require no apology. Like everything emanating from the great preacher, though couched in his peculiar style, they are full of wisdom. The press is the great power of the present age. This is indisputable. In any community it is an influence for good, admitting of not a single doubt. Thomas Jefferson, who penned the Declaration of Independence, one of the grandest documents that ever fell from the pen of mortal man, wrote also: "If I had to choose between a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should prefer the latter." Another sage remarks: "If man should, from childhood to old age, see only his Bible, Webster's dictionary and his newspaper, he could be prepared for all the duties of this life, or all the happiness of the next." Daniel Webster said: "I care not how unpretending a newspaper may be, every issue contains something that is worth the subscription price." Of all the blessings that man can have in this world, the newspaper is the one "whose rose need have no thorn, whose sweet need have no bitter." Thanks, then, a million thanks, to our revolutionary sires for giving us the great boon of a free press.

When the war closed there had been completed a revolution in the newspaper publishing business. The telegraph had been utilized, and men had been taught to look for news, and not for the opinions and fine writings of certain individuals. The business of writing for the paper had to adjust itself to circumstances, and short, crisp editorials, and the news of the hour; and instead of the long "thundering leader," came the wit, that largely consists of slang and bad spelling. The metropolitan press, through the telegraph, and the perfected Hoe press began to absorb from the country, first its talent among writers, and then to monopolize the business itself, until the country paper found no other avenue to walk in except the purely local news, gossip and chit-chat of its immediate locality. But notwithstanding this the local press is not to be despised, nor denied credit for its part in elevating the standard of civilization. Far from it. It contributes as much, in its humble way, as the more pretentious city daily. The improvement in the art of making newspapers is not surpassed by that made in any institution, or other branch of business, of the present century. *The Courier-Journal*, with its corps of editors and reporters and correspondents, and its attaches and employes, its improved printing presses and magnificent building, the pride of Kentucky's metropolis, is a sample of the modern daily newspaper, and strikingly illustrates its great power and influence. Compared to the *Kentucke Gazette*, the first newspaper in the West, it shows the wonderful

advancement made by the press within the past hundred years.

The first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains, with a single exception,* was established at Lexington. It is not intended to go back to the beginning of the newspaper history of Kentucky, and follow it through all its vicissitudes to the present time. A few words, however, of some of the early newspapers of the State, and some of the leading ones, cannot very well be avoided. The first paper was established in 1787, almost 100 years ago, by John Bradford. It was christened the *Kentucke Gazette.* The final *e* of Kentucky was afterward changed to *y*, in consequence of the Virginia Legislature requiring certain advertisements to be "inserted in the *Kentucky Gazette.*" The

COURIER-JOURNAL BUILDING.

*The first paper west of the Alleghanies was published at Pittsburgh.

efforts to separate Kentucky from Virginia and form it into a distinct State, necessitated the establishment of this paper. The convention that met at Danville, in 1785, to discuss the subject of separation, adopted the following resolution: "That to insure unanimity in the opinion of the people respecting the propriety of separating the district of Kentucky from Virginia, and forming a distinct State government, and to give publicity to the proceedings of the convention, it is deemed essential to the interests of the country to have a printing press." Arrangements were finally made with John Bradford to establish a paper at Lexington, then the principal town in the district, and in 1786 he sent to Philadelphia for the necessary outfit. It did not arrive until late in the summer of 1787, and on the 11th of August he issued the first number of the *Gazette*, the pioneer newspaper of the western country. His editorial surroundings would contrast strangely with the princely style of the great metropolitan journals of the present day. His steamboat, railroad, telegraph and mail-carrier was a pack-mule; his office a log-cabin. His rude and unwieldy hand-press was of the old-fashioned style, that for years and years had not been improved; and, in addition, it was a second-hand one. He daubed on the ink by hand with two ancient dog-skin inking balls, and probably managed to get sixty or seventy copies printed on one side in an hour. If he wrote at night it was by the light of a rousing fire, a bear-grease lamp, or a buffalo-tallow candle. An editorial desk, made of a smooth slab, supported by two pairs of cross-legs, a three-legged stool, ink-horn and a rifle, composed the rest of his office furniture.*

John Bradford, the pioneer editor of Kentucky, was a native of Virginia, and was born in Fauquier County, in 1749. He came to Kentucky in 1785, and settled on Cane Run, but the next year located in Lexington. He was a practical printer, as was his father before him, and he brought up his sons to the same business. The next year after starting the *Gazette*, he published the *Kentucky Almanac*, the first pamphlet printed west of the mountains, and the annual publication of which he continued for twenty years. From all the biographical record left of Mr. Bradford, it is evident that he was not especially brilliant as an editor, but, what was better for the times in which he lived, he was a man of sound practical sense and sterling honesty. He was chairman of the board of village trustees, and delivered the address of welcome to Gov. Shelby in 1792, upon his arrival in Lexington, then the capital of the new-made State. He was the first State printer, and received from the State government £100 sterling, as the emoluments of the office. He printed books as early as 1794, and some of his early publications are still to be seen in the Lexington public library. He served for a time as chairman of the board of trustees of Transylvania University, and held other positions of honor and trust. His mind was so well stored with useful and valuable information that he was considered the town oracle, and from his decisions on local topics there was no appeal. So great was the confidence of the people in his judgment that he won the *sobriquet* of "Old Wisdom." He was high sheriff of Fayette County at the time of his death, which occured in March, 1830. Circuit court was in session, and the distinguished Jesse Bledsoe, who was the presiding judge, alluded to his death in eloquent terms, and adjourned court in respect to his memory.

The *Kentucky Gazette* was conducted by Mr. Bradford with great energy and success until early in 1802, when he turned it over to his son, Daniel Bradford, and took charge of the *Kentucky Herald*, the first rival paper in the State. He kept up a watchful supervision, however, of the *Gazette*, and, after seven years, he again assumed editorial charge of it. In 1814, his son, Fielding Bradford, Jr., became its proprietor and continued his connection with it until 1825, when it again passed into the hands of the senior Bradford. In 1835, it again reverted to Daniel Bradford, who, in March, 1840, sold it to Joshua Cunningham of Louisville, foreman of the *Advertiser*, a paper edited by Shadrach Penn,

*G. W. Ranck, in History of Fayette County, p. 364.

the brilliant rival of George D. Prentice. Under the management of Mr. Cunningham, who was in bad health, the paper declined, and in 1848 its publication ceased. So ended the first paper published west of Pittsburgh.

The second newspaper in Kentucky was also established at Lexington. It will be borne in mind that for a number of years after settlements began to be made in Kentucky, Lexington was the metropolis of the State. It was the first capital, and being the leading town, not only of Kentucky but all the western country, it drew within its limits the majority of the wealth, intelligence and business of the entire community. Thus it became the seat of learning and business enterprise. Its second newspaper was started in 1793, the next year after the admission of Kentucky as a State into the Federal Union. It was called *Stewart's Kentucky Herald*, and was established by James H. Stewart. Its publication was continued for about ten years, when it was absorbed by the Bradfords and the *Kentucky Gazette*. Mr. F. L. McChesney, editor of the *Western Citizen*, in a sketch of Paris written a few years ago, mentioned a paper—the *Kentucky Herald*—as started in that town in 1797, by James Stewart, and which existed for about a year. In the same year, William Hunter established the *Kentucky Mirror*, at Washington, a town situated about four miles from the present city of Maysville. In 1798, Hunter established a paper in Frankfort called the *Palladium*, and was annually elected State printer for ten years. In 1803, the *Western Messenger*, and in 1806, the *Republican Auxiliary* were established at Washington. The first paper in Louisville was called the *Farmer's Library*, and dates back to 1807. Its history is comprised in an act of the legislature requiring certain laws to be published in its columns. Not even the names of its owners or publishers are known. The next year (1808) another paper—the *Gazette*—made its appearance in Louisville, but its record, like that of the *Farmer's Library*, is obscure. In this year also was established the *Western Citizen*, at Paris. Mr. McChesney in his sketch of Paris, says the *Citizen* was started by Grimes Johnson; Collins in his history of Kentucky, says by Joel R. Lyle. The Lyles (Joel R. and William C.) were long connected with it, but it was purchased, Mr. McChesney says, by Joel R. Lyle early in 1809. It is one of the early papers of Kentucky that has survived the storms of adversity and is still flourishing and prosperous. It opposed the old Federalist party and warmly advocated the war of 1812. In the great conflict between the old and new court parties, it adopted the side of the former, and supported Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay in opposition to Gen. Jackson. When politics divided, under the name of Whigs and Democrats, it espoused the cause of the Whigs, and ever continued a zealous advocate of that party. F. L. McChesney became the owner of it after the war, and during the reconstruction period it changed its politics to the Democratic faith, and has since remained true to those principles.

The Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, originally the Lexington *Reporter*, was established in 1807, by William W. Worsley and Samuel R. Overton. It was continued uninterruptedly as the *Reporter* until 1832, when it was purchased by Bryant & Finnell and consolidated with the *Observer*. The *Observer and Reporter* existed until 1873, when its publication ceased. During its long career it had many able and brilliant editors and contributors, among whom were Edwin Bryant, Robert N. Wickliffe, William A. Dudley, Daniel C. Wickliffe, William C. P. Breckinridge, Thomas E. Pickett and others. No paper in central Kentucky, perhaps, wielded a greater influence than the *Observer and Reporter*, and when discontinued it was the oldest paper in the State, having been established the year before the *Western Citizen*.

The first paper in Louisville that attained to any prominence, and of which there is any authentic history, was established in 1810 by Nicholas Clark. It was called the *Western Courier*, and was conducted with considerable ability. Mann Butler, the historian, and an able writer, was connected with it as associate editor in 1814, but he did not

remain long in the position. S. H. Bullen and A. G. Meriwether became interested in the paper in 1821, and the name was changed to the *Emporium and Commercial Advertiser*, and from a weekly, it became a semi-weekly. Clark and Meriwether retired in February, 1822, transfering their interest to S. H. Bullen and F. E. Goddard, and the latter gentleman finally became the sole owner. While under his management (in 1832) the paper was discontinued. The Louisville *Correspondent*, a weekly paper, was started in the same year as the *Western Courier*. Its owner and publisher was E. C. Barry, who continued it until 1817, when it passed from the public gaze.

The *Advertiser*, the first daily paper published in Kentucky, was established in 1818, and soon became a formidable opponent to the *Western Courier*. It was founded by Shadrach Penn, the ablest editor ever in Louisville until the appearance of George D. Prentice. Mr. Ben Casseday, in a sketch of the Louisville press, says: "Mr. Penn was an experienced politician, a forcible writer, and a man of extraordinary tact. His paper soon took the position of political leader, not merely in its local circle, but all over the west. It was the acknowledged Jackson organ, and both city and State recognized its power and influence. It was without a rival, and if it did not create, it represented, the dominant party for over twelve years. Until 1830 (the birth of the *Journal*) Penn found 'no foeman worthy of his steel.' His adversaries had, one by one, fallen before him. He was supreme in his position, and a few years previous to the date above referred to was confirmed in it by a great victory over the old court or anti-relief party, and his acknowledged championship of a party victorious in a political struggle as bitter as had ever agitated the State."

Shadrach Penn was a native of Kentucky, and had been a soldier in the war of 1812. He was a large man, a fine specimen of the typical Kentuckian, six feet high, weighing over 200 pounds, and one of the best hearted men that ever lived. He was well educated, was a statesman and a leader naturally, and a politician from choice. Although rival editors for many years, and often on bad terms and indulging in bitter controversy, yet a warm friendship grew up between him and Prentice, that continued until the death of Penn in 1853. Mr. Penn left Louisville in 1842, went to St. Louis, and took editorial charge of the Missouri *Democrat*, which position he filled until the close of his life.

In 1826 the *Focus* was established in Louisville by W. W. Worsley and Dr. Buchanan. Worsley was an experienced newspaper man, and had been one of the original owners of the Lexington *Reporter*, and was a man of some ability. The *Focus* opposed Gen. Jackson, the *Advertiser* and Shadrach Penn, but being more of a literary and scientific journal than a partisan organ, it was unable to stand before the political projectiles hurled at it by Penn. After a fitful existence of a little more than three years it was purchased by Cavins & Robinson, and shortly after was merged into the Louisville *Journal*.

The *Kentuckian* was a newspaper established at Lancaster in 1821, and was published by Albert G. Hodges, who afterward became widely known as a newspaper publisher throughout the State. He published the *Kentuckian* only about three months, when he left Lancaster, and went back to Lexington. There he became foreman of the *Reporter* office, a place he filled acceptably for several years. He next went to Louisville, and, in 1824, in connection with D. C. Pinkham, purchased from S. H. Bullen the Louisville *Morning Post*. Pinkham proved an unprofitable partner, as he got away with most of the profits of the paper, and in about a year, William Tanner, who had attained some prominence as an editor, succeeded him. Hodges and Tanner did not agree well on politics, the latter advocating, on one side of the paper, the fallacies of the new court, while Hodges on the other side championed the old court party. It was literally "a house divided against itself," and to prevent its fall, the proprietors "threw heads and tails" for its ownership. Tanner won, and Hodges sold out to him on favorable terms, returned to Lexington, and started

the *Kentucky Whig*. This paper had a brief existence, less than a year. He then went to Frankfort, and together with James G. Dana published the *Commentator*, and served as State printer until 1832, when he sold out to Dana. In 1833, Hodges was elected State printer, and shortly after started the Frankfort *Commonwealth*. It was thoroughly a Whig paper, and when that party became extinct, it came to the support of the Know-nothing, and then of the American party. During the late war, it was for the Union unconditionally, and after the war Republican in politics, until its suspension in April, 1872, at the age of thirty-nine years. Col. Hodges, although a stanch Union man, and later an ardent Republican, discontinued the publication of his paper, which he had established more than a third of a century before, rather than to support President Grant for renomination, in 1872, to a second term as chief magistrate. In refusing to support the hero of Appomattox, he found his "occupation gone," and retired permanently from the newspaper business.

Col. Hodges was a true type of the old Kentucky gentleman, a race that is rapidly passing away. He was born in Virginia, in 1802, and when but eight years old, his mother (his father having died) brought him to Fayette County. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to the printing business with Worsley & Smith, the proprietors of the Lexington *Reporter*. After the suspension of the *Commonwealth* in 1872, Col. Hodges removed to Louisville, and accepted the position of secretary and treasurer of the Masonic Temple Company. He was one of the most prominent Masons of Kentucky, and from 1845 to the time of his death was grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge. When he died (a few years ago) he was the last officer of the Grand Lodge, who, in 1845, witnessed his election as grand treasurer of that body.

The Louisville *Journal*, whose influence for more than a third of a century was equaled by few American newspapers, was established on the 24th of November, 1830, by George D. Prentice. His business partner was A. S. Buxton, a practical printer of Cincinnati, who had a joint interest in the paper, but Prentice was sole editor. The success of the *Journal* was assured from the circulation of its first issue, and in four weeks from its birth it was the most extensively read paper that had ever been published in the State. Prentice immediately crossed swords with Shadrach Penn, and the contest between these rival editors, often sharp and bitter, is still vividly remembered by the older citizens of Louisville and Kentucky. Prentice's pen bristled like the "fretful porcupine," and he shot the pointed quills in every direction, regardless of who might stand in the way. In his writings he frequently made people laugh, sometimes stare and often squirm, and he seemed ever equally indifferent as to which result flowed out from his pen. The *Journal* soon obtained political ascendency, but the editorial warfare between Prentice and Penn was kept up as long as Penn remained in Louisville.

The *Journal* was born of the exigencies of the time. Political excitement, growing out of one of the most bitter party conflicts that had occurred in the State, was violent, and partisan strife was raging at white heat. Parties were dividing on the questions of the time, and to the bitterness of conflicting interests was added the enthusiasm which the rival claims of two great party chieftains everywhere excited. An historical sketch of the *Courier-Journal*, published in 1876, says: "Henry Clay and Gen. Jackson were the opposing candidates for the succession, and Kentucky having voted two years before for Jackson, the *Journal* threw all its energies into the conflict in favor of Mr. Clay, whose political friends were then known as national Republicans. Its appearance was cordially and even enthusiastically greeted by its party, another national Republican paper, the Louisville *Focus*, having failed, although skillfully edited, to satisfy the party's demands for vehemence and spirit."

A history of the *Journal* is a history of George D. Prentice. From the origin of the paper, Mr. Buxton continued his business relation with Mr. Prentice in its publication,

until 1833, when he sold his interest to John N. Johnson, and two years later Mr. Johnson sold to George W. Weissinger. The latter continued his connection with the paper until his death in 1849, when his interest was purchased by Isham Henderson, long a well known citizen of Louisville, and but recently dead. During all these years, Mr. Prentice had been editor of the *Journal*, and had given it a world wide reputation, but about this time he called to his editorial aid Paul R. Shipman, a writer of unusual force and brilliance, and who remained with the paper many years. In a short time after purchasing Weissinger's interest, Mr. Henderson sold one-half of it (a quarter interest in the paper) to his kinsman, John D. Osborne, and the firm became Prentice, Henderson & Osborne —the last named gentleman the business manager. This arrangement continued until after the close of the war, when the firm changed into a stock corporation, under the title of the "Louisville Journal Company." In the winter of 1867–68, Mr. Henderson purchased the stock of Mr. Osborne, who retired from the business management of the paper. A few months later, Mr. Henderson bought Mr. Prentice's interest, and during the summer sold an interest in the paper to Mr. Henry Watterson, the present brilliant editor of the *Courier-Journal*. Thus the editorial and also the business control of the *Journal* passed from the hands of its founder. From its origin in 1830, to its purchase by Mr. Henderson in 1868, a few months prior to its consolidation with the *Courier*, its history and that of its editor had been inseparable. Dr. Theodore S. Bell, the life-long friend of Mr. Prentice, said: "Mr. Prentice impressed the conviction on the public mind that he and the daily *Journal* were one and the same thing, and I am not sure that he was not himself impressed with that conviction. He regarded the *Journal* as a part and parcel of his own being. An insult thrown at the *Journal* was promptly accepted as a personal insult, and as such punished in his own way —a way well known to many to their sorrow. It is, indeed, questionable whether he would have regarded with complacency any personal triumph in which the *Journal* was not a participant."

Mr. Prentice was a native of Connecticut, and was born in New London County, December 18, 1802. After preparing for college, he entered Brown University at the age of eighteen, and in 1823 graduated with honors. Upon completing his education, he spent some time in teaching, and wrote occasional articles for the local press. His writings attracted considerable attention, and in 1828 he was offered the position of editor of the *New England Review*, which he accepted. He came to Kentucky in 1830, at the instance of the Whigs of Connecticut, for the purpose of writing the life of Henry Clay. When John Quincy Adams, in 1828, failed in his re-election to the presidency, Mr. Clay, who held the first place in his cabinet, retired (the following March) from public life, and to bring him again prominently before his party was the object of the biography. It more than accomplished its purpose, for it led to the establishment of the Louisville *Journal*, and served to make Mr. Prentice a citizen of Kentucky. His biography of Clay was written from the standpoint of strong partisanship, and scarcely had he finished it than he was persuaded by prominent party leaders in Kentucky to establish a new daily paper at Louisville, in opposition to the Jackson Democracy.

Few men have attained fame as editors equal to that of Prentice. In a memorial address on the great journalist, Hon. Henry Watterson* said: "From 1830 to 1861 the influence of Prentice was perhaps greater than the influence of any political writer who ever lived; it was an influence directly positive and personal. It owed its origin to the union in his person of gifts which no one had combined before him. He had to build upon an intellect naturally strong and practical, and this was trained by rigid scholarly culture. He was brave and aggressive, and though by no means quarrelsome, he was as ready to fight as to write, and his lot was cast in a region where he had to do a good

*An address delivered by Mr. Watterson before the Kentucky legislature at the request of that body shortly after the death of Mr. Prentice.

deal of both. By turns a statesman, a wit, a poet, a man of the world, and always a journalist, he gave the press of his country its most brilliant illustration, and has left to the State and to his progeny by odds the largest reputation ever achieved by a newspaper writer."

During the late civil war Mr. Prentice was an unswerving Union man, and all his great energies were enlisted to avert the calamities of war and preserve the government. He failed in his efforts, but there can be no doubt that the vast influence he wielded through the *Journal* prevented the secession of Kentucky. In all the long and desperate struggle that ensued between the North and South his fidelity to the cause of the Union never once faltered. Notwithstanding his two sons, his only children, had entered the Confederate army, and numbers of his life-long friends were arrayed under the "Southern Cross," he stood firmly by the old flag and made a gallant fight. When the war closed he was pretty well broken down; his health and spirits were gone, and the great battle he had fought had left him a feeble old man. His wife, the companion of his youth, died in 1868, and shortly after her decease the *Journal* passed into other hands, and in November following it was consolidated with the *Courier*, the name changed to the *Courier-Journal*, on which Mr. Prentice did excellent editorial work on a salary up to the time of his death. His work now seemed done; he stood alone; he had outlived his day and generation. He died on the 22d of January, 1870, at the country residence of his son, Col. Clarence J. Prentice, ten miles below Louisville, on the Ohio River, whither he had gone to spend the Christmas holidays. Upon the announcement of his death great respect was paid to his memory throughout the country. The legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee, in session at the time, adopted appropriate resolutions, pronouncing his death a "public bereavement." He was buried with Masonic honors in Cave Hill Cemetery.

No newspaper published in Kentucky, perhaps none published south of the Ohio River, ever wielded an influence equal to that of the Louisville *Journal*. It built the city of Louisville, and gave an importance to the whole State it had never before known. When the *Journal* was established Louisville was a straggling village of a few thousand inhabitants. In describing it at a time when the *Journal* was in the full tide of its glory, the correspondent of a New York journal said: "Louisville is situated on the south bank of the Ohio River, at the falls, but it is significant for nothing except as the place where the Louisville *Journal* is published." Its consolidation with the *Courier* formed a new era in journalism in Kentucky and the South.

The history of the *Journal* would not be complete without an extended notice of the *Courier* and also of the *Democrat*. The *Courier* was established, in 1844, by Mr. W. N. Haldeman, now president of the Courier-Journal Company. A paper had been started in March, 1843, by a company of practical printers, called the *Daily Dime*. This enterprise was not a financial success, and on the 11th of February, 1844, the *Dime* passed into the hands of Mr. Haldeman, who demonstrated the fact that the right man had taken hold of it. He changed it on the 3d of June following, into the *Morning Courier*. Casseday's sketch, already quoted from, says: "Haldeman brought to his task inflexible will and indomitable energy. In the hands of almost any other man, the paper would soon have emulated the example of so many of its immediate predecessors. Haldeman did not know the meaning of failure; adversity only fixed his determination more firmly, and urged him to increased effort. He fairly conquered success in the face of all difficulties. He started out with the idea of making a newspaper, and his enterprise in this direction soon woke up the sleepy old journalists, not only in Louisville, but all over the West. As there were few railroads reaching his city, and as the telegraph was yet unborn, the securing of news at the earliest possible moment was a matter of energy, enterprise and expense. Haldeman spared none of these, and from the very start

his paper was what is now called a 'live institution.' As an instance of his determination to spare no expense for the benefit of his readers he sent (in 1849) H. M. McCarty to Frankfort, as resident correspondent, to remain during the constitutional convention, which framed the present constition of Kentucky. No paper in the State had ever before incurred the expense of a daily correspondent during the whole session of a legislative body."

In January, 1852, Mr. Haldeman sold a small interest in the *Courier* to F. B. French, but it soon passed back to him. The next year William D. Gallagher purchased a half interest, but in June, 1854, Mr. Haldeman again became sole owner. In October, 1857, he sold a half interest to Reuben T. Durrett, who continued his connection with the paper until in September, 1859, when he sold out to Walter G. Overton. Haldeman & Overton published the *Courier* until the commencement of the civil war in 1861, when it was suppressed by the United States military authorities for "disloyalty." Mr. Haldeman made his escape to the Confederate lines, and during the war he continued to publish the *Courier*, whenever time, opportunity and the "fortunes of war" would permit. At Bowling Green he was requested by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston to resume its publication; such being considered a necessity at that time. Kentucky was trembling in the political balance, and it was still a little uncertain upon which side of Mason and Dixon's line she would fall. In order to influence her decision, and to retain its own Kentucky identity, the *Courier* was dated at Bowling Green, but the typesetting and printing were done in Nashville, owing to the impossibility of securing the proper mechanical facilities at the former place. Col. Robert McKee was stationed at Bowling Green as editor, while Mr. Haldeman took up his headquarters in Nashville to superintend publication. When the Confederate army fell back to Nashville, the *Courier* fell back with it, and continued to make its regular appearance. "The Louisville-Bowling-Green-Nashville *Courier*," as it was facetiously called by the papers in the Federal lines, was probably as brilliant a success as journalistic annals afford. It at once became the favorite of the army and of the people of the South, and immediately attained a circulation limited only by its mechanical ability to supply the demand. Extraordinary efforts were made to procure northern papers, which were not then easily accessible, and voluminous extracts were made from them daily. No outlay was considered too great to secure these papers, and, so perfect were the arrangements, that up to the evacuation of Nashville scarcely a day but full files of papers from all the northern cities were received at the *Courier* office. Several active men were constantly employed in this service, and their adventures in running through the military lines to secure papers and news were often exciting and dangerous. So perfect was the system that the military relied on the *Courier* for the most important intelligence outside of their lines. Mr. Haldeman had been for many years a most indefatigable and laborious newspaper man, and was considered perfectly familiar with the business, even to the minutest details, but during the four months he published the *Courier* in Nashville he acquired a knowledge of the business, and an insight into its workings, of which he previously had no conception. To this experience may be largely attributed his remarkable success as the business manager of a great newspaper.* Upon the restoration of peace Mr. Haldeman returned to Louisville, and at the urgent request of many of his old friends and prominent citizens of the city and State, he, on the 4th of December, 1865, recommenced the publication of the *Courier*. Its success was almost unparalleled from its revival to its consolidation with the *Journal*.

The Louisville *Democrat* was established, in 1843, by Phineas M. Kent, of New Albany, Ind. He was aided by subscriptions from James Guthrie and other leading Democrats of Louisville, Ky. The object of the paper was to advocate the claims of the democracy in

*Historical sketch of the *Courier-Journal*.

the presidential campaign of 1844, then opening, and it went vigorously into the contest. Mr. Kent did not fulfill all the requirements of the party leaders, and in a short time the paper was purchased by John H. Harney, who remained its editor until his death, which occurred soon after the close of the war. Shortly after the purchase of the paper, Mr. Harney took into partnership William E. and Thomas P. Hughes. The latter soon retired, but William Hughes remained with the paper, and, under the firm title of Harney & Hughes, published it until absorbed by the *Courier-Journal* combination.

Mr. Harney was a man of fine scholarly attainments, and broad and statesman-like views. He had no experience in journalism when he took charge of the *Democrat*, but he soon became a prominent politician and recognized leader of his party. His style was strong, forcible, and correct, and he wrote to convince, and went about it in the most direct manner. His party acknowledged his services, and he held his leading position without any attempt at rivalry from any source. A wordy warfare sometimes prevailed between him and Prentice, but it was more good-natured than otherwise, and never characterized by extreme bitter partisan feeling, and when Mr. Harney died (in 1868) Mr. Prentice wrote a beautifully touching and generous eulogy of him.

Such is a brief sketch of the three papers comprised in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, a newspaper recognized as the ablest south of the Ohio River, and as one of the most influential published in the United States. It probably controls the general sentiment throughout a larger extent of country than any other newspaper in existence. In the South and Southwest it wields a power never before reached in the history of the press, except by Prentice's *Journal*. The limits of this article will not permit a sketch of all the gentlemen who have filled editorial chairs on these three newspapers, and who are now dead, or have retired from the field of journalism. A just tribute to each would comprise a volume of itself. Of the names that should not be forgotten, are those of the accomplished Edwin Bryant; the fair-minded politician, Thomas H. Shreve; the poet-editors, William D. Gallagher and Will Wallace Harney; the talented Reuben T. Durrett, the witty "Wat" Overton, the brilliant and scholarly Paul R. Shipman, the sparkling correspondent, Charles D. Kirke ("Se De Kay"); the able Charles O. Faxon, the humorous and tenderly pathetic John E. Hatcher, and many others of talent and genius.

No event in the newspaper history of Louisville or Kentucky created the surprise and interest involved in the consolidation of the *Journal* and the *Courier*. These papers, although of the same political faith, were apparently bitterly hostile, and each was striving for party leadership. The consolidation took place, without any preliminary notice, on the 8th of November, a few days after the presidential election of 1868. A brief extract from the sketch already quoted from, will more fully explain the matter: "Each paper was sustained by a large and influential class, but the business of the city did not justify the outlays which both were forced to make, in order to sustain a rivalry so ambitious. It was not until the presidential campaign was well-nigh ended that the matter was seriously canvassed. There could hardly be a doubt of its expediency in the minds of any experienced journalist cognizant of all the facts, and the only points difficult to be settled, because complicated, related to details. These were, however, finally adjusted in a manner much to the satisfaction and advantage of all parties."

The history of the *Courier-Journal*, under its present title, is well known. It has had a brilliant existence, and a long career of usefulness is before it. Its editor, Mr. Watterson, is one of the ablest in the South or West, and he is a worthy successor of the talented Prentice. Mr. Haldeman, the president of the Courier-Journal Company, has few equals in the business management of newspapers. Few men living, perhaps, except himself, could have taken the *Courier-Journal* at the time of the consolidation, and carried it through the many difficulties that

surrounded it, and made it the successful newspaper it is to-day. He is a writer of more than ordinary ability, but it is as a financier, and a practical business man, that he has been most useful to the *Courier-Journal* in obtaining for it the prosperity it enjoys, and the prominent position it occupies among the great newspapers of the country.

The only paper or periodical ever published in the West that attained any renown as a literary paper exclusively, was issued by Prentice & Weissinger, from the office of the Louisville *Journal*. It was called the *Literary News-Letter*, and was established in December, 1838, and its publication continued until in November, 1840. Dr. E. S. Crosier, in a sketch of it, written a few years ago, says: "It was under the editorial control of Edmund Flagg until December 14, 1839, when it went into the hands of the lamented Leonard Bliss. It may safely be said that no periodical at the West, professing to be exclusively literary, has ever proved so successful, or around which have so many delightful associations clustered. The aim was not entire originality, but the contributions and selections exhibited a degree of excellence rarely found in older and more pretentious periodicals."

Many who attained fame and renown in the world of letters furnished original articles for the *Literary News-Letter*, or was represented in its columns by selections from their best productions. Of the number were Bryant and Longfellow, whose writings will live as long as pure literature is admired; and Albert Pike, the poet and scholar, and Francis S. Osgood, and Washington Irving, and George P. Morris, and N. P. Willis, and John G. Whittier, "the good Quaker poet of Amesbury," and others well known in the fields of literature, among whom were Mrs. Laura J. Thurston ("Viola"), Amelia B. Welby ("Amelia"), Mrs. R. S. Nichols ("Ellen"), Mrs. S. J. Howe ("Egeria"). There was also an occasional contribution from J. Ross Browne, the "artist traveler," as he is sometimes called. But with all the genius and brilliancy that sparkled in its columns, the *News-Letter* enjoyed but a brief existence, and in a little less than two years it became extinct.

A number of other newspapers were started in Louisville, previous to the war, but most of them were short-lived and none attained any great importance. The *Times* was established about 1851, and existed for three or four years. In 1852 a paper called the *Union* was established, but like the *Times*, its existence was brief. About the same time the *Evening Bulletin* made its appearance, and the *Anzeiger*, the leading German paper ever published in Louisville or in the State. The latter is still in existence, and is a live and enterprising journal.

The *Daily Commercial* is the only English morning paper—in addition to the *Courier-Journal*—published in Louisville. It was established soon after the close of the war as a Republican paper, and was conducted several years as such. Recently, however, it has changed into an independent organ. It has been greatly improved and enlarged, and is an able, first-class popular newspaper, but still too young for an extended notice. The *Post* and the *Times* are evening papers, and are much superior to the average of that class of journals in ability and importance. Several religious and secular weekly papers are published in Louisville, and form no inconsiderable part of the city press.

The country press of Kentucky is equal in merit and ability perhaps to that of any other State. Nearly every county has one or more newspapers. The large majority of them are ably conducted, and wield a large influence for good in their respective counties. While the great dailies furnish national and foreign news, the country press, equally important in its particular sphere, gathers up and preserves the local news. The papers of Frankfort, Lexington, Paris, Covington, Cynthiana, Maysville, Newport, Richmond, Danville, Bowling Green, Russellville, Hopkinsville, Owensboro, Henderson, Paducah, etc., are excellent samples of the State and country press.

An era in the newspaper history of Kentucky was the establishment of an abolition

or anti-slavery paper at Lexington. The author of what was then considered a very questionable enterprise was Cassius M. Clay, and he published the first number of his paper, which was called the *True American*, on the 14th of June, 1845. It was devoted to the "overthrow of slavery," and was bold and defiant, and even aggressive in the advocacy of that then unpopular doctrine. Mr. Clay published his paper until in August, when public indignation was aroused, and the people arose in their might, and from all parts of central Kentucky assembled in a great mass meeting in Lexington. A resolution was adopted which will show the temper of the meeting: "*Resolved*, that the press and materials of the *True American*, an anti-slavery newspaper conducted by Mr. Cassius M. Clay, shall be sent beyond the confines of the State." A committee consisting of sixty prominent citizens was appointed by the meeting to carry out the spirit of the resolution. They quietly proceeded to the office, took possession, boxed up the material and presses, had them conveyed to the depot, and shipped to a responsible house in Cincinnati, subject to the order of Mr. Clay. Nothing was destroyed or even injured, nor was there the least mob violence displayed, but there was a calm determination to rid the town and State of the obnoxious journal.

Mr. Clay was a man of courage—was brave even to rashness—and had he been present when his office was invaded there doubtless would have been bloodshed. But he was confined to a sick bed at the time, and was thus prevented from defending his property. The establishment of an anti-slavery paper at that time in a Southern or slave State was little less than the act of a madman, notwithstanding the venture was made in a free country, priding itself upon having and fostering a free press. The time had not come to tolerate the free expression of such political sentiments, and this was the first and last effort made to establish a paper of that cast of politics in Kentucky until an administration came into power of similar principles, and thereby rendered the enterprise a safe investment.

Kentucky has produced many persons, both male and female, of high literary talent. Additional to those whose names have been mentioned in connection with the press, some of the most distinguished are William Ross Wallace, Fortunatus Cosby, Jr., James Birney Marshall, Theodore O'Hara, Mrs. Mary R. McAboy, James R. Barrick, Mrs. Sarah T. Bolton and Joel T. Hart, the "poet sculptor." Others of less extended fame are Mrs. Sophia H. Oliver, Mrs. Mary E. Nealy, Granville M. Ballard, Mrs. Mary E. T. Shannon, Mrs. Alice McC. Griffin, Mrs. Nellie Marshall McAfee, Ben Casseday, Mrs. Annie C. Ketchum, Miss Laura C. Ford, Mrs. Sallie M. B. Piatt, Mrs. Helen Truesdell, Miss Lila Va. Johnston, etc. The following, though not natives of Kentucky, were and have been citizens, some of them for many years, of the State: Noble Butler (the author of a popular English grammar), James G. Drake, George W. Cutter, Mrs. Catherine Ann Warfield, Lewis F. Thomas, William W. Fosdick, Mrs. Rosa Vertner Jeffrey, Henry T. Stanton, Mrs. Florence A. Clark and Mrs. Alice Smith Winston.

Education in Kentucky, in the last decade or two, has reached a degree of perfection never before attained in the history of the State. Kentucky has not the well organized system of common schools prevailing in the Northern and Western States — in those known as the "non-slaveholding States," but of the higher grade of schools she stands side by side with the foremost States of the Union. The majority of her seminaries and academies and colleges and universities are of no mean order, but will compare favorably with the best in the land. Since the close of the civil war they have greatly improved and their facilities been enlarged in order to adapt them to the new state of affairs inaugurated in what may be termed the "new commonwealth." The power and influence of these institutions form one of the greatest sources of moral and intellectual development of the State.

Transylvania University, whose history extends back more than a hundred years, was the first public institution of learning estab-

lished west of the Alleghanies. It is scarcely possible to sketch all the schools and colleges of the State, but only to glance at some of the earliest and also of the most important of these institutions of learning, by way of contrasting the old with the new order of things; and a history of Kentucky would hardly be complete without considerable notice of Transylvania University.

The general assembly of Virginia in May, 1780, passed the following act:

An act to vest certain Escheated Lands in the County of Kentucke* in Trustees for a Public School:

Whereas it is represented to this General Assembly that there are certain lands within the County of Kentucke formerly belonging to the British Subjects, not yet sold under the Law of Escheats and Forfeitures, which might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth, and it being the interest of this commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of knowledge, even among the most remote citizens, whose situation in a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse might otherwise render unfriendly to science. Therefore,

Be it enacted that eight thousand acres of Land within the said County of Kentucke, late the property of Robert McKenzie, Henry Collins and Alexander McKee, be, and the same is hereby vested in William Hemming, William Christian, John Todd, John Cowan, Stephen Trigg, Benjamin Logan, John Floyd, John May, Levi Todd, George Meriwether, John Cobb, George Thompson, and Edmund Taylor, Trustees, as a free donation from the Commonwealth for the purpose of a public school or seminary of learning, to be erected in said County as soon as the circumstances of the County and the state of the funds will admit, and for no other purpose whatever, saving and reserving to the said Henry Collins, Robert McKenzie and Alexander McKee, and every one of them and every person claiming under them, all right and interest in the above mentioned Lands, to which they may be by law entitled, and of which they shall in due time avail themselves, anything herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

This was the original charter of Transylvania University. The general assembly of Virginia in 1783 passed another act formally chartering the school under the name and title of "Transylvania Seminary." This act gave the school all the powers and privileges of a university. It required that the officers of the institution should take a special oath before a judge of the supreme court; invested in a new board of trustees 12,000 additional acres of escheated lands in the district of Kentucky, exempting the whole from taxation; empowered the trustees to receive land and other property from various sources and donors, and providing in its last clause "that no land or other property that may hereafter be vested in said trustees as an inalienable endowment to said seminary, shall ever be sold or otherwise transferred from the special purpose to which it was appropriated by the donor." *

No institution was ever founded from nobler impulses than Transylvania, but its early career was clouded with adversities. On the 10th of November, 1783, the trustees elected Rev. David Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman, chairman. The outlook was not encouraging. But by way of cheering the friends of the institution, the Rev. John Todd donated to the school a small library. This formed the nucleus of what became one of the most extensive public libraries of Kentucky—a library still in existence in Lexington. When Mr. Rice was elected chairman of the board of trustees, the indications for a flourishing school were unpromising in the extreme. The pioneers, surrounded by difficulties and dangers, with prowling bands of hostile Indians roaming through the country, could devote little time to classical education. But amid these discouraging circumstances, the trustees persevered, and in spite of all obstacles the seminary was opened in February, 1785, for pupils. The first term was taught in the house of Mr. Rice near Danville, and he was the first teacher. The endowment at the time was so small as to afford a scanty salary for one professor.

The original acts pertaining to Transylvania were passed while Kentucky was a county of Virginia, but soon after its admission as a State into the Union, the legislature enacted laws exempting lands from escheat. This legislation served to deprive Transylvania of all the escheated lands with which it had been endowed by the State of Virginia, ex-

*Kentucky was a county of Virginia, and still retained the Indian pronunciation.

*Ranck, in History of Fayette County, p. 292.

cept 8,000 acres, from the sale of which the sum of $30,000 was realized. This transaction proved unfortunate. The money was invested in stock of the Bank of Kentucky, and shortly after the investment was made, the legislature repealed the bank's charter, by which, it is alleged, the seminary lost $20,000. This misfortune not only discouraged the friends, but seriously crippled the resources of the institution. It, however, continued to struggle on.

Transylvania was not originally intended to be denominational, yet it was opened under the auspices of the Presbyterians, and, indeed, it was mainly owing to a few prominent members of that church that it was established. The Rev. Mr. Rice, the first principal of the school, was perhaps the first Presbyterian minister to cross the mountains into the wilderness of Kentucky. He took an active part in building up the institution. The school was opened near Danville, but the arrangement was temporary, and its permanent location was left to future considertions. The matter provoked considerable discussion, and, in the fall of 1788, it was removed to Lexington, but it was not until 1793, that the question of location was definitely settled. The Transylvania Land Company pledged a donation of a lot of ground for the buildings on condition that the school be permanently located at Lexington. The trustees accepted the offer in the following resolution: "*Resolved*, that the permanent seat of the seminary be established on the lot of ground in the town of Lexington, adjoining Messrs. January's, and which is the same mentioned by the company of gentlemen calling themselves the Transylvania Company." On this lot was erected, about 1794, the first building used by the Transylvania Seminary in Lexington, a plain, two story brick edifice.

Upon the removal of the school to Lexington, Elias Jones was elected principal, in place of Rev. Mr. Rice, resigned. The terms of this pioneer institution would present a rather amusing contrast to some of our great colleges and universities of the present. They were, as published in the Kentucky *Gazette*, as follows: "Five pounds a year, one-half cash, the other in *property*. Boarding nine pounds a year, in property, pork, corn, tobacco, etc." The grammar school department was added in 1789, and Isaac Wilson appointed "professor" at a salary of "£100 sterling per anumn."

In the early history of Transylvania, its career was often disturbed by the yell of the Indian, and the crack of his rifle. Troops were almost constantly needed for defense, and even the women and children had to bear their part in defending the settlements against the savages. The roll of the drum called many a youth from the quiet of the schoolhouse, and the turbulence of the times forced them to exchange books for rifle and tomahawk. The unsettled state of the country was a serious drawback to the school, and from thirteen pupils in attendance at the beginning of the session, in 1790, the number was reduced next year to five. Its finances were correspondingly low. The trustees, however, did not despair, but set about raising £500 for current expenses. The fees from the county surveyors* had not been sufficient to support it, and landed property was still too nearly valueless to be available. So low was the treasury that the Rev. James Moore, who had succeeded Mr. Wilson as principal, was forced to carry on the school in his own house, and received but £25 for his year's service, with permission from the trustees to charge an extra fee for the "Roman and Greek classics." The school seems to have prospered under all these difficulties, for, in December, 1793, the Lexington *Gazette* announced that "Transylvania Seminary was well supplied with teachers of Natural and Moral Philosophy, of the Mathematics and of the learned Languages." Quite a serious dissatisfaction arose in 1794. The board of trustees elected Rev. Harry Toulmin†, a Baptist minister, principal. Sectarian jealously was at once aroused, and the usefulness of the institution for a time

*In 1787 the general assembly of Virginia further endowed the school with one-sixth of the surveyors' fees in the district of Kentucky, which had formerly been given to William and Mary College.

†Mr. Toulmin was a man of ability, and was afterward secretary of State under Gov. Garrard.

seemed in a fair way to be destroyed. The Baptists claimed equal rights in the seminary as a State institution; the Presbyterians claimed control, on the ground that its endowment was due to their exertions. Jealousy and bitterness increased. Rev. Mr. Moore, principal of the grammar department, who belonged to the Presbyterians, resigned his position, and his church finally withdrew its patronage of the institution. In 1796, they established the Kentucky Academy at Pisgah, eight miles southwest of Lexington. The trustees of the new academy comprised some of the leading men of the State, and they went vigorously to work to raise funds for its support. They soon had an endowment of $14,000, an amount liberal for that early period. About $10,000 of this sum had been contributed by the friends of popular education in the older States of the east, among whom were George Washington, then president; and John Adams, vice-president; and Aaron Burr, and Robert Morris. The Rev. Dr. Gordon, of London, contributed £80 sterling, toward purchasing books and apparatus. An active rivalry sprang up between the two schools. But fortunately for their influence as educational institutions, good sense and moderation prevailed, and finally led to a consolidation on terms consistent with honor and justice, A petition was presented to the legislature in 1798, in which it was proposed that "the Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky Academy, together with their respective trusts and funds, shall be united, and compose one general institution for the promotion of learning, to be styled and known by the name of the 'Transylvania University.'" The petition was granted, and Transylvania was chartered as a university December 22, 1798. The Rev. James Moore was the first president of the new institution. The next year (1799) it was given the appearance of a regular university, by the addition of law and medical departments.

Transylvania University for two-thirds of a century was the most famous educational institution ever chartered in the west. Its record is as proud as any similar institution within the limits of the Republic, and its roll of graduates show names of men distinguished throughout the country. Among them are Jefferson Davis, the whilom president of the southern Confederacy; Thomas F. Marshall, the "silver-tongued" orator; Dr. Benjamin W. Dudley, one of the most noted surgeons the State has known; Richard H. Menifee, John Boyle, Rev. James McChord, Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Richard M. Johnson (a vice-president of the United States), John Rowan, Charles S. Morehead (a governor of Kentucky), William T. Barry, Jesse Bledsoe, Charles A. Wickliffe (a governor of Kentucky), Elijah Hise and many others equally pre-eminent. Among its alumni are presidents, vice-presidents, cabinet officers, foreign ministers, governors, generals, physicians, merchants, lawyers, divines, and men of every profession and business of life. There are few towns in the south and west of any note that does not contain one or more graduates of this once renowned institution. It is a matter to be regretted, that its career could not be prolonged and a sufficient endowment secured to insure its perpetuation.

The first president of Transylvania was Rev. James Moore. He was succeeded, in 1804, by Rev. James Blythe, and he, in 1818, by Dr. Horace Holley, one of the most distinguished of all its presidents. In 1828 Dr. Holley was succeeded by the Rev. Alva Woods as president; in 1830 he was succeeded by Rev. Benjamin O. Peers, and he, in 1832, by Rev. Thomas W. Coit, who, in 1840, was succeeded by Rev. Robert Davidson. In 1840 the institutions passed into the control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Henry B. Bascom (afterward a bishop of that church) chosen president. He resigned in 1849, and the school reverted back to the State. It was wholly reorganized in 1856 and a normal department added under State patronage, with an appropriation of $12,000 per annum for its support. About this time the Rev. Lewis W. Green was called to the presidency, and was the ninth and last president of Transylvania. He held the position two years, and then resigned it to accept the position of president of Centre College, at

Danville. From the time of his resignation, the prosperity of Transylvania waned, and in 1865, it was merged into Kentucky University.

The law and medical departments of Transylvania were ably conducted, and furnished many eminent lawyers and physicians to the country. Among the professors of the law department, was Col. George Nicholas, one of the most profound jurists of Kentucky. Among his pupils, who afterward became distinguished lawyers, statesmen, and politicians, were Joseph Hamilton Daviess, John Rowan, Martin D. Hardin, Robert Wickliffe, William T. Barry, Isham Talbott, John Green, etc., etc. He died in Lexington in July, 1799, while still in the prime of life. He was succeeded as professor of law in Transylvania University by Henry Clay. After Mr. Clay, the chair was filled by James Brown, John Pope, William T. Barry, Jesse Bledsoe, John Boyle, Charles Humphreys, George Robertson, Thomas A. Marshall, and A. K. Wooley, all men distinguished in their profession.

The medical department was equally distinguished. Among its professors may be mentioned James Fishback, Benjamin W. Dudley, Elisha Warfield, Joseph Buchanan, James Overton, William A. Richardson, Daniel Drake, Charles Caldwell, Constantine F. Rafinesque, John Esten Cooke, Lunsford P. Yandell, H. H. Eaton, Charles W. Short, etc.

The Kentucky Academy owed its existence, as we have seen, to a spirit of jealousy that sprang up in Transylvania in its early years. It was established in 1796, and soon attained a high reputation. The trustees of the institution comprised some of the leading men of the State, such as James Blythe, James Moore, Andrew Steele, Robert Steele, Andrew McCalla, Samuel and John McDowell, Caleb Watson and James Johnson. But the institution was short-lived, as a separate and distinct school, and a conservative influence led to its consolidation, in the course of a few years, with Transylvania.

Centre College at Danville, is the oldest educational institution in Kentucky. It is denominational (Presbyterian) and has had an uninterrupted existence since 1819. The historical sketch here given was prepared for this work by Prof. Beatty, president of the college. He prefaces his sketch with a synopsis of the facts that led to its establishment as follows:

The Presbyterians were dissatisfied with the course of Transylvania University, and took steps to secure a charter for a school which should be under their own control. Their zeal was quickened by their hostility to the celebrated Dr. Horace Holley, who had been chosen president, and whose theological views they deemed unsound. They were so far successful, as to secure a charter for "The Centre College of Kentucky, at Danville," approved January 21, 1819. But the legislature, jealous of anything looking like a union of church and state, refused to put the school under denominational control, and chartered it as a State college. But while, from the first the Presbyterian influence was predominant in the college, they were unwilling to endow it, unless their control was assured for the future. As the school could not permanently succeed without an endowment, the legislature was induced to amend the charter, and place it exclusively under Presbyterian control, upon condition that they would donate to its funds the sum of $20,000. The amended charter was approved January 27, 1824. The synod of Kentucky agreed to pay into the treasury of the college $5,000 a year until the whole sum of $20,000 was paid. Upon the payment of the first installment of $5,000 the synod would be entitled to appoint one-fourth of the members of the board of trustees, and a like additional number for each additional payment of the like sum. The full payment was completed, and the right to elect the entire body of trustees was vested in the synod, in 1830. Thus, after fifty years of effort, from 1780 to 1830, the Presbyterians secured the exclusive control of a college of their own. Immediately after the original charter was obtained in 1819, contributions were made by the citizens of the town and vicinity, and a modest building was erected in Danville. The first president elected was the eloquent and dis-

tinguished Presbyterian preacher, the Rev. James McChord, D. D., who was pastor of the church to which he gave his own name in Lexington. He died in the year of his election, 1820; but it is believed, though not certainly known, that before his death, he had declined the appointment. The office having been temporarily filled by Rev. Samuel Finley, the board of trustees, in 1822, elected the Rev. Jeremiah Chamberlain, D. D., the fragrance of whose memory lingers with a few old people about Danville, who remember him as a man of learning, ability and piety. He resigned in 1826, and the office was filled temporarily by the Rev. David C. Proctor, until the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D., was elected in 1827. Dr. Blackburn was distinguished rather for his popular eloquence than for profound scholarship. He resigned in 1830, and was succeeded the same year by the Rev. John Clark Young, D. D., elected October 26th. Some difficulties connected with the resignation of Dr. Blackburn gave offense to his friends and to the students of the college, a number of whom left with their departing president. Dr. Young was thus elected the very year in which the exclusive right to choose trustees was vested in the synod of Kentucky. The money that had been subscribed having been spent in the erection of buildings, purchase of apparatus and books, the support of the faculty and other purposes, the college was without funds and without students. But the times were auspicious. Transylvania had lost her prestige, and no other school in the State had acquired her ascendancy. Dr. Young, now twenty-seven years of age, was supplying the McChord Church of Lexington, from which the board had attempted to take the first president. Upon him his Presbyterian brethren laid their hands and sent him to Danville. While in college, Dr. Young had been the pupil of the great Dr. John M. Mason, of New York. He had received his theological training at Princeton Seminary, and had been a tutor in Princeton College. An eloquent and effective speaker, he brought rare gifts and attainments to the office. His amiable disposition, his large scholarship, his clear and discriminating intellect, his power of apt illustration, his readiness, his copious and ready flow of correct language, his wisdom, prudence and piety combined to fit him admirably for his work. He soon became a great favorite with the people among whom he lived, with his pupils and his brethren of the synod. He exerted a profound influence, moral and religious, in the community and over his pupils. Those who enjoyed the privilege of his instruction usually ranked him very high, perhaps above every other teacher whom they had known. Under his administration Centre College soon rose to distinction. Students flocked to its halls, and funds were contributed to its endowment. At the age of twenty-seven, he began his work in college, and for another term of twenty-seven years he presided over its destinies until his death, which occurred at the early age of fifty-four, on the 23d of June, 1857. He left, as his monument, an institution whose endowment was greatly enlarged, whose halls were filled with nearly 200 students, and whose fame was spread abroad by 500 graduates whom he had sent forth through the land, especially to the south and west.

Dr. Young was succeeded by the Rev. L. W. Green, D. D., who was one of the two who composed the first graduating class. He was elected August 6, 1857, and died in office May 26, 1863. He was a worthy successor of Dr. Young, and during his administration the college continued to prosper until the unhappy civil war broke out, and the young men of the country left the college halls for military camps.

Upon the death of Dr. Green, the Rev. William L. Breckinridge, D. D., was elected October 18, 1863, and held the office for five years, resigning October 16, 1868. He struggled bravely against adverse circumstances, but the civil war had necessarily greatly lessened the number of students, though it had never entirely suspended the work of the college. But after the termination of the civil strife, the Presbyterians of Kentucky were compelled to witness the sad spectacle of a disrupted and contending church. The synod was divided, and each of the separate parts

claimed to be the true representative of that body to which belonged the exclusive right of appointing the board of trustees. Various unsuccessful efforts were made to heal the schism, or to unite the fragments in support of the college, or to divide the funds. At length the civil power was invoked to determine the rights of the respective parties. The case came before the circuit and appellate courts of Kentucky, and the United States district court. In all of these courts the decision was in favor of the party in control of the college at the time, and who had always steadfastly adhered to the general assembly (northern), with which they were then and still are connected. The college could not fail to suffer under such circumstances. To add to its troubles, it lost about $60,000 of its funds, by the robbery of the Falls City Tobacco Bank of Louisville, in whose vaults its bonds were kept. About two-thirds of this sum was ultimately recovered. But the friends of the college stood by it in its dark days, and far more than replaced its lost funds. Its property, including about $70,000 of unproductive real estate, amounts to near a quarter of a million dollars. Its benefactors are numbered literally by hundreds, if not by thousands. Its funds have been contributed in part by many small donations. But it has had many liberal friends who have given much larger sums. Perhaps the largest contributor was Mr. Samuel Laird, of Fayette County, who gave about $12,000. The next largest donations were made by Messrs. L. L. Warren, Caldwell Campbell, and B. F. Avery, who first and last gave over $10,000 each. Dr. John W. Scott has given, in different ways, about $10,000. Mr. A. M. January and Mrs. M. A. Wilson each contributed $5,000 or over, and a large number $1,000 or more, and a still larger number have given in smaller sums. Mr. David Sayre erected at a cost of $5,000 the "Sayre Hall" for a library. Its graduates number 931, and now fill or have filled many posts of honor and trust, especially in the south and west.

Prof. Ormond Beatty, long connected with the college, was chosen to succeed Dr. Breckinridge as president, September 1, 1871, and still (1885) holds the office. A new building was completed in 1872; enlarged facilities of instruction in the way of books, apparatus, a larger faculty, and a fuller course of studies betoken increased prosperity and usefulness in the future.

Other colleges were established in Kentucky very early—prior to Centre College, pehraps—but none of them now exist, and some of them are even forgotten. The Southern College, at Bowling Green, was established prior to 1820. In that year the legislature passed an act appropriating "one-half of the profits of the Lexington branch of the Commonwealth's Bank to Transylvania University; one-third of the profits of the Harrodsburg branch, to purchase a library and philosophical apparatus for Centre College, and a like sum from the Bowling Green branch for the like purpose of the Southern College of Kentucky."

Augusta College was founded in 1822. This is claimed as the first college established in the world, under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. During its career, extending over a third of a century or more, it had among its presidents some distinguished men, viz.: Rev. Martin Ruter, Rev. Joseph S. Tomlinson, Rev. Henry B. Bascom, Rev. Burr H. McCown, and others equally noted. Its library at one time contained about 2,500 volumes. The college building was destroyed by fire in 1852, but was immediately rebuilt, and a few years later the college went down. Since it ceased to exist the building has been used for a high school.

The first school of a high grade established in the State, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, was St. Joseph's College at Bardstown. It was chartered by the legislature December 24, 1825, and soon became the leading educational institution of that church in the State.

A female academy, the first in the west, and among the first in the United States, was established, in 1806, by Rev. John Lyle. It was a Protestant school and was quite prosperous for several years. Located at Paris,

in the heart of the thickly settled portion of the State, it sometimes had 300 pupils or more. But after a few years of prosperity it passed out of existence.

Bacon College was chartered in 1836. It was originally located at Georgetown, but in 1840 was removed to Harrodsburg, and in 1865 was merged into Kentucky University. St. Mary's College, in Marion County (Roman Catholic), was incorporated in January, 1837; Louisville College in 1840, and Marshall College at Hopkinsville the same year; Henderson College in 1842, and Maysville College in 1846. Thus seminaries, academies, colleges and universities sprang up in all parts of the State—too many really for the good of the common schools, which, after all, comprise the true system of popular education in America. The common schools languish in proportion to the increase of colleges, academies, and other private schools. No State in the Union is better supplied with educational institutions of a higher grade than Kentucky, but her common school system, although being improved every year, is still very deficient. Among first-class schools, now in successful operation, may be mentioned Kentucky University, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Lexington, Centre College at Danville, Kentucky Military Institute near Frankfort, Central University at Richmond, Cumberland College at Princeton, with a college, academy, seminary, or other private school in every town of any importance in the State.

The Kentucky Military Institute, situated six miles from Frankfort, was incorporated under the State laws in 1847, and placed under the control and direction of a board of visitors, appointed by the governor, who, by virtue of his office, is *ex-officio* inspector of the institute. The superintendent, faculty and cadets are constituted a *quasi* military corps. The officers are commissioned under the seal of the commonwealth, and are responsible to the board of visitors for the faithful performance of prescribed duties. The institute is a private enterprise, and has always been self-sustaining. The State furnishes the military equipment and assumes supervision over the military organization, but contributes nothing to its support.

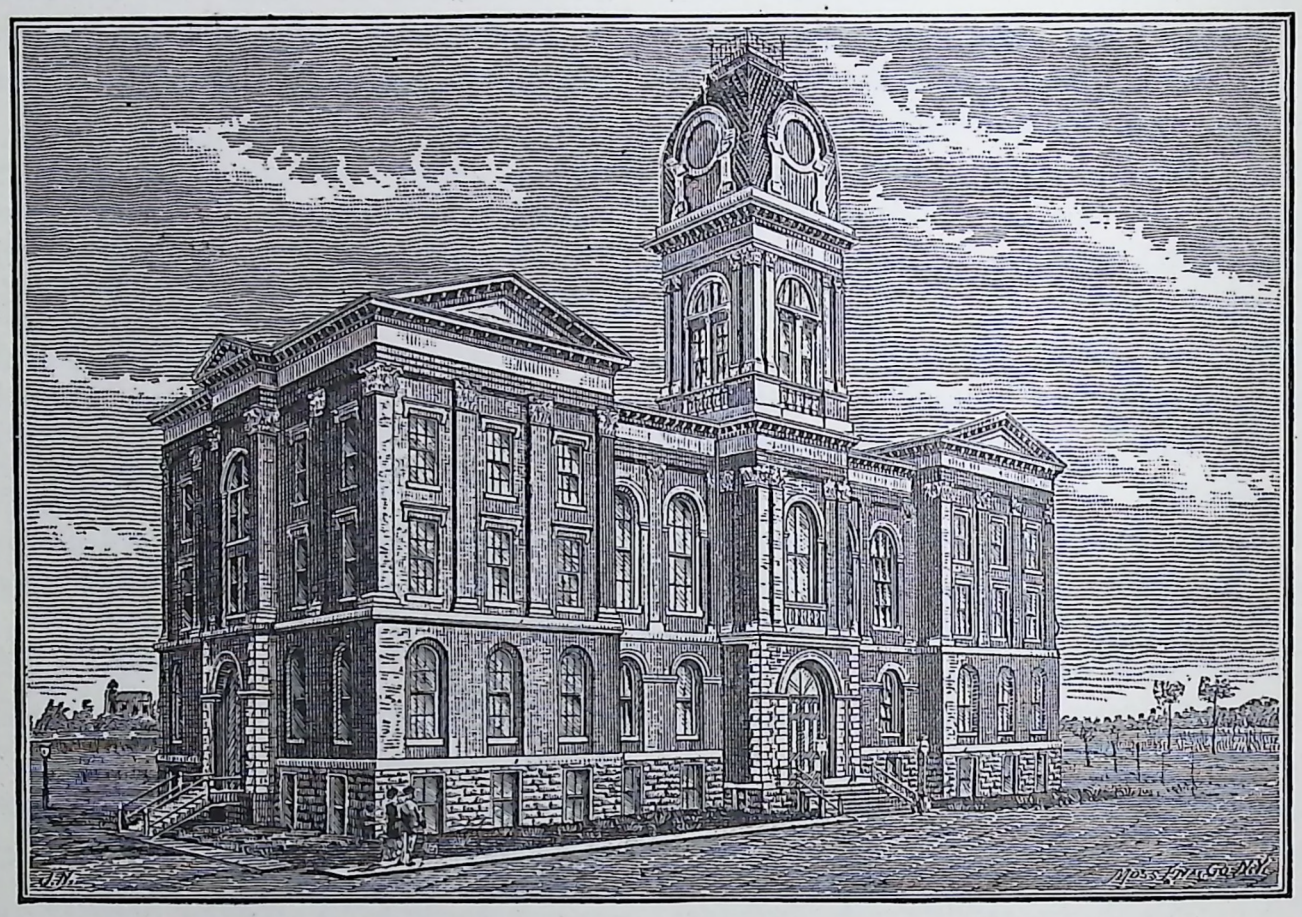
The location of the institute is a beautiful one, and is reached by an hour's ride by stage from the State capital over the Frankfort & Harrodsburg Turnpike. The buildings were erected at a cost of $100,000, and are admirably adapted to school purposes. They are heated by steam and lighted by gas, and the excellent taste displayed in arrangement of buildings and grounds commends the establishment to visitors as a place of unequaled beauty. The following is the true aim of the military feature:

> The design of the miltary organization is not only to bring about a just discipline, but to direct to a high purpose the aimless energies of youth, which would otherwise be wasted in unprofitable sport. A robust frame, a manly carriage, and a graceful bodily development, are objects not less worthy than the acquirement of a soldierly knowledge, which may be of great practical value in the chances of life. The *esprit de corps* excited by this organization creates checks upon willful or thoughtless error, and urges the cadet to an observance of strict propriety, in a degree far greater than would be thought by one not familiar with its workings. The virtues of *truthfulness*, self-respect and self-reliance are the most direct results of a military education. While this is true, it is also true that the military discipline is entirely subservient to the grander purposes of the intellectual and moral development of the youth. It is but a means, and not the end, of earnest endeavor in the inculcation of subordination to rightful authority. An obedience is sought to be attained from the consciousness of *right*, and not from the fear of punishment. It is believed that a noble manhood is centered in no other element of character.

Kentucky University is one of the ablest and most renowned institutions of learning in Kentucky. It is located at Lexington, and is a genuine university, complete in every college, with a liberal endowment. It was incorporated in 1858 as a university, and located at Harrodsburg. It grew out of Bacon College, an institution established by the Reformed or Christian Church at Georgetown in 1836, and afterward removed to Harrodsburg. It finally failed through want of sufficient endowment, and about the year 1850 was virtually abandoned. Upon the incorporation of Kentucky University, the funds and property of Bacon College were

turned over to it, and the identity of the latter was thus lost in the new institution.

Kentucky University owes its origin mainly to the efforts and zeal of Mr. John B. Bowman, a graduate of Bacon College. He conceived the idea of erecting a great university—a university in the full sense of the word—upon the ruins of old Bacon College, and dedicated his life to the accomplishment of this purpose. He abandoned his business aims, and devoted his time and energies to the raising of a fund for its endowment, and with such material success that within less than six months he had secured $150,000. The college of science, literature and arts, the first regular department of the university, was opened at Harrodsburg in September, 1859, with nearly 200 students. Mr. Bowman was not idle. He raised $5,000 to purchase apparatus, and $50,000 to purchase, as the site for the buildings, the celebrated Harrodsburg Springs, together with 200 acres of land adjacent. In this last he was defeated through the civil war, and other causes. The college edifice and much of the furniture, etc., were destroyed by fire in 1864. About this time a proposition was made to Mr. Bowman to remove the institution to Lexington, Louisville or Covington. The trustees of Transylvania University, in order that Lexington might maintain its character and usefulness as an educational center, proposed to convey the entire property of Transylvania and consolidate it with Kentucky University, on condition that the latter be removed to Lexington, and that it preserve all the Transylvania trusts. This proposition was accepted, and Kentucky University removed to Lexington in 1865, and permanently located in that city. The next year after its removal, Mr. Bowman purchased "Ashland," the homestead of Henry Clay, for the permanent site of Kentucky University and its different colleges; he also purchased the adjoining estate of "Woodlands," which extends within the limits of Lexington, the two estates containing 433 acres of as fine land as lies in the famous blue grass region.



STATE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College was organized in 1866, largely through the instrumentality of its first president, John Augustus Williams, one of the most eminent educators in the west. In the early part of

1865, congress proposed to donate to the State 330,000 acres of land for the purpose of agricultural and mechanical education. The legislature, astounded at the munificent provision of congress, was somewhat undecided as to the disposal of the donation, when Mr. Bowman came to its aid, and proposed to make the State Agricultural College a department of Kentucky University. He further agreed, if this should be done, to provide an experimental farm, and all the requisite buildings, and to give gratuitous instruction to 300 students, to be selected by the State; and furthermore pledged that the board of curators would carry out, in the agricultural department, the spirit and intent of the act of congress, encouraging the education of the industrial classes.* This was agreed upon, and a bill embodying the spirit of the proposal was presented to the legislature, and, after a rather heated discussion, was passed by a large majority. It was under the provisions of this act that Mr. Bowman purchased "Ashland" and "Woodlands," as already described.

The legislature in 1878 detached the Agricultural and Mechanical College from the University, and established it on an independent basis—the act taking effect on the 1st of July, 1880. A commission had been appointed by the legislature to select a suitable place for the location of the college. Lexington made an offer of the city park, containing fifty-two acres of land, and $30,000 in city bonds; Fayette County added to this sum $20,000 in county bonds, for the erection of buildings or the purchase of land. The legislature accepted the offer, and Lexington became the permanent seat of the Agricultural and Mechanical College. It is growing in importance every year, and is fast becoming one of the most famous institutions of learning in the State.

*History of Fayette County, p. 310.

CHAPTER XXI.

RECENT GROWTH AND PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE.

INTERNAL improvement has received the earnest attention of the legislature and the people of Kentucky from the organization of the State. While it never embarked so deeply and recklessly in the system as others of the Western States in their earlier history, yet it involved itself in debt to an extent that required it years to recover from. The surface of the State is not adapted to the cheap construction of roads and canals as are the prairie States, but it affords an inexhaustible supply of material for road building that is not surpassed by any country in the world, and when a road is once made it requires little work or expense to keep it in good order.

The common highway of travel is one of the best signs or symbols by which to understand an age or people. Something can be learned of the status of society, of the culture of a community, of the enlightenment of a government, by visiting universities and libraries, churches, palaces, and the marts of trade; but quite as much by the roads. For if there is any activity in society, or any vitality to a government, it will always be indicated by the highway, the type of civilized motion and prosperity.

Kentucky is noted for having some of the best as well as some of the worst roads in the country. The turnpike system in the central part of the State, so far as pertains to the excellent quality of the road, cannot be excelled, and the abolishment of tolls would render the system well nigh perfect. In other and less favored portions of the commonwealth, where only "mud pikes" are in use, they are no better than similar roads elsewhere.

The first act of the legislature for the opening of a road, passed after Kentucky became a State, was approved December 14, 1793, and was for a road from Frankfort to Cincinnati. On December 12, 1794, the next act was passed for a road. This was to extend from Madison Court House, or Milford, as it was called, situated about four miles from the present city of Richmond, to the hazel patch, on the road leading from Crab Orchard to Powell's Valley. This was followed by another act in 1795, providing for a road "to commence in the neighborhood of Crab Orchard, and to terminate on the top of the Cumberland Mountain, in the gap through which the present road to Virginia passes." These acts were not always followed by the immediate opening of the roads designated in them. The latter road was not opened for a year after the act was passed, and the road from Madison Court House, etc., was not opened until 1797. The expenses of opening both were paid by State appropriations. The legislature of Kentucky, in 1797, re-enacted a law of Virginia, for the "opening of new roads, and the alteration of former roads, under surveyors appointed by the courts." This act required "that all male laboring persons, sixteen years old, or more, shall work the roads, except those who are masters of two or more slaves over said age; or else pay a fine of 7s 6d for each day's absence, or neglect thus to work." It further provided, "that in the absence of bridges, mill-dams should be built at least twelve feet wide, for the passage of public roads, with bridges over the pier-heads and flood-gates." The surveyors were authorized to "impress wagons, and to take timber, stone or earth, for building roads," the same to be paid for out of the taxes of the different counties. For several years, a number of

similar acts were passed by each session of the legislature. On December 21, 1821, the first act was passed, making an appropriation of a specified sum for road purposes. The appropriation was $1,000, and it was for the improvement of the State Road from Lexington, Ky., to Nashville, Tenn., from the Rolling Fork of Salt River, south, over the summit of Muldrow's Hills. As stated in the act, this was "owing to the thinness of the population in the neighborhood, and to the quantity of labor requisite to put in repair that part of the great highway, leading from northwest of the Ohio and upper settlements of this State, to the States of Tennessee and Alabama, and the Orleans country."

Turnpike originally meant a toll-gate, and not a road, but at the present day, the word "turnpike" is usually applied to all macadamized roads. On March 1, 1797, the legislature passed an act, appointing Joseph Crockett "to erect a 'turnpike' at some convenient place, and purchase as much land as may be necessary for that purpose, not exceeding two acres, on the road leading from the Crab Orchard to Cumberland Gap, beyond where the road from Madison Court House intersects said road." To give the reader some idea of the importance of this turnpike (or toll-gate), the act provided that "the turnpike should be farmed out to the highest bidder, who should give bond and security, payable to the governor of the State, for the faithful payment of his bid." When he had complied with this provision, he was allowed to charge the following tolls: "For every person, except post riders, expresses, women, and children under the age of ten years, 9d (12½ cents); for every horse, mare or mule, 9d; two-wheel carriage, 3s; four-wheel carriage, 6s ($1), and for every head of neat cattle going to the eastward, 3d." After paying for repairing the road, and keeping it in good order, the surplus of tolls went to the keeper of the turnpike, or toll-gate.

The introduction of macadamized roads* into Kentucky formed a new era in road building in the State. The first road of this character, authorized by the legislature, was that known as the "Maysville & Lexington Turnpike Road." Gov. Desha was a zealous advocate of turnpikes. In his annual message, December 4, 1826, he recommended the building of a road from Maysville to Louisville, *via* Paris, Lexington, Frankfort, and other towns between the two points. He suggested several other important turnpikes, and closed with the following words: "The subject of common schools and internal improvements may be made auxiliary to each other. Let the school fund now in the Bank of the Commonwealth ($140,917), the proceeds of the sale of vacant lands, the stock in the two banks belonging to the State ($781,238), and all other funds which can be raised by other means than taxes on the people, be vested in the turnpike roads; and the net profits arising from tolls on those roads be forever sacredly devoted to the interests of education."

The first macadamized road built in the State was from Maysville to Washington, a distance of four miles. By an act of the legislature, passed February 4, 1817, a company was incorporated to build a turnpike road from Lexington to Louisville, and another to build one from Lexington to Maysville, and the capital stock of each company fixed at $350,000, in shares of $100 each. The road from Maysville to Lexington was to pass through Washington, Mayslick, Millersburg and Paris. During the next year turnpike roads were chartered from Louisville to Portland and Shippingport, from Lexington toward Boonesborough, from Lexington to Georgetown, and from Georgetown to Frankfort. In February, a road was chartered from Georgetown to Cincinnati. But with all this legislation on the subject it was not until 1829, that a macadamized road was built in the State.

The legislature, on the 22d of January, 1827, chartered the Maysville & Lexington Turnpike Road Company anew, with a capital stock of $320,000. At any time, according to the provisions of the act, within three years after complete organization of the

* The macadamized road was invented by Macadam, and consists, after the road-bed is prepared, in covering it to a certain depth with broken stone.

company, the United States government was authorized to subscribe $100,000, and the State of Kentucky the like sum. Gen. Metcalfe, a representative in congress at the time, and afterward governor of the commonwealth, induced the secretary of war to order a survey for the location of a leading highway and "mail road" from Zanesville, in Ohio, through Maysville and Lexington, in Kentucky, and Nashville, Tenn., to Florence, Ala., and New Orleans. The survey was commenced at Maysville, in May following, by Col. Long and Lieut. Trimble, of the United States engineer department. On the 13th of February, 1828, the Kentucky legislature recommended congress to extend a branch of the national road from Zanesville, Ohio, to Maysville, and "thence through the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi to New Orleans." The resolution instructed the senators from Kentucky, and requested the members of congress "to use their utmost exertions to effect this object." A bill was introduced into the national congress, with an appropriation for this great enterprise, and passed the lower house, but was defeated in the senate by one of the Kentucky senators, John Rowan. Mr. Rowan's action was severely criticized, on the grounds that, but for his opposition, the bill would have passed in the spring of 1828, at a time when President John Quincy Adams would readily have approved it, and thus have secured the prompt completion of the road by national and State aid.

Maysville, with a spirit of enterprise worthy of emulation, and disgusted somewhat at the "wind-work," that, so far, was all that had been done, went to work, and succeeded in getting a charter from the legislature on the 29th of January, 1829, for "the Maysville & Washington Turnpike Road Company." By April the stock was taken, and the road commenced in July following—the first shovel of dirt being thrown on the 4th. The road was steadily pushed forward, and in November, 1830, was completed between the two points, and ultimately extended to Lexington, under an amended charter, entitling it "the Maysville, Washington, Paris & Lexington Turnpike Road Company." On the 29th of April, 1830, a bill was passed by the national house of representatives (by a vote of 102 to 84), "authorizing and directing the secretary of the treasury to subscribe, in the name and for the use of the United States, for 1,500 shares ($150,000) of the capital stock of the Maysville, Washington, Paris & Lexington Turnpike Road Company, to be paid for in the same installments as by the stockholders generally, except that not more than one-third should be demanded during the year 1830." The bill passed the senate by a vote of 24 to 18, one of the senators from Kentucky—George M. Bibb—voting against it, and the other—John Rowan—voting in favor of it, but doing so "under instructions." All the senators from the Southern States voted against the bill, except John McKinley, of Alabama. Of the twelve members of congress from Kentucky, Dr. Nathan Gaither, alone voted against it. But on the 27th of May, twelve days after the passage of the bill by the United States senate, President Jackson vetoed it. Says Mr. Collins:* "This extraordinary measure (Jackson's veto) gave to the road a fame broad as the Union, but of no avail toward its completion—unless it may have stimulated somewhat or aroused afresh the enthusiasm excited the year before by the spirited and independent course of the brave little city, Maysville (by whose name the road has always been best known), and by the additional fact that, on January 29, 1830, the legislature of Kentucky had made it lawful for the governor to subscribe for not over $25,000 in the stock of the company—none of which, however, to be paid until three times the amount required of the State had been paid by the stockholders, in gold or silver or its equivalent." During the year (1830) large sums—large for the time—were subscribed at Lexington, Paris, Millersburg, Maysville, and by Nicholas County, and thirty-one miles of the road were promptly put under contract. The State subscribed different sums at different times, until the total amount of State aid aggre-

*History of Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 540.

gated $213,200—one-half the cost of the road. The total cost of the road from Maysville to Lexington, a distance of sixty-four miles, was $426,400, including thirteen toll-houses and six covered bridges.

The first appropriation made by the State to a turnpike or macadamized road was on January 29, 1830. This appropriation, as we have seen, was based on the condition that private stockholders should subscribe for three times the amount. The State made its first unconditional subscription on January 15, 1831, and to the same enterprise—the road from Maysville to Lexington. The State acted with great caution at first, and made its appropriations slowly and in small sums; but in the great internal improvement storm which swept over the country, and well nigh bankrupted some of the Western States, Kentucky became imbued with the spirit of enterprise, and appropriations were made to the different roads and thoroughfares, until the State had invested in such works over $2,500,000. By the fall of 1837, the subscription of individual stockholders aggregated about $2,000,000 more. Something of the excess to which the spirit of internal improvement was carried, is shown by the following summary of roads, most of them receiving more or less aid from the State, completed, under contract, or in contemplation, in the fall of 1837: the Maysville & Lexington, 64 miles in length; Lexington, Danville & Lancaster, 42 miles; Lexington, Harrodsburg & Perryville, 42 miles; Lexington & Winchester, 18 miles; Lexington & Richmond, 25 miles; Lexington, Versailles & Frankfort, 27 miles; Frankfort & Shelbyville, 32 miles; Frankfort, Hardinsville & Crab Orchard, 65 miles; Frankfort & Georgetown, 17 miles; Lexington & Georgetown, 12 miles; Georgetown, Williamstown & Covington, 73 miles; Maysville & Bracken, 11 miles; Maysville & Mt. Sterling, 50 miles; Bardstown & Springfield, 18 miles; Louisville, Bardstown & Glasgow to the Tennessee line, 144 miles; Louisville *via* mouth of Salt River to Elizabethtown, 43 miles; Elizabethtown & Bowling Green to the Tennessee line, 96 miles; Logan, Todd & Christian, 76 miles; New Market, Lebanon & Washington, 15 miles; Muldrow's Hill and bridge, 5 miles; Versailles to Kentucky River, 12 miles; aggregating a total of nearly 900 miles of road, and a cost to the State of between $2,500,000 and $3,000,000. The cost of building some of these roads was nearly one-third of the cost of building a railroad. The Maysville Road cost $6,662.50 per mile, including bridges and toll-houses, and the road from Louisville to the Tennessee line *via* Bardstown and Glasgow, cost about $6,736 per mile. The roads enumerated above, were built on the macadamized plan, and cost, including bridges, etc., from $5,000 to $7,350 per mile. In addition to the macadamized roads built prior to 1840, a number of "State roads" were authorized by the legislature; and "ordered surveyed and opened." Most of these were paid for out of the county levies, and received no aid from the State. They were graded, the "dirt thrown from the sides to the center," and had toll-gates on them at intervals; the tolls being used in keeping the roads in good condition for travel.

Next to the building of roads the improvement of river navigation early engaged the attention of the legislature. Indeed, the latter has the right of seniority, as the first river improvement act, or the re-enactment of an old law of Virginia, dates back to December 15, 1792. This law imposed "a fine of $2 for each twenty-four hours any obstruction was continued to the passage of fish or boats in any navigable stream—except said obstruction were a dam for the purpose of working a water grist-mill or other water-works of public utility." Another act was passed December 19, 1793, which appointed commissioners to raise a fund for the clearing of the south fork of the Licking River, and opening it for navigation, from its mouth to the junction of Hinkston and Stoner, and also that of the latter fork as high as the mouth of Strode's Creek. Mill-dams already erected, were not required to be removed, but the owners were directed to build such locks and slopes as would allow the passage of all boats that might navi-

gate the streams. An act, December 12, 1794, ordered the removal of mills and fish-dams and other obstructions in Licking River and Slate Creek, by May 1, 1795, under a penalty of £30. This law was repealed December 21, 1799, and an act passed permitting mill-dams across the main Licking, with provisos as to height, locks and slopes.

In 1801 a company was incorporated by the legislature for the purpose of improving river navigation. It was known as the "Kentucky River Company," and had a capital stock of $10,000, divided into shares of $50 each. The stock was apportioned among the different counties, and commissioners appointed to receive the subscriptions as follows: Franklin County, twenty shares, and Christopher Greenup, Bennett Pemberton and Thomas Todd, commissioners; Woodford County, twenty shares, and Robert Alexander, Thomas Bullock and William Steele, commissioners; Fayette County, thirty shares, and James Trotter, John Jordan and Thomas Wallace, commissioners; Clark County, fifteen shares, and David Bullock, Robert Clark, Jr., and Dillard Collins, commissioners; Madison County, twenty-two shares, and John Patrick, James Barnett and John Wilkerson, commissioners; Garrard County, eighteen shares, and John Harrison, Thomas Kennedy and Abner Baker, commissioners; Mercer County, twenty-two shares, and Gabriel Slaughter, James Birney and James Moore, commissioners; Jessamine County, fifteen shares, and William Price, George Walker and Benjamin Bradshaw, commissioners; Scott County, twenty shares, and William Henry, David Flournoy and Bartlett Collins, commissioners; Lincoln County, eighteen shares, and Isaac Shelby, William Logan and William Whitley, commissioners.

The design of the Kentucky River Company was to clear the Kentucky River of all obstructions from its mouth to the mouth of its south fork, which would impede the passage of boats or might be considered necessary to improve the navigation of the river. According to the charter of the company, when the work was completed, and so long as approved by two commissioners appointed by the governor to examine the navigation of the river annually in July or August, the company was allowed to collect tolls as follows: "For each boat not more than fourteen feet wide and thirty feet long, $4; forty-five feet, $5; sixty feet, $6; and 9 cents for each foot larger. For each keel-boat, pirogue, or canoe, of over one ton burden, 12½ cents for each foot in length. For each 100 hogshead or pipe staves or headings, or each 100 feet of plank or scantling, if floated on a raft, 4 cents, or other timber, 12½ cents. Boats loaded with coal, lime, iron or other ore, or household furniture, to pay not over three-fourths of the above rates."

This enterprise proved a failure, and on the 10th of January, 1811, an act was passed which authorized the raising of $10,000 by lottery, under the supervision of eleven commissioners or directors. The amount thus raised was to be expended in "clearing all logs, brush, trees, rocks, fish traps, 'shrubbing' the points of islands, and removing other impediments from the Kentucky River, and its south fork, and Goose Creek, as high up as the salt-works of Gov. James Garrard and sons." This enterprise was likewise a failure, and nothing ever came of it of practical value.

Without going into a detailed account of all the acts, and the various projects inaugurated for the improvement of Kentucky River and its branches, the following summary* may be given: "In 1836, the total estimated cost of locks and dams was $1,950,868; to which was to be added for lock-houses $17,000, hydraulic lime, $102,000, clearing river banks at $300 per mile, $77,250, and 7 per cent, for contingences, superintendence, etc., $150,298; total, $2,297,416, or an average cost per mile of $8,922. The increased cost of the five completed locks over the estimate was, for construction alone, $185,226. The actual cost of the 95 miles was $901,932.70, or an average of $9,494 per mile; at the same ratio, the entire navigation to the middle fork would have cost $2,444,705. The outlay for engineering and instruments, land, removing snags, and other incidental expens-

*Collins' History, Vol. I, p. 550.

es, on the 95 miles, was $72,231 and $52,416 for hydraulic lime."

The improvement of Green and Barren Rivers, has received considerable attention at various times from the State. The first legislative enactment for the improvement of Green River was February 16, 1808. The act made it obligatory upon the several counties lying along a certain portion of the river, to keep it in a navigable condition, and annually, in July, August and September, "to work it with hands from the neighborhood." To "work it" meant to "remove all fish pots, all dams not erected under authority of the legislature, and all logs, to cut and clear away all projecting timber, to shrub all points of islands, and to remove any other obstructions in the channel." An act of the legislature declared the navigable part of the river to be that below the mouth of Knob Lick Creek, in Casey County. A year later this was changed to that below the Adair County line. An act of the legislature, January 18, 1810, provided for the improvement of the branches of the Green River as follows: Muddy River from its mouth up to its Wolf Lick Fork; Big Barren from its mouth to Bays Fork; Pond River from its mouth to within half a mile of Brier Creek; and Rough Creek from its mouth to Long's Ferry. These improvements were to be made by subscriptions raised along the streams, in the country that would be most benefited by the improvement. Every session of the legislature for years passed acts upon acts for the improvement of small rivers and creeks, and declaring them "navigable streams," and thus often giving them "a dignity and importance they did not merit."

As early as 1833, money was expended by the State upon work, surveys, etc., of the Green and Barren Rivers. In 1834, the sum of $15,272 was appropriated for engineering work on the locks and dams, and $40,033 the next year. The State appropriated, for this work, the total sum of $125,000, most which was expended before the close of 1836. In 1834 the estimated cost of four locks and dams in the Green River, and one in the Barren River, was $238,988. The system embraced the improvement of 180 miles of the Green and Barren Rivers, thirty miles in the Green River above the mouth of the Barren, thirty miles in the Muddy River, nine in the Pond River, and nineteen in Rough Creek—268 miles in all. To November 20, 1837, nearly $250,000 had been expended upon the Green and Barren Rivers. The total amount appropriated to complete their navigation up to Bowling Green was $859,126.79. The average cost of the improvement was estimated at $5,010.73 per mile. The gross expenditures upon these rivers from 1843 to 1865, was $269,813.66; gross receipts for the same period was $265,002.59, an excess of $4,811.07 in expenditures.

A survey of the Salt River, and of the Beech and Rolling Forks (branches), was made in 1837. It was estimated that, with four locks and dams, the Salt River could be made navigable for small boats a distance of about thirty-seven miles from its mouth. The cost of the four locks was estimated at $282,533. It was also estimated that two locks, from the mouth of Rolling Fork to the mouth of Beech Fork, would render navigable about nineteen miles between those points.

The Big and Little Sandy Rivers, though streams of some importance, especially the former, have never received the attention and appropriations that other streams in the State of really no greater magnitude. A survey of the Little Sandy, made in 1837, developed the fact that the stream was "too crooked for the successful navigation of steamboats." The Big Sandy and its west fork were partially surveyed in 1835, but the work was not completed until 1838. The report of the survey estimated, that for "the removal of rocks, snags and leaning trees, and the excavation of a channel through each of the principal shoals or ripples, so as to admit of descending navigation, the sum of $25,300 would probably be sufficient." The improvement of this stream is not yet completed, and appropriations are still occasionally made for the purpose. The sum of $75,000 was appropriated in 1870, and a "chute sufficiently wide, with slope

so as to admit the passage of boats, cut in a solid rock in the falls of the Tug Fork." It was estimated to require seven lock and dams on the main stream and the West Fork, and five on the Tug Fork, costing $569,100 to render navigation certain for the inexhaustible supplies of the celebrated Peach Orchard, block and cannel coals." These coals are among the best found west of Pennsylvania, and comprise millions and millions of bushels. Statistics show the exports from the Big Sandy Valley for the year ending July 1, 1870, at $1,219,000 in value. These have greatly increased since that date.

The Licking River received its full share of notice during the rage of internal improvements, and, as we have seen, was one of the first streams coming under legislative enactments, but it did not receive the substantial aid which was given many other streams in the State quite as insignificant. The first survey of the Licking was ordered about 1835-36. In 1837 the survey was continued to West Liberty, a point 231 miles from its mouth. The total ascent in the distance was 310 feet, and to render slack-water navigation feasible twenty-one locks were required, with "lifts varying from nine to eighteen feet." The cost of the improvement up to West Liberty was estimated at $1,826,481, and the time in which it was to be completed four years. The first five locks and dams on the Licking, between Falmouth and the mouth of the river, were put under contract in October, 1837, and the work pushed on with spirit. But in 1842, owing to the great financial pressure of the times, which had existed for several years, the public works throughout the State were almost entirely abandoned. They came to a dead stop on the Licking River, and the outlay, which, up to this time, was $372,520, proved a loss to the State.

This does not include all the river improvements of Kentucky. For many years before the era of railroad building, the improvements of inland streams was agitated, and carried on vigorously. Many projects of this kind were inaugurated, that in the present age would appear supremely ridiculous to us, and that, had they all proved successful, would have cut the State up into water highways, natural and artificial. Enough of the river improvement has been given, to show the extent to which this species of internal improvement was carried in the earlier years of the commonwealth; to notice every individual enterprise of the kind is unnecessary, and would but weary the reader.

Kentucky is not adapted to canals. The uneven surface and the vast beds of limestone underlying it, render canals an "expensive luxury" in the way of internal improvements that the State has not felt able to indulge in to any very great extent. More than one project, however, of this kind, has at different times been agitated, but the canal around the falls of the Ohio, at Louisville, is the only monument to that kind of enterprise in existence in the State. During the internal improvement craze, when the construction of canals became an epidemic in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, similar enterprises were inaugurated in Kentucky. The most gigantic scheme of this kind, was a canal to connect the Ohio River with the Atlantic Ocean. The following report made by Maj. R. P. Baker, chief engineer, to the State board of internal improvements, is from the senate journal of 1835:

From the Ohio up the Kentucky River, by locks and dams, to the three forks of the Kentucky; thence up the South Fork and Goose Creek, to the salt works; thence by a canal thirty-six miles long, with 160 feet of lockage, into Cumberland River at Cumberland Ford; thence four miles in Cumberland River to the mouth of Yellow Creek; thence by canal, in the bed of Yellow Creek, to Cumberland Gap; through Cumberland Gap by a tunnel, probably 700 to 800 yards long, and by canal from thence into Powell's River, five miles below; down that river successively into the Clinch and Tennessee, and up the Hiwassee River, by locks and dams; from the Hiwassee, continue the improvements by a canal to the navigable waters of the Savannah, at the head of steamboat navigation on that river.

Such a canal would outflank the whole chain of the Appalachian Mountains, on the southwest; and in the course of its extent, would cross the various noble rivers, Coosa, Chattahooche, Oconee, etc., which, taking their rise in the chain of the Appalachians, flow into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, between the cities of Charleston and New Orleans. This would throw open to the commerce

of the counties bordering on the Ohio River, a choice among the numerous markets presented by the vast extent of cotton country; independently of the facilities it would offer for reaching the northeastern cities or European ports, through the ports of Savannah and Charleston.

The average cost per mile of a lock and dam navigation, upon the most perfect plan, will but little, if any, exceed one-half that of a turnpike road. More than three-fifths of the distance on the route proposed would be in the beds of rivers improved for this kind of navigation. The most perfect kind of canal can be constructed for one-half the cost of the most perfect railroad. The experience of the northeastern States has fully settled the question that the cost of transportation on railroads exceeds that upon canals by 200 to 300 per cent. * * * * * The day would not be distant from the completion of such a work, until the demands of commerce would be equal to all the capacities of the Kentucky River improved upon the largest plan proposed. This remark applies with peculiar force to the projected railroad from Charleston to the Ohio River, now undergoing discussion in the legislature of Kentucky.

At this day, when the people are groaning under railroad monopolies, and are ground down by exorbitant tariff rates required to transport their goods and produce to and fro, there can be no doubt or question but that such a water highway between the Ohio River and the Atlantic Ocean would have proven of incalculable value to the country. At the very least, it would have afforded formidable competition to railroad transportation, and have been an important factor in keeping railroad charges at lower figures than are now maintained. It is a matter for regret that the statesmen of half a century ago could not peer far enough into the future to have foreseen the value of this important enterprise, and not allowed it to fail.

The Ohio Canal Company, organized for the purpose of constructing a canal around the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, was incorporated by the legislature on the 10th of December, 1804. Under the act, "commissioners were appointed to open books in seventeen of the most important towns of the State, for the subscription of $50,000 in $50 shares." A clause was added to the charter, authorizing the company to increase their stock to "any amount found necessary to complete the canal." The company was authorized to cut a canal around the falls, construct the necessary locks and dams, and to charge sufficient tolls to keep the work in proper repair, etc. If the requisite sum was not raised by subscription, the company was allowed to raise $15,000 by lottery under rather rigid restrictions. This law was not satisfactory, and an amended act was passed December 20, 1805, by which a quorum for the transaction of business must represent, or consist of, the holders of at least 2,000 shares of the capital stock. It also "increased the capital stock to $500,000; directed the governor to subscribe for 1,000 shares, provided the amount payable by the State should not exceed $10,000 annually; reserved 1,000 other shares for the future disposition of the legislature; required the canal to be cut on the Kentucky side of the river; made it lawful for the United States to subscribe not over $60,000, the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia not over $30,000 each, and those of Maryland, New York and Ohio, $20,000 each; made the work and canal 'real estate, and forever exempt from the payment of any tax, imposition or assessment whatever;' fixed the toll on ships or other sea vessels of 100 tons or under, down to twenty tons, at from $6 to $11.75, and on those exceeding 100 tons, at 12 cents per ton; legalized a lottery to raise not over $30,000; declared the canal should be sufficient for the passage of boats drawing, in low water, not more than three feet, and at least twenty-four feet wide at bottom; and forfeited this charter unless the canal should be begun before December 20, 1808, and be completed before January 1, 1815." The charter was forfeited. Like the preceeding act, it amounted to nothing, and the construction of a canal around the falls seemed as remote as before. On the 30th of January, 1818, a new company was incorporated by the legislature under the title of the "Kentucky Ohio Canal Company," with a capital stock of $600,000, and authority to organize when one-half of the amount was subscribed. The new company, like the old one, accomplished nothing. An amended act of February 10, 1820, removed some of the restrictions from the charter, but even this did not serve to

awaken sufficient interest to carry through the proposed improvement.

It was not until 1825, that there seemed a probability of the work being accomplished. The increasing commerce of the west demanded some improvements at the falls of the Ohio, and on the 12th of January, 1825, the legislature chartered the Louisville & Portland Canal Company—a private corporation. The capital stock was fixed at $600,000, and before the end of the year the full amount was subscribed. A subsequent act (December 12, 1829), increased the capital stock to $700,000, and an act passed on the 12th of December, 1831, authorized its increase to an amount "sufficient to pay all costs of construction, and interest on all sums expended up to the time the canal is opened." Work soon commenced, and from 600 to 1,000 men were at once employed and set to work excavating. The work was pushed along as fast as circumstances would permit, and during the year 1831, though still far from being completed, the canal was opened for navigation. The great freshet of 1832 damaged it to an extent that heavy repairs were required. Its total cost of construction, as shown in the report made January 2, 1832, was $742,869.94. This was merely for construction, and does not include the amount necessary to repair it after the great freshet alluded to above.

For many years after the opening of the canal it paid large dividends on the investment. In 1837 the dividends were thirteen, in 1838 eleven, and in 1839 seventeen per cent. Fifty shares of the forfeited stock were sold in 1837, at $121 per share, and, in 1838, 200 shares were sold at $130 per share, the par value being $100 per share. The United States government, under an act of congress, purchased in 1826, 1,000 shares of stock, and shortly after, 1,335 shares more—the total par value being $233,500. In lieu of dividend for 1831, it received 567 shares more, and up to 1842 received $257,778 in semi-annual cash dividends; thus making the total income of the government from this canal, $24,278, and 567 shares of stock more than it invested.

The canal was too small for the accomodation of all the craft upon the Ohio, and its enlargement was determined on. The work of widening and deepening it was commenced in 1860, and continued through the period of the war, and up to 1866, when the funds being exhausted the work ceased. Major Weitzel, United States engineer, in charge of the work, estimated at that time, that $1,178,000 would complete the enlargement. Congress, in 1868, appropriated $300,000 toward its completion; in 1869, $300,000; in 1871, $300,000; in 1871, $300,000; in 1872, $100,000, and in 1874 took final action toward assuming the payment of the bonds still outstanding. Such an arrangement was consummated, and the government took possession of this great public work, and made it a free canal. The benefit to commerce, of this act of liberality on the part of the general government, can scarcely be computed. Under its control, the enlargement of the canal has been completed, and is a master-piece of work. The largest boats that ply on the Ohio River pass through the canal with perfect ease and safety, and no longer are the falls an impediment to river commerce and navigation.

The Ohio River in the early history of Kentucky was the great feature of interest to the people, and its navigation, next to the pack horse, the first mode of transportation they knew. Many of the early settlers, in fact the great majority of them, floated down the Ohio to Limestone (Maysville), to the mouth of the Licking and of the Kentucky, or to the falls, on rafts, barges, and almost every description of water craft, except steam-vessels, and from their landing places, would make their way to the interior settlements. "The location of Louisville," says a late writer, "was due to an obstruction to commerce—the falls of the Ohio—and its growth has been due to the improvement in the methods of transportation." As early as 1776 boats and barges from the headwaters of the Ohio passed down into the lower Mississippi. Col. Richard Taylor, and his brother Hancock Taylor, in that year, 1776, descended from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Yazoo, and in the latter part of the same year, Gibson and

Linn made a trip from Pittsburgh to New Orleans for military stores for the use of the army stationed at Pittsburgh. They returned to the falls the next year, having procured 156 kegs of powder. This was carried around the falls by hand and finally delivered at Pittsburgh according to contract. Tardiveau and Honore, of Louisville, descended to New Orleans in 1782, and for several years afterward continued to make regular trips to the French and Spanish forts on the Lower Mississippi. Their mode of navigation was very slow, and attended with great danger. To make a voyage occupied from six months to a year; the river swarmed with pirates, who would steal and rob, and even murder, if necessary to do so, to secure booty. This system of navigation continued until the era of steamboats.

In the year 1809 Fulton and Livingston commenced their experiments to navigate by steam the Hudson River. As soon as their attempt on the Hudson was crowned with success, they turned their attention immediately toward the great water-ways of the west. They saw that here were the greatest streams in the world, but it may be doubted if they prolonged their vision to the present time, and realized a tithe of the possibilities they were giving to the world. They unrolled the map of this continent, and sent Capt. Roosevelt out to Pittsburgh to go over the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans, and report whether they could be navigated or not. His favorable report of the inspection he made resulted in the immediate construction of the steamboat "New Orleans," which was launched at Pittsburgh in December, 1811, and was the first steamboat to descend the Ohio River. "At this time there were but two steamboats on this continent; these were the North River and the Clermont, and they were employed on the Hudson River. The New Orleans on her first trip took neither freight nor passengers. Her inmates were Mr. Roosevelt, an associate of Fulton, with his wife and family, Mr. Baker, the engineer, Andrew Jack, the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics."*

*Casseday's History of Louisville, p. 120.

The steamboat "New Orleans" was furnished with a propelling wheel at the stern and two masts; for Fulton believed, at that time, that the occasional use of sails would be indispensable. The boat's capacity was 100 tons, and her speed about three miles an hour. Before her ability to move through the water without the aid of sails or oars had been exemplified, comparatively few persons believed she could be made to answer any purpose of real utility. In fact, the boat had made several voyages before the general prejudice began to subside, and for quite a time many of the river merchants preferred the old mode of transportation, with all its risks, delays and extra expense, rather than make use of such a contrivance as a steamboat, which, to their apprehensions, appeared too marvelous and miraculous for the business of every-day life.

The first appearance of a steamboat on the western waters, produced, as well may be supposed, not a little excitement, admiration and superstition. The time of the "New Orleans'" first downward voyage, was a period of phenomena. A "fiery comet was blazing athwart the horizon," and while lying at the mouth of the Ohio, the steamer encountered the great earthquake of 1811. Many of the ignorant "squatters" along the river believed that the steamboat was the cause of both; that the comet was the harbinger of its approach, and the earthquake was but the result of its appearance. It was, they believed, this flying in the face of Providence, and making a boat to run with "bilin' water" that caused this terrific convulsion of nature. "Presumptuous man had boiled the water, when, if God had wanted it to boil, he would have so made it." People had navigated the river in flat-boats, keel-boats and canoes, and under these the glad rivers went singing to the sea. But man must come with his "fire-boat," and the earth went into convulsions, and terror and desolation brooded over the land. The arrival of the "New Orleans" at Louisville was described in Latrobe's Rambler in America, as follows:

Late at night, on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburgh, they arrived in safety at Louisville, hav-

ing been but seventy hours descending upward of 700 miles. The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity with which it made its passage over the broad reaches of the river, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached; and it is related that on the unexpected arrival of the boat before Louisville, in the course of a fine, still moonlight night, the extraordinary sound which filled the air, as the pent-up steam was suffered to escape from the valve, on rounding to, produced a general alarm, and multitudes in the town rose from their beds to ascertain the cause. I have heard that the general impression among the Kentuckians was, that the comet had fallen into the Ohio; but this does not rest upon the same foundation as the other facts which I lay before you, and which I may at once say, I had directly from the lips of the parties themselves.

The "New Orleans" was detained at Louisville on account of low water, which would not permit her to pass over the falls. In the meantime, she made several trips to and from Cincinnati, and toward the middle of December a rise in the river enabled her to pass the rapids, and successfully "weathering the earthquake," at the mouth of the Ohio, reached Natchez about January 1, 1812, and passed on to New Orleans, where she arrived in safety. As soon as she had accomplished her trip and returned, commerce on the western rivers began to grow, and assume something of importance. Steam navigation opened a new era. From this rude, imperfect steamboat, that made its trial trip amid the throes of earthquake and the blazing of comets, has come the world's Armada, that now plows the waves of every river and sea, until the busy life upon the waters, and its wealth of nations, almost equal those upon the land. From the new era thus inauguarated

> Swift commerce spreads her wings,
> And tires the sinewy sea-bird as she flies,
> Fanning the solitudes from clime to clime.

The "New Orleans" continued to ply between Natchez and New Orleans for some two years. Her voyages, upon an average, occupied about seventeen days. She was finally wrecked, and sunk near Baton Rouge, on her passage up the river.

The second steamboat on the Ohio was the "Comet," the name, perhaps, being suggested by the comet which, in connection with the first steamboat and the earthquake, had created so much excitement. It was owned by Samuel Smith, and was built at Pittsburgh by Daniel French, on a patent granted in 1809. It made a voyage to Louisville in 1813, and the next year to New Orleans. It was a small craft, of about only forty-five tons burden. She made two trips between New Orleans and Natchez, and was then sold, her engine taken out and placed in a cotton-gin. Dr. McMurtrie, in his sketches of Louisville, published in 1819, gives a list of the steamboats on the Ohio River up to that date; Ben Casseday, in his history of Louisville, published a third of a century later, gives a similar list, as also does Gov. Reynolds in his "Pioneer History of Illinois." The list,* as given by Dr. McMurtrie is as follows: First, "New Orleans;" second, "Comet;" third, "Vesuvius;" fourth, "Enterprise;" fifth, "Ætna;" sixth, "Despatch;" seventh and eighth, "Buffalo" and "James Monroe;" ninth, "Washington;" tenth, "Franklin;" eleventh, "Oliver Evans;" twelfth, "Harriet;" thirteenth, "Pike;" fourteenth, "Kentucky;" fifteenth, "Gov. Shelby;" sixteenth, "New Orleans;" seventeenth, "George Madison;" eighteenth, "Ohio;" nineteenth, "Napoleon;" twentieth, "Volcano;" twenty-first, "Gen. Jackson;" twenty-second, "Eagle;" twenty-third, "Hecla;" twenty-fourth, "Henderson;" twenty-fifth, "Johnson;" twenty-sixth, "Cincinnati;" twenty-seventh, "Exchange;" twenty-eighth, "Louisiana;" twenty-ninth, "James Ross;" thirtieth, "Frankfort;" thirty-first, "Tamerlane;" thirty-second, "Cedar Branch," thirty-third, "Experiment;" thirty-fourth, "St. Louis;" thirty-fifth, "Vesta;" thirty-sixth, "Rifleman;" thirty-seventh, "Alabama;" thirty-eighth, "Rising States;" thirty-ninth, "General Pike;" fortieth, "Independence;" forty-first, "United States."†

*The names of the boats are given in the order of their construction.

†A steamboat called the "Firefly," it is claimed, was among the first boats built in the west, and also among the first that navigated the Ohio River. No history, however, of Louisville or Kentucky, mentions the fact of the existence of a boat of that name, or of Dr. Thomas Ruble, who is claimed to have been its owner and builder. There was most probably such a boat, but was, doubtless, so very small that it escaped notice in all the histories of that day. Dr. Ruble was quite a prominent man of the early period of Louisville and Kentucky, and was interested somewhat in navigation at that time, but no one now seems to remember anything definitely of the steamboat "Firefly."

The "Vesuvius" was built at Pittsburgh by Fulton, and left that port for New Orleans, in the spring of 1814, under command of Capt. Frank Ogden. She was of 390 tons, and was built for a company of men of New York and New Orleans. The "Enterprise" was built at Brownsville, Penn., by Daniel French, and made two voyages to Louisville in the summer of 1814. On the 1st of December she started to New Orleans with a cargo of ordnance stores, and upon her arrival there was pressed into the United States service by Gen. Jackson. After the close of the war she left New Orleans (6th of May, 1815) and reached Louisville in twenty-five days out. This was the first voyage made by a steamboat from New Orleans to Louisville. The experiment, however, was not satisfactory, as the river was very high at the time, and the boat ran all the cut-offs, over fields, etc., leaving the public still in doubt whether a steamboat could ascend the Mississippi when the river was within its banks, with the usually rapid current common in that stage of water.

It was about this time that the steamer "Washington" commenced her career. According to Dr. McMurtrie, she was the ninth boat on the river, but another authority* places her as the fifth. She was built under the personal superintendence of Capt. Henry M. Shreve, whom many Kentucky, Louisville and Cincinnati people doubtless still well remember. The hull of the "Washington" was built at Wheeling, Va., and the engines at Brownsville, Penn. She was the first "two-decker" on the western rivers—the cabin was placed between the two decks. Hitherto steamboats had carried their engines in the hold, but Capt. Shreve placed the boiler of the Washington on the lower deck. This plan was such an obvious improvement that steamboats have retained it to the present day. The engines constructed under Fulton's patent had upright and stationary cylinders; in French's engines, vibrating cylinders were used. But in the "Washington," Shreve caused the cylinders to be placed in a horizontal position, and gave the vibrations to the pitman. Fulton and French used single low-pressure engines; Shreve employed a double high-pressure engine, with cranks at right angles. This was the first engine of that kind ever used in western steamboats. David Prentice had previously used cam wheels for working the valves of the cylinder; Capt. Shreve added his invention of the cam-cut-off, with flues to the boiler, by which three-fifths of the fuel was saved.

The "Washington," on the 24th of September, 1816, passed over the falls of the Ohio on her first trip to New Orleans, and returned to Louisville in November following. While at New Orleans the ingenuity of her construction excited the admiration of the most intelligent citizens of that place. Edward Livingston, after a critical examination of the boat and her machinery, remarked to Capt. Shreve: "You deserve well of your country, young man; but we (referring to the Livingston & Fulton monopoly) shall be compelled to beat you (in the courts) if we can." The "Washington" was delayed at Louisville, by ice in the river, until March 12, 1817, when she started on her second voyage to New Orleans. She accomplished the round trip, arriving at the foot of the falls (at Shippingsport) in forty-one days. The ascending voyage was made in twenty-five days, and from this voyage, dates the actual commencement of steam navigation in the Mississippi Valley. It was now practically demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the public in general, that steamboats could ascend this river in less than one-fourth the time which the barges and keel-boats had required for the same purpose. This triumphal voyage of the "Washington" excited great interest everywhere, but especially in the river towns and cities. The citizens of Louisville gave a public dinner to Capt. Shreve, at which he predicted the time would come when the trip from New Orleans to Louisville would be made in ten days. This may have been regarded as a boastful declaration, but the prediction has been more than fulfilled, for in a quarter of a century the trip was made in a little less than five days. All prejudices against steam naviga-

*H. C. Bradsby in the History of Cairo, Ill.

tion being now removed, steamboat building was vigorously prosecuted, as the foregoing list of boats built prior to 1820 shows. But a new obstacle now presented itself, which, for a time threatened to give an effectual check to the spirit of enterprise, which had been thus developed. This was the claim made by Fulton & Livingston to the exclusive right of steam navigation on the rivers of the United States. This claim was openly resisted by Capt. Shreve, and litigation followed. The "Washington" was attached at New Orleans and taken possession of by the sheriff. When the cause came before the district court of Louisiana, that tribunal negatived the exclusive privileges claimed by Fulton & Livingston, which were decided to be unconstitutional. Their claims were finally withdrawn in 1819 and the last restraint on the steamboat navigation of the western rivers was thus removed, leaving western enterprise full liberty to carry on the great work of improvement. This work became so progressive and immense that at one time there were no less than 800 steamboats running on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The era of railroads lessened this number very materially, but there are still a great many boats in operation on these rivers, and river commerce still maintains vast proportions.

The railroad is the most important internal improvement of modern times, and its invention and construction form an interesting part of our history. There is not a single occupation of interest, which the railroad has not radically affected. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, city and country life, banking, finance, law, and even government itself, have all felt its power. Wholly unknown three-fourths of a century ago, it has become the greatest single factor in the development of the material progress, not only of the United States and the other civilized nations of the earth, but its blessings are being rapidly extended into the hitherto semi-civilized and barbarous portions of the globe. The railroad system of the United States now forms a perfect net work of iron and steel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the lakes to the gulf, on which run thousands of freight and passenger cars, loaded with the products of the country, and valuable merchandise from every part of the world, and carrying thousands of thousands of human beings with lightning-like speed from one city to another.

The invention of the railroad, and its introduction in this country, was most opportune as a practical settlement of the question of internal improvement, which had for years been hotly contested. A recent writer upon the subject says:

In 1796 Tennessee was admitted to the Union, and the same year congress authorized the survey of lands north of the Ohio, and their offer for sale at $2 an acre, with a year's credit, and 10 per cent discount for cash. By the ordinance of 1787 slavery was prohibited within this territory, and the next year the first settlement was made in Ohio at Marietta. The same year Fort Washington, on the site of Cincinnati, was built, and a road constructed by Virginia, about 300 miles long, finished from Alexandria to the Ohio, opposite Marietta. The Ohio Company, in 1787, bought a tract of 5,000,000 acres, extending along the Ohio from the Muskingum to the Scioto, for two-thirds of a dollar an acre, payable in installments and in certificates of the public debt. * * * Population flowed so rapidly into the territory, that, in 1802, the people petitioned for the right to organize a State government. A convention for this purpose was held in November following at Chilicothe. When this was done the most liberal inducements were offered to settlers of the new State. * * * * * * From this date the question of internal improvements began to assume prominence in our politics; and the Cumberland Turnpike, running from Cumberland, Md., to the Ohio, occupied the attention of congress at various times up to 1836, when its control was abandoned to the States. This road cost $6,670,000, and is now merely a highway, a parallel railroad route having deprived it of the importance it once held when it was known as the "National Road." * * * There was need for new methods of inter-communication, the increasing population made every day more apparent. In 1784 the cost of transportation from Philadelphia to Erie is stated to have been $249 a ton, the method being by pack horses principally, which were driven in lines of ten or twelve, each horse being tied to the tail of the one preceding, so that the train was under the management of a single driver. In 1789 the first saw-mill was built in Ohio. The crank for this mill was made in Connecticut, and weighed 180 pounds. It was carried by pack-horses over the mountains to the Youghiogheny River at Simrell's Ferry, and thence shipped by water to Marietta. * *

In 1808, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, made a report upon the subject of internal improvements. In this report he stated that a great number of roads had been built in the Eastern and Middle States, while few had been constructed south of the Potomac. The roads were chiefly turnpikes, varying in cost from less than $1,000 a mile to $14,000. In five years Connecticut had incorporated fifty turnpike companies, and New York in less than seven years had incorporated sixty-seven companies. The report recommended that $2,000,000 should be appropriated yearly for the next ten years in improving the means of inter-communication between the different parts of the Union, and made suggestions for certain specific measures of this nature. * * * *

On the 1st of January, 1832, it was reported that there were nineteen railroads either completed or in process of construction in the Middle States, and that their aggregate was nearly 1,400 miles. Though congress afforded no material aid to this new era of internal improvements, yet this same year it exempted from duty the iron imported for railways and inclined planes, and actually used for their construction. In 1840, it has been estimated that our yearly average of railroad construction was about 500 miles. In 1850 this average had increased to 1,500 miles. In 1860 it was nearly 10,000, and in 1871 it was stated that enterprises requiring an expenditure of $800,000,000, and involving the construction of 20,000 miles of railroad, were in actual process of accomplishment. In 1872 the aggregate capital of the railroads of the United States, which were estimated to embrace one-half of the railroads of the civilized world, was stated to amount to the sum of $3,159,423,057, and $473,241,055 as their gross revenue.

Thus has the construction of railroads increased with almost unparalled rapidity, and grown into formidable proportions, becoming, as we have said, the greatest single factor in the developement of our material progress. To better understand this marvelous growth and expansion, a brief glance at the early history of the railroad is not out of place. The first railroad of which we have any account was built in the north of England (in the collieries) nearly two centuries before the introduction of the locomative. Upon this road, which had wooden rails, cars were drawn by horses and mules, and were used in hauling coal from the mines. As early as 1794, the use of the locomotive in the place of animal power was suggested, but none were built until several years afterward, nor did they come into practical use until 1830, upon the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway. The first railroad in this country was built in 1807. It was but a few hundred yards in length, and was constructed for transporting gravel from the top of Beacon Hill down into Charles Street, in the city of Boston. The rails were entirely of wood, and the propelling power the momentum of the loaded cars, which in descending, by means of a rope attachment, pulled the empty cars up, a double track, of course, being necessary to the proper working of the road.

Rude and simple as were these first efforts at railroad building, they suggested plans and designs which time and experience, together with the inventive genius of man, have continued ever since to improve upon. Scientific research demonstrates that what is now reduced to system, and rises to the dignity of science, was discovered through some trivial casualty or circumstance, which falling under the notice of a reflecting mind, gave rise to surprising results. The simple circumstance of a falling apple developed the great law of gravitation. The idea of fortifying a military camp with an insurmountable obstruction behind it, was first suggested to Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (who lived nearly 300 years before the Christian era, and who was the most celebrated warrier of his time), by seeing a wild boar, when hunted to desperation, back himself against a tree, that he might fight his pursuers, without danger of being assailed in his rear. Similar hints have led to the triumph of mechanical art, which it may be said, has culminated in the perfected railroad system of the present day.

In 1827 a railroad was built from the granite quarries of Quincy, Mass., to the Neponset River, a distance of three miles. During the same year, a road nine miles in length was laid out from the Mauch Chunk coal mines of Pennsylvania to the Lehigh River, and in 1828, a road constructed by the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, from their coal mines to Honesdale, and a commissioner sent to England to purchase rails and locomotives. These locomotives arrived in the spring of 1829, and were the first used in the United States.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was char-

tered, and work commenced on it in 1828. In the early part of the same year the South Carolina Railroad was chartered by the legislature of that State. It has been claimed that the latter was the first road in the country, undertaken with the intention of of using steam power as a propelling force. It was originally built from Charleston to Hamburg, but afterward extended to Augusta, Ga., and in 1833-34, was the longest railroad in the world, being 130 miles in length. The first locomotive built in this country,* was constructed especially for this road. Its trial trip was made on a small portion of the road out of Charleston, when, according to the *Courier* of that date, it run "on the wings of the wind, at the varied speed of fifteen to twenty miles an hour; annihilating time and space, and like the renowned John Gilpin, 'leaving all the world behind.'"

The first railroad built in Kentucky, and the first completed west of the Alleghanies, was the old "Lexington & Ohio Railroad," afterward known as the "Lexington & Frankfort," then as the "Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington," and at present, the "Shortline" division of the Louisville & Nashville system. It was originally chartered as the Lexington & Ohio Railroad, and was to extend from Lexington to Portland, on the Ohio River, a village now included in the corporate limits of Louisville. The act of incorporation passed the legislature January 27, 1830, and takes up twelve printed pages in the official proceedings of that body. Among the incorporators were John W. Hunt, John Brand, Richard Higgins, Benjamin Gratz, Luther Stevens, Robert Wickliffe, Leslie Combs, Elisha Warfield, Robert Frazer, James Weir, Michael Fishell, Thomas E. Boswell, George Boswell, Benjamin Taylor, Elisha I. Winter, Joseph Boswell, David Megowan, John Norton, M. C. Johnson and Henry C. Payne. Elisha I. Winter was elected president of the company, but was shortly afterward succeeded by Benjamin Gratz, of Lexington, who, consequently was the second president of the company. Among others who have served as president of the road, are William R. McKee, Thomas Smith, James O. Harrison, W. A. Dudley, James B. Wilder, and Jacob Kreiger, Sr. A preliminary survey followed the incorporation of the company, and was made in April, in order "to ascertain the level, and whether inclined planes and stationary engines would be required, and to furnish the company with an accurate description of the face of the country, to enable them to estimate the cost," etc. The engineer's report of the survey between Lexington and Frankfort, showed the following result: First.—There will be but one inclined plane, about 2,200 feet long, descending one foot in fourteen. All the residue of the road can be graded to thirty feet or less in a mile, which is a fraction over one-fifteenth of an inch rise in one foot. Second.—On that grade there will be no cut deeper than nineteen feet, and but one of that depth. Third.—There will be no embankment over twenty feet high, nor any bridge over thirty feet high. Fourth.—The distance to Frankfort will not be increased two miles in length over the present traveled road. Fifth.—There will be as much rock excavation in the grading as will be required to construct the road. Sixth.—On the thirty feet grade which has been adopted, a single horse is capable of traveling with seven tons' weight, with as much ease as five horses can draw two tons on our present roads in their best condition.

A strong prejudice existed in early times against railroads, and many fair-minded men opposed their construction as being impracticable, and costly beyond their possible value when built. But the friends and advocates of railroads argued that, in almost all places where canals* could be built, railroads could be built also, and at less cost, and that railroads could be built in thousands of places where canals could not be, for the want of water; that they afforded as cheap and safe if not a cheaper and safer

*It was built at the West Point foundry (New York) and completed December 9, 1830, under the supervision of E. L. Miller, Esq. It was called the "Best Friend"—a name more appropriate than entered into the imagination of its projectors at that time.

*It will be remembered that canal building prevailed to excess about this time in the west.

mode of communication than canals, and could be traveled in one-third of the time; that they did not interpose any obstacle to the cross-communication of the country, or to the free passage from one part to another of the same farms as canals do; that they may be as eaily crossed as a common turnpike, or other road; that they may be used all the year, while canals are made dry by drouth, or closed by frost; that they are not only constructed at less cost than canals, but are easier kept in repair, and that no improved communication ever invented required so little for repairs as railroads. This system of argument carried the day in favor of the railroad, and left the croakers to croak on to small audiences, while preparations were made for beginning the then important work of building a railroad. The cost of constructing the Lexington & Ohio Railroad was estimated at $1,000,000, a sum that shows railroad engineers were not as extravagant in their estimates for building roads as they are now. The amount was soon subscribed, and the contracts for grading the road between Lexington and Frankfort let, the distance being divided into several divisions to better expedite the work. Railroads were built very different then, and the Lexington & Ohio, it was determined, should be without "flaw or blemish" in its construction. Instead of wooden cross-ties "stone sills" were laid lengthwise, to which the rails were spiked and then soldered. The first stone sill was laid October 22, 1831, at the Lexington end of the road, in the presence of a large assemblage of people, and amid the strains of martial music and the roar of artillery. A description of this event, which occured over half a century ago, will doubtless be of interest to the general reader, and from a chronicle of the time,* the following is taken:

The three military companies were formed for escort duty, and marched to the college grounds, where they met the various societies and individuals. A procession was then formed in the following order: Col. Leslie Combs as marshal and J. R. Coleman as aid, on horseback; Maj.-Gen. Pendleton and staff on horseback; field officers and staff on horseback; officers of the line on foot; Capt. Hunt's artillery in platoons; Gov. Metcalfe supported by Prof. Caldwell, orator of the day, and Rev. W. H. Hall, officiating clergyman; Judges Underwood and Buckner, of the court of appeals; Judge Hickey of the Fayette circuit court; the Hon. R. M. Johnson, R. P. Letcher and T. A. Marshall, members of congress, with several members of the Kentucky legislature; Capt. T. A. Russell, assistant marshal; president and directors of the Lexington & Ohio Railroad Company; Samuel H. Kneas, chief engineer, and the treasurer of the company; contractors and pioneers, with their implements of labor; Capt. Neet's Rifle Guards, in platoons; military band of music; trustees of the town of Lexington and clerk; justices of the Fayette county court and clerk; trustees and professors of Transylvania University; principal of preparatory department and pupils; principal and pupils of Wentworth's Academy; principal and tutors of Shelby Female Academy and pupils; principal and professors of the Eclectic Institute and pupils; strangers; stockholders of the Lexington & Ohio Railroad; Capt. Postlethwaite's light infantry company in platoons; Lieut.-Col. Stephens, assistant marshal; citizens on foot, etc., etc.

A Federal salute was fired at sunrise on the eventful morning, and seven guns when the first stone sill was laid, indicating the seven sections or divisions of the road then under contract. As the procession moved, the various church bells rang out a merry peal, which continued until it reached the place where the ceremony was performed. Arriving upon the ground the military formed a hollow square, within which the civic procession was inclosed. A large number of ladies were present for whom ample accommodations had been made. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall, when Elisha I. Winter, Esq., president of the company, handed a hammer to the governor of the State, who drove the nail attaching the first iron rail to the beginning stone sill. The music struck up "Hail Columbia," and afterward "Yankee Doodle," which continued until the artillery ceased firing. Prof. Charles Caldwell then delivered an address, the text of which was internal improvements, after which the crowd dispersed, and the ceremonies were brought to an end.

The work, from this auspicions beginning, progressed steadily but rather slowly. The great pains taken to make a "solid" roadbed, and the labor of laying the stone sills, rendered the work tedious. The contract for preparing and laying the stone sills was given to Holburn & Benson, who received "great praise for executing their work so faithfully, and in a style of beauty and elegance which excited the admiration of all who examined it." By the 1st of August,

*From the Lexington *Observer*.

1832, one and a half miles of the road were completed, and a "splendid car" put on, and on the 14th the road was formally opened; the car "leaving its moorings at 12 o'clock, with about forty people aboard, among whom were Gov. Metcalfe and other distinguished persons." Six and a quarter miles were completed by the 1st of January, 1833, and "the car" made two regular trips daily for the accommodation of the people. The Lexington *Intelligencer*, of January 27, 1835, closed a lengthy article on the railroad as follows: "We cannot refrain from congratulating our fellow-citizens of the town and country adjacent upon the new and brilliant prospects which the railroad and the introduction of steam power have opened upon us. It is the beginning of a new era to Kentucky, and to this part of the Union, an era in which the population of the interior country may and will enjoy the commercial facilities which have hitherto been the exclusive property of the seaboard and river population. Interior cities need only to exert their strength and enterprise in constructing works of internal improvement, in order to compete, with certain success, with the most favored of river and seaport towns."

Considerable opposition was encountered from the enemies of railroad building, and from men who believed the project premature and far ahead of the times. They believed like Thomas Jefferson, that the time had not arrived for such improvements. It is told of Thomas Jefferson, that when the New York Grand Canal was begun, Gov. Clinton, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, asked his opinion of the undertaking. "It is a noble project," replied Mr. Jefferson, "but you are a century too soon." A few years passed, and the great canal was finished, when another letter from Gov. Clinton to Mr. Jefferson announced the fact, with the query: "What do you think of it now?" Mr. Jefferson's reply was: "I now perceive that in regard to your resources and energies, I committed an error of one century in my calculation." Just so it was with the opponents of railroads. They believed the world was not yet old enough for the successful building of railroads, and were ready, at the slightest indication of failure, to exclaim in chorus—"I told you so." Hence, when, one bright day in December, 1835, the iron-horse dashed into Frankfort with a train of cars at his heels, drawn all the way from Lexington, they were forced to admit, that like Jefferson, they had erred in their calculations as to time. Frankfort and Lexington were now connected by rail, and the event was appropriately celebrated by the two cities.

The project, as we have seen, was chartered as the "Lexington & Ohio Railroad," and was so known for several years. In 1847, the legislature issued a charter to the "Louisville & Frankfort Railroad Company," and a company was at once organized under this title, which purchased from the State* that portion of the road between Louisville and Frankfort. The next year (1848), another company was formed, under the title of the "Lexington & Frankfort Railroad Company." This new company purchased from the State the road between Lexington and Frankfort, and in 1851 the two divisions were fully completed and connected, and trains ran through from Lexington to Louisville. This arrrangement was continued until 1857, when the two companies were consolidated, and the title of the road changed to that of the "Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington Railroad." Upon the completion of the Louisville and Cincinnati "Shortline," in the spring of 1869, a branch diverging from the main line at La Grange, and extending to Cincinnati, the title was again changed, this time to the "Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Railroad." In 1881 it was purchased by the Louisville & Nashville system, and since that time (and henceforth, perhaps) it has been operated as a division of that immense corporation.

The Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad excited more interest, perhaps, in the early history of railroad enterprise in Kentucky, than any road ever projected in the State. This trunk line was designed to extend from Charleston, S. C., to Cincinnati, Ohio, pass-

*The Lexington & Ohio Railroad was sold at auction in Frankfort, on the 12th of January, 1842, to pay the State the sum of $150,000 and interest, which, as security, she had assumed. In this sale, the State became the purchaser of the road.

ing through Lexington, with diverging lines to Louisville, Paris, Maysville and Newport. A lively interest was manifested in the enterprise, and the indications were favorable at one time for its early completion. Some controversy arose, however, between its friends and supporters, and those of the canal already described (which covered nearly the same ground). And it is possible that if sentiment had been concentrated on the one or the other, it might have proved successful; as it was, both projects failed, though grand in their conception. The idea of connecting the southeastern and northwestern States by a railroad or canal, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River, half a century ago, was a scheme worthy of the greatest railroad magnates of the present day. The importance with which it was considered, is shown by the following extract*: "The project is a magnificent one, whether viewed in reference to its commercial, geographical, political, civil or social influence. Carried into successful operation, it will form a bond of union between the States immediately concerned, which no ordinary political accidents or combinations can dissolve. Completed, it will make Charleston a great commercial emporium, rivaling, or, at least successfully competing with, her elder sisters, in receiving the northwest trade. And if we could for a moment suppose that New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans and Mobile could allow themselves to be governed by a narrow, selfish and short-sighted policy, we might, from all these sources, anticipate strong and interested opposition to this truly majestic project. This anticipation, however, we will not indulge in, but will believe that the intelligent and patriotic of all sections will rejoice to see the whole country prosper."

In February, 1836, the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad was chartered by the Kentucky legislature. When the news reached Cincinnati, that the bill had passed, the mayor issued his proclamation for an illumination of the city, and a general rejoicing prevailed. A convention was called to meet at Knoxville, Tenn., on the 4th of July, 1836, in the interest of the road. On the 13th of June, preceding the convention, a meeting was held in Lexington, for the purpose of selecting delegates, and the following gentlemen were chosen: Hon. Robert Wickliffe, Benjamin Taylor, William C. Richardson, Henry C. Payne, Leslie Combs, T. C. Turner, Thomas A Russell and Henry Beard. When the convention convened in Knoxville, nine States were represented. The meeting was characterized by harmony and good feeling, and it was confidently believed the work would proceed without delay. A charter had been granted by the States of South and North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, under the name and title of the "President and Directors of the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad Company." According to the charter, as granted by Kentucky, it was made obligatory upon the company, when reaching the Kentucky line, "so to construct the road that a branch should be made to Louisville, and the main road be so constructed, as to pass through the city of Lexington, and thence to the Ohio River, opposite Cincinnati; and that another branch or prong of said road be constructed from the city of Lexington to the city of Maysville, on the Ohio River." Resolutions were adopted in the Kentucky legislature, recommending the early construction of the road, as "an enterprise of national importance," and requested their senators and representatives in congress to exert their influence in securing an "appropriation from the national government for the same." As an evidence of the interest taken in the road, Lexington alone subscribed for $100,000 of stock, a liberal sum fifty years ago. By the middle of November, 1836, sufficient stock had been subscribed to admit of the organization of the company, and at a preliminary meeting, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was recommended for the presidency of the road. After formally organizing under the title of the "Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad," the stockholders held a meeting at Knoxville, on the 9th of January, 1837, to elect officers and directors. The result of the

*From the Lexington *Intelligencer*.

election was as follows: E. D. Mansfield, W. Green and J. W. Bonsall, of Ohio; Robert Wickliffe, William C. Richardson, James Taylor, John W. Tibbatts, J. L. Ludlow and J. B. Casey, of Kentucky; John Williams, J. C. M. Ramsay and Alexander E. Smith, of Tennessee; Robert Y. Hayne, Mitchell King, James Hamilton, Charles Edmondson, J. W. Simpson, B. F. Ellmore, John C. Calhoun, A. Blanding and B. G. Mills, of South Carolina; James Hardy, T. H. Forney and P. Roberts, of North Carolina, directors. Gen. Robert Y. Hayne was unanimously elected president of the company. Surveys were ordered made of the different routes contemplated, and all preliminary steps taken toward inaugurating the work.

An amendment to the charter, designed to relieve the company from their obligation to build the branch to Louisville, was defeated in the legislature at the session of 1836–37. As a matter of interest to herself, Louisville opposed the amendment, and for the time, succeeded in defeating it, whereupon she was assailed by the Lexington press, as having killed the road altogether. Shortly after the defeat of the amendment, however, the proposition was reconsidered, and the amendment finally adopted, thereby revoking that part of the charter applying to the Louisville branch of the contemplated road. But the project had not only attained the summit of its greatness, but had already begun to decline in popularity, and all interest in it finally subsided. It laid down to a Rip Van Winkle sleep, to awake something more than a quarter of a century later, under the name and title of the Cincinnati Southern.

Considerable space has been given to these two railroad projects, because one of them was the first road built in the State, and the other one of the most stupendous schemes of internal improvement conceived of in that early day. Most of the contemplated route of the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad, has since been covered by the Cincinnati Southern, Kentucky Central and the Knoxville division of the Louisville & Nashville, but had the original road been built, who can tell how different the history of the south might have been. It might have resulted in a reversal of the wealth, influence and importance of the sections, and made the south the great ruling power in the republic, as the north has been, through its vast and improved system of internal communications.

The Louisville & Nashville Railroad is the most important work of internal improvement that has been completed in the State. Its construction was a Herculean task, when the character of the country, through which it passes, is taken into consideration. To build a railroad through the chain of the Muldrow Hills was a triumph of engineering skill, and an enduring monument alike to the men who conceived the project and those who accomplished the great work. The tunnels, bridges, trestles, cuts and fills of the Louisville & Nashville Road, are perfect in their construction, and of such magnitude as would have discouraged and appalled any but men of the most determined energy.

The road was chartered March 2, 1850, and may almost be termed a Louisville institution. To the city of Louisville, and the energy and enterprise of its inhabitants, more perhaps than to any other one influence is the State and the country indebted for this great thoroughfare of travel between the north and the south. Confirmatory of this is the following extract from the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, of August 20, 1851:

The Louisville papers contain two ordinances, passed by the common council of that city, one authorizing a subscription of $1,000,000 for the construction of a railroad from Louisville to Nashville, Tenn., and the other authorising a subscription to the capital stock of the Jeffersonville & Columbus Railroad Company of $200,000. We believe Kentucky is rather deficient in railroads, compared with some of the Southern States, notwithstanding the eligible position of Louisville as a terminus. This movement, therefore, is important to the internal interests of the State, and will add, if carried out, greatly to the growth and future consequence of her metropolis. Combining the two propositions, we perceive the object of the city authorities, which is to intercept the western trade of the central routes of Indiana and Ohio, eastward, and direct such as would naturally flow to the lower Atlantic States, to pass through Louisville, instead of going by way of Baltimore, as is at present the case. Louisville has become emulous of the advantages possessed by Wheeling, and she is (we should infer

from this) determined, if the State will not aid her, as Virginia has contributed to the support of the latter, to build her own railroads, and enjoy singly their benefits. We are glad to witness the exercise of a spirit that tends to multiply the facilities of trade, and add to the prosperity of our people, without respect to locality. Kentucky should have abounded with railroads ten years since—Virginia twenty. However, by delaying their measures, they may be the better able to plan, mature and execute them now.

But in a no less degree is Louisville indebted to the Louisville & Nashville Road for its own importance as a great commercial emporium. "To it," says a recent writer, "Louisville owes its commercial influence and prosperity. It made her, with the exception of New Orleans, the leading city of the south; it strengthened the social and commercial ties which bound her to that section; it changed her from a slowly growing, contented provincial town to a progressive and aggressive competitor with larger and richer rivals. For the States of Kentucky and Tennessee it did no less than for Louisville.

The first president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad was Mr. Levin Shreve, a well-known and prominent business man of Louisville forty years ago. During his administration, work on the road was begun and pushed on toward the Muldrow Hills as rapidly as possible, and the iron laid nearly to that point. But in its earlier history the road met with various financial obstacles, which were not overcome for several years after the work was commenced. Its principal difficulty was in floating its bonds, which a lack of public confidence in its success rendered unsaleable. About this time Hon. James Guthrie and other wealthy citizens of Louisville and of Kenthcky and Tennessee became interested in it, and succeeded in securing a number of county subscriptions, which resulted in the completion of 185 miles of the line to Nashville, to which point it was opened for business in November, 1859. About this time financial troubles again threatened, and the road was in imminent danger of going into bankruptcy, but was saved by the action of the city of Louisville, which took stock to the amount of $1,000,000 and in so doing benefited the entire State.* In the earlier history of the road Helm, Guthrie and the Elder Newcomb were the master spirits connected with it, and to them and their indomitable energy its successful completion is mainly due.

The first two of these gentlemen were statesmen and politicians, as well as financiers, while the last, Mr. H. D. Newcomb, aspired to neither politics nor statesmanship, but was an able financier, and a most accomplished and successful business man. He was a native of Massachusets, and located in Louisville about the year 1833. He was for many years—a quarter of a century or more—one of the leading merchants of Louisville. For twenty years he conducted the largest cotton-mill in the west, and aided much in improving and beautifying his adopted city. He was mainly instrumental in rebuilding the Galt House, one of the best arranged and most elegant hotels in the country, and which cost $1,000,000. He became president of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in 1868, and held the position until his death. Under his administration it became one of the most powerful railroad systems of the south or southwest.

James Guthrie, whose great abilities as a financier were so largely instrumental in carrying the Louisville & Nashville Road through to completion, was a native Kentuckian, and was born near Bardstown, December 5, 1792. He was educated principally at the Bardstown Academy, and, after a few years spent in flat-boating to New Orleans, studied law with John Rowan, was admitted to the bar, and commenced practice in Nelson County. He soon removed to Louisville, and in a short time obtained a lucrative practice. He served repeatedly in both branches of the State legislature, and in 1849, was a member of the constitutional convention, and its presiding officer. He was secretary of the treasury under President Pierce from 1853 to 1857, and a candidate for the nomination to the presidency in 1860, before the National Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., but was defeated. He was a delegate to the

*Historical sketch of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

Peace Conference at Washington in 1861, and also, to the Border State Convention at Frankfort shortly after; he was elected to the United States senate in 1865, but owing to feeble health resigned in 1868. He died in Louisville, March 13, 1869. Mr. Guthrie was a great financier. He amassed a large fortune, and his ability as a financier is illustrated in its management, no less than in that of the national treasury and the affairs of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

John L. Helm became president of the Louisville & Nashville Road in 1854, and by his great energy and excellent business management completed it. He was born in Hardin County, July 4, 1802. When but a lad, he entered the circuit clerk's office as a deputy, and was fortunate in attracting the notice of Gen. Duff Green, a prominent merchant and business man of Elizabethtown, who directed his education. At the age of twenty-one Mr. Helm was admitted to the bar, and in 1826 was elected to the lower house of the legislature. He was re-elected again and again, serving eleven years in the house of representatives and six years in the senate. He was elected lieutenant-governor in 1848 on the Whig ticket with John J. Crittenden, and became governor in 1850 upon the resignation of Mr. Crittenden, who was called to the cabinet of President Fillmore, as his attorney-general. In 1867 he was elected governor on the Democratic ticket, and was inaugurated at his residence in Elizabethtown, September 3d (1867), being too ill at the time to go to Frankfort. He died on the 8th of the same month, and on the 13th the lieutenant-governor, John W. Stevenson, was inaugurated governor as his successor.

No three men ever connected with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad (and certainly no road has been more fortunate in the selection of its executive officers) took more interest in its affairs, or exerted greater energy and ability to make it a successful enterprise, than John L. Helm, James Guthrie and H. D. Newcomb. They did what few others could have done at that time; they built and equipped one of the most important railroads ever built south of the Ohio River. Says the writer already quoted: "Success demonstrates so clearly the wisdom of a great undertaking that we fail to do justice to the men whose wisdom, courage and devotion make success possible. There were many dark hours in the early history of the Louisville & Nashville railroad; when the public lost faith in it; when it seemed too vast an undertaking for that section and that time; when bears and skeptics, who always abound, were assuring a deluded public that failure was inevitable. Through all these years Helm and Guthrie and the elder Newcomb, and their associates, had Louisville and Louisville's credit and the confidence of her citizens with them. It was invaluble; the money subscribed and the endorsements given finally wrought their perfect work and the road was completed."

In 1857, some two years previous to the completion of the main line to Nashville, the company had built a branch to Lebanon. This branch, and the main line, comprised the Louisville and Nashville system, at the breaking out of the late civil war. To the United States government it was worth much more, during each year of the war, than its entire construction had cost. Louisville became the basis of supplies, and of operations of the armies of the United States, and along its lines, built for the benefit of commerce, the battles raged. The vast importance of this north and south trunk line, had been fully demonstrated by the military movements. It was proposed, at one time, to build, for military purposes, a line branching from the main stem to Knoxville. This work would doubtless have been done had not the war closed when it did. A branch to Knoxville was a favorite idea with Mr. Guthrie, but he was never able to accomplish its construction, and it was left for those who came after him to carry out and complete it. Most of the roads in the south were wrecked during the war, but the Louisville & Nashville, as compared to others, was in a healthy condition, financially. Its management, however, knew that its future success depended largely on the reorganization and co-operation of other roads south of it. Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Newcomb boldly pushed

the reorganization. The local business of the road was cared for, and encouraged, and active assistance, resulting in time in absolute control, was lent to the roads in Tennessee, and further to the south. In this way the Louisville & Nashville pushed its lines through to Memphis and Montgomery.*

The Bardstown branch, a road in process of construction from Bardstown to Louisville, was purchased in 1865, and became a feeder, and a part of the reorganized system of the Louisville & Nashville. The Richmond branch was opened in 1868, and the same year the Memphis, Clarksville & Louisville Road was leased. Two years after, the Memphis & Ohio Road was secured, and what is now known as the Memphis division was formally opened. Both lines of road composing the Memphis division, were subsequently (in 1871–72), bought by the Louisville & Nashville Company. The Cecilian branch was purchased in 1871; in 1879 the Edgefield & Kentucky Road, and the Evansville, Henderson & Nashville Road were both bought, and, together, form the Kentucky and Tennessee portion of the St. Louis division. The Louisville, Cincinnati & Lexington Road was purchased in 1881, and now forms an important part of the Louisville & Nashville system, connecting it at Cincinnati with all the Eastern lines. The Cumberland & Ohio Road was leased in 1879, and completed from Lebanon to Greensburg, and shortly after many other additions were made. The Pensacola & Selma was secured, then the Mobile & Montgomery was acquired by the purchase of its capital, and a little later the New Orleans & Mobile became a valuable part of the system. There are, also, embraced in the control of the Louisville & Nashville, by lease or ownership, the Nashville & Decatur, the Owensboro & Nashville, the Glasgow branch, and the Western Alabama Roads; and it owns the greater part of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Road's stock, which, with its branches, has 521 miles of line. But these do not comprise all the roads in which the influence of the Louisville & Nashville is felt. With the Central Railroad of Georgia, it controls a large system in that State. To sum up its wealth, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company owns in fee, or through the entire capital stock, thirteen branches, giving an aggregate of 1,437 miles; four divisions, operated under lease, and two by stock majority embrace 433 miles more, and these, with the southern roads, in which it has joint control, give its systems a grand total of 3,034 miles. The road and all its branches are furnished with steel rails, and the equipment, both for frieght and passenger traffic, is first class in every particular, and the equal of any road in the country.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, stretching from ocean to ocean, is an important road to Kentucky, and destined to exert a powerful influence in the development of the State. Traversing its entire length from east to west, with diverging lines at important points, it penetrates the vast coal and mineral and timber regions, and as these are opened up and developed the great value of this trunk line railroad becomes apparent.

The original line of the Chesapeake & Ohio extended from Newport News in Virginia, *via* Richmond, to the Big Sandy River, and was formed in 1868 by consolidating the Virginia Central and the Covington & Ohio Railroads, comprising a line 512 miles in length. The road became involved financially, and in 1875 passed into the hands of a receiver. In April, 1878, it was sold, and a new company organized with Mr. C. P. Huntington at its head, one of the great railroad capitalists of the present day. The new company expended large sums of money in the reconstruction of all its lines, extending them on the east to Chesapeake Bay, and on the west to Memphis, on the Mississippi River. This formed a continuous line of road 927 miles long, made up of the Chesapeake & Ohio to the Big Sandy River, the Elizabethtown, Lexington & Big Sandy, and Louisville, Frankfort & Lexington to Louisville, and the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern (formerly the Elizabethtown & Paducah), extending from Louisville to Memphis, *via* Paducah, a distance of 390 miles from Louisville.

The Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern, the

* Historical sketch.

title of Mr. Huntington's road west of Louisville, is formed of the old Elizabethtown & Paducah Road,* and the road extending from Paducah to Memphis, known originally as the Paducah & Memphis, which was sold under foreclosure in April, 1877. It was purchased by the bondholders, and reorganized as the Memphis, Paducah & Northern in May, 1878. This and the road from Louisville to Paducah were leased and consolidated by Mr. Huntington, thus forming an important link in his trans-continental line.

The Kentucky Central Railroad was agitated as early as 1848, and was originally known as the "Lexington & Maysville Railroad." In March, 1851, Lexington voted $200,000 toward building it, and in September following voted a like amount to the Lexington & Covington Railroad. The work was completed from Lexington to Paris in 1853, and in the fall of 1854 it was finished, and the road completed between Paris and Covington, and trains ran through to Lexington. The road to Maysville was completed a few years later. The lines of the Kentucky Central are being extended south, and are rapidly covering the last of the old route of the projected Charleston & Cincinnati Road. In the reorganization of the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Kentucky Central passed into the hands of Mr. Huntington, and forms the Cincinnati division of his road.

The Cincinnati Southern is a great trunk line road, extending from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Chattanooga, Tenn., and passing north and south through Kentucky, and through the towns of Williamstown, Georgetown, Lexington, Nicholasville, Danville, Somerset, etc. It was built principally by Cincinnati and Cincinnati capital, and is one of the finest conditioned and equipped roads in the State. Its cost is variously estimated at from $12,000,000 to $20,000,000. The charter was passed by the Kentucky legislature, and the right of way granted through the State in January, 1872, and the road built as soon thereafter as possible. The completion of this great trunk line between north and south is to some extent the culmination of the old project of the Charleston & Cincinnati Railroad, as it covers much of the route designed for that road.

It was the purpose in building the Cincinnati Southern to make it a formidable rival of the Louisville & Nashville Road, and to bring Cincinnati in stronger competition with Louisville, and win her southern trade. The project was not successful. While it certainly excited a stronger competition between Louisville and Cincinnati, the latter did not, as fondly anticipated, completely eclipse Louisville, or materially turn the tide of southern trade. But a few years passed after the completion of the road, when, under a new *regime* (the Erlanger system), it was running regular trains into Louisville, and that, too, without a dollar's cost to the city.

Northern railroads terminating at Louisville, or extending their lines into the city, are the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis, now operated by the Pennsylvania Company; the Ohio & Mississippi; the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago, and the St. Louis Air Line. These roads have all been liberally treated by Louisville and Kentucky, and some of them substantially aided by Louisville. Money was given, and given liberally to the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis and the St. Louis Air Line, and at a time when they most needed it. These roads afford Louisville, Kentucky and the south close connection with St. Louis, Chicago and the east.

In addition to the railroads mentioned there are others, mostly local roads, now being built and still others in contemplation, which, doubtless, will be under contract in a few years. The most important of these, perhaps, are the Kentucky Union Railroad and the Ohio River Railroad, the first now in course of construction and the latter a projected road of considerable importance, designed to run down the river, tapping the principal towns between Louisville and Paducah. The road has been chartered by the legislature, a company organized and stock subscribed. Several routes, or parts of routes, have been surveyed, and although the project is now lying dormant, it is but a

*This road was originally chartered in February, 1854, as the Louisville, Paducah & Southwestern.

question of time when it will be revived and the road built. The growing demands of the rich section of country through which it is to pass, must sooner or later compel its construction.

The Kentucky Union Railroad was originally chartered in 1854, and re-incorporated in 1880. It extends in a southeasterly course from Lexington to the Virginia State line through some of the richest agricultural and mineral regions of Kentucky. Work is in progress at the present time, and the energy of the men in control of the project will insure its ultimate completion, and through it the development of a mineral section of the State* hitherto possessing few internal improvements or facilities of transportation beyond the ordinary road wagon. So it is with other railroad projects in different parts of the State. The fine timbered valleys, the rich mineral regions, the vast agricultural areas, and the stock-producing portions of the State must soon make the construction of additional railroads an absolute demand of commerce.

The railroad facilities of Kentucky are thus becoming, and must continue to become, more and more extended every year. Its lines at four different points on the Ohio River connect with northern, eastern and western roads. At two of these points the river is spanned by superb bridges, and at a third a bridge is in process of construction (where trains are now ferried over), and will soon be completed; at the fourth trains cross regularly by improved ferriage. At Cincinnati the Kentucky Central (Chesapeake & Ohio), the Cincinnati Southern, the "Short-line" division of the Louisville & Nashville connect by bridges across the river with the Little Miami, the "Bee Line" the "Pan-handle" (Pennsylvania Company), the Baltimore & Ohio Roads, etc., etc. At Louisville, Kentucky and southern roads, by means of one of the longest and most magnificent railroad bridges in the world, connect with the Ohio & Mississippi, the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis, the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago and the St. Louis Air Line; at Henderson the St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville crosses, and at Evansville and St. Louis make northern and eastern connections. The Illinois Central and the Mobile & Ohio pass north and south through the "Purchase" district of Kentucky, crossing the Ohio River at Cairo, Ill., where they connect with the St. Louis & Iron Mountain, the Texas & Pacific, the Cairo & St. Louis, and with the Wabash system. A few years more, and energy and enterprise will render the Ohio River no serious obstacle to railway traffic, and trains will cross it to and fro without even slacking their rate of speed.

The railroad bridge across the Ohio River at Louisville is claimed to be the second longest railroad bridge in the world. Its construction was the culmination of a project that originated more than fifty years ago A bridge over the falls of the Ohio was an enterprise, that, if it did not originate with James Guthrie, was long a favorite project of his. As early as 1831–32 a charter was granted by the Kentucky legislature authorizing the formation of a company "to construct a permanent bridge across the Ohio at the falls." Through the influence of James Guthrie, Samuel Gwathney and Daniel McAllister, who visited Indianapolis for the purpose, the passage of the charter by the Indiana legislature was secured at its session in January, 1832. Though the matter was agitated for several years it was finally abandoned for the time. After the close of the war the necessity for closer railroad communications between the sections revived the project, and the required legislation was secured both in Kentucky and Indiana, and the work commenced. It was completed, and the first passenger train crossed over the bridge on the 18th of February, 1870. The State officers and members of the legislature had been invited by the board of trade and city council of Louisville to be present at its formal opening, and most of them accepted the invitation and participated in the interesting proceedings. Mr. Guthrie lived to see his favorite project of spanning the river

*The mountainous portion of the State beyond the limits of the Blue Grass region.

by a great bridge in process of construction, but died about a year before its completion.

A bridge across the Ohio at Cincinnati was contemplated as early as 1815. but no such enterprise was actually inaugurated until 1856, when the wire suspension bridge between Covington and Cincinnati was commenced. It was completed and opened to the public on the 1st of December, 1866. The structure is a superb model of excellence, and a triumph of mechanical skill and genius, and cost, in round numbers, about $2,000,000. It has a passage way for vehicles and street cars, and walks for foot passengers. The river is also spanned by a railroad bridge—a substantial iron structure—between Newport and Cincinnati. It was opened in 1872, and trains of the Kentucky and southern roads, by this means, run regularly into the city of Cincinnati.

There is in the course of construction at this time (1885), and about completed, a bridge across the Ohio, between Louisville and New Albany, Ind. Another at Henderson, Ky., has been finished within the past few weeks, for the passage of trains. The bridge at Louisville is to have a railroad track, a passage way for vehicles, street cars, etc., and a walk-way for foot passengers; that at Henderson is a railroad bridge only, and was built, principally, by the St. Louis division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

Among the important works of internal improvement are the charitable institutions of the State. They were established and are principally supported by legislative appropriations, and consist of asylums for the insane, the blind, deaf mutes, feeble-minded children, etc. There are, in the State, three asylums for the insane, located respectively at Lexington, Hopkinsville and Anchorage; the asylum for deaf mutes is at Danville; that for feeble-minded children at Frankfort, and that for the education of the blind is at Louisville.

The Eastern Insane Asylum at Lexington was founded in 1816, and was the first institution of the kind established in the western country, and is believed to have been the second State asylum opened in the United States. It was originally known as "Fayette Hospital," and was inaugurated by private individuals. Chief among the projectors of this great public charity, was Andrew McCalla, one of the early citizens of Lexington. He was assisted in his benevolent work by Alexander Parker, John W. Hunt, George Trotter, Thomas January, Lewis Sanders, Samuel Trotter, John Bradford, J. D. Young, David Williamson, Thomas H. Pindell, William Morton, John Pope, E. Warfield, Daniel Bradford, J. Postlethwaite, L. McCullough, John H. Morton, John Hart, James Weir, Robert H. McNair, Samuel Ayers, Thomas Tibbats, and others. They were incorporated early in 1816, under the name of "The Contributors to the Fayette Hospital." On the 1st of March, they organized under the charter, and shortly after purchased the "Sinking Spring" property, on which the present buildings are located.

The corner-stone of the building was laid June 30, 1817, with appropriate ceremonies, and in the presence of a large assemblage of people. The proceedings concluded with an oration delivered by Henry Clay. Before the building was completed, a financial crisis overtook the benevolent projectors of the enterprise, and in 1822, it was deemed advisable to tender the property to the State. The next year the State purchased it, changed its title to the "Kentucky Eastern Lunatic Asylum," and appropriated $10,000 for its benefit. The institution was formally opened May 1, 1824. For twenty years the physicians in charge were Dr. S. Theobolds, Dr. Louis Decognets and others, assisted by the faculty of Transylvania University. In 1844, the management was changed, and Dr. John R. Allen was made superintendent under the new order of things. The legislature appropriated $150,000 in 1867 to the asylum, and its capacity was extended. Dr. W. S. Chipley succeeded Dr. Allen in 1855, as superintendent, a position he held for fourteen years. Since then there have been several superintendents, all of whom have been able physicians, and have discharged

their duties with ability. In 1873, upon the establishment of the Anchorage asylum, the name of the Lexington asylum was changed to "First Kentucky Lunatic Asylum." Since 1822, the State has appropriated nearly $1,000,000 to the institution, and the lot of ground on which the original building was erected, has been increased to 300 acres of fine blue grass lands. Every convenience and comfort are afforded the patients, and the institution ranks highly among its class in the United States.

The Western Lunatic Asylum is located in Christian County, about two miles from Hopkinsville. It was established by an act of the legislature passed February 28, 1848. The growth of settlements in the State, and the increase of population, necessitated the measure as a matter of convenience, both as to capacity and locality. The asylum at Lexington could not accommodate all applicants, and before the era of railroads, it required a long journey to reach it from the southwestern portion of the State, and thus made it necessary to have a similar institution in that section. The "Spring Hill" tract of land, containing 383 acres, and lying on the turnpike road east of Hopkinsville, was purchased for $1,971.50. The citizens refunded this sum to the State, and in addition paid $2,000 toward the erection of buildings. In 1849, there was expended $43,052; in 1850, $43,-484. The legislature in 1848, appropriated $15,000; in 1849, $20,000; in 1850, $45,000; in 1851, $35,000; in 1852, $43,000; in 1854, $44,017: a total of $202,017. The first patients were received on the 18th of September, 1854, and by the 1st of December, 1857, 208 had been admitted. Dr. S. Annan was the first superintendent, and under his care the institution was well managed.

The main building was destroyed by fire, November 30, 1861, "which caught from sparks from a chimney falling upon the shingle roof." There were, at the time of the fire, 210 patients in the institution, all of whom escaped uninjured, except one, who fastened himself in his room and obstinately resisted all efforts to rescue him, and finally perished in the flames. The court house and other buildings in Hopkinsville were tendered the superintendent for the use of the unfortunate inmates, and everything done by the officials and the people to render the patients comfortable until the asylum could be rebuilt. Twenty-three log-cabins were erected temporarily, at a cost of $90 each, and into these the patients were removed. The legislature in February, 1861, made an appropriation to commence rebuilding, and to January 1, 1867, had appropriated in all $258,-930. Add to this the sum of $145,420, the value of the land and other buildings on it, makes the total value of the property then (1867) $404,350, with accommodations for 325 patients.

This asylum bears the name of being one of the best managed institutions of the kind in the United States. It has been in charge of Dr. James Rodman, the present able superintendent, since 1863—about twenty-two years. In October, 1871, there had been received the total number of 1,273 patients, of whom 321 were then in the asylum.

The Central Lunatic Asylum is located at Anchorage, a beautiful little village in Jefferson County, twelve miles from the city of Louisville. Like the Hopkinsville asylum, its establishment was due to the inability of the Eastern and Western Asylums to accommodate the insane of the State. It was completed, and opened for patients but a few years ago, and at present it is pretty well filled. Rumors of mismanagement recently caused a legislative investigation of the institution, and a resignation of the superintendent early in the year 1884. He was succeeded by Dr. H. K. Pusey, whose management of it has won the approbation of all interested in its welfare.

The Institution for Deaf Mutes is located at Danville. It was established by an act of the legislature January 7, 1823, and is claimed to be fourth of its kind, in the order of establishment, in the United States. The legislature appropriated $3,000 to aid it, and $100 for each pupil, and in 1824, appropriated $3,000 toward the erection of buildings. In 1852, $3,000 per annum was appropriated for the support of the institution, and in

1865, this sum was increased to $6,000. To this may be added extra appropriations for clothing for the indigent, and for each pupil, thus giving the asylum a very fair endowment. The building and grounds are fine, and well adapted to the purposes for which they are used. The school session continues through the whole year, with the exception of July and August. The branches taught are reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, history, original composition, Scripture lessons in books; and by lectures on physical geography, chemistry and natural philosophy. A colored department has been added, and the deaf mutes of that race now receive liberal educational training.

The Kentucky Institution for the Education and Training of Feeble-minded Children is located near Frankfort. The following sketch of the institution was furnished for this work by Dr. Stewart, superintendent:

The Kentucky Institution for the Education and Training of Feeble-minded Children was organized in 1860. An act was passed by the legistature on February 11th, of that year, appropriating $20,000 for the purchase of lands and the erection of suitable buildings.

A tract of land containing sixty-five acres, belonging to Dr. Lloyd, located within one mile of Frankfort, was purchased for $6,500, and the school immediately started in a small frame building on the grounds. Dr. James Rodman, now superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum at Hopkinsville, was elected first superintendent, and the first child was received on August 16, 1860. Dr. Rodman resigned February 11, 1863, and Rev. William McD. Abbott was elected to fill his place. He was succeeded by Dr. E. H. Black, who was elected superintendent March 13, 1868, and served until February 25, 1878, when the present superintendent, Dr. John Q. A. Stewart, was appointed by Gov. James B. McCreary.

The plan of the building was to consist of a main building and east and west wings. The main building was commenced October 28, 1860, and completed and occupied the following year. It had capacity for about fifty children and was soon filled. Additions were made to it from time to time, and in 1870 the west wing was completed and occupied. To complete the original plan the east wing will have to be built.

There have been in all about $65,000 appropriated for buildings and grounds, and it will cost about $30,000 more to complete the buildings according to the original designs. Its capacity will then be increased to 250 children.

There are now 156 children in the institution, and are maintained principally by the State. An appropriation of $150 per *caput* per annum is made for their support.

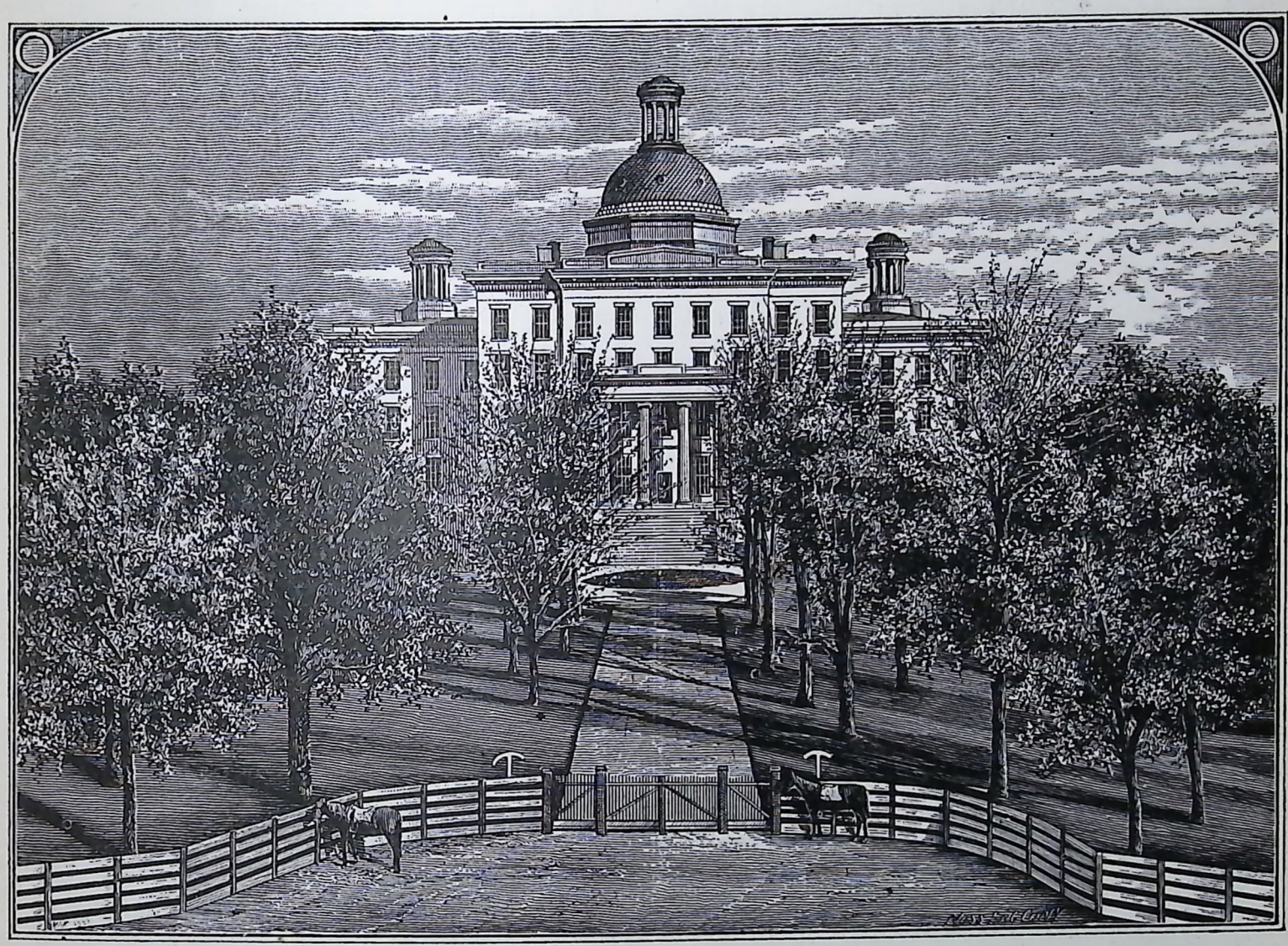
The feature of industrial education has been introduced into the institution under the administration of Dr. Stewart. It is the first institution of the kind in the United States to adopt industrial education, and the experiment promises to be remunerative and pleasing. By this means physical culture will be made productive, and the pupils prepared to earn a livelihood when discharged from the institution. The apprenticeship to this system is made to contribute to the health and happiness of the amateur artisans, by strengthening their physical powers, and improving by engaging their minds in useful pursuits. In a short time all the carpentry needed by, and all the shoes used in, the institution will be supplied by the craft of the pupils. The girls are being taught all the domestic arts, including hand and machine sewing. This industrial education is not permitted to interfere with the intellectual studies of the children, but is made auxilary to them.

The Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind is located in the eastern suburbs of the city of Louisville. The institution was established by act of the legislature in 1842. The preamble to the original act recognizes the fact that the blind were equally entitled with the seeing children to the benefit of the school fund. The appropriation of $10,000 was made, to be paid out of the interest on certain bonds held by the board of education. These bonds had been issued fraudulently by the agent of

the State of Kentucky, and at the date of the act referred to it was seriously doubted whether these bonds thus fraudulently issued would be recognized by the State. At that time efforts were made by agents of the State to trace the bonds, and thus relieve the State from their payment. The donation, therefore, to the institution for the blind was deemed of very doubtful value.

It is true, as a matter of history, the legislature was very incredulous as to the feasibility of educating the blind, and the good to result therefrom. This is illustrated by the provisions contained in the act that the school should be established and kept up for twelve months before the very doubtful appropriation could be collected. This was effected, and the school sustained for twelve months by the liberality of the people of Louisville. The appropriation of $10,000 was ultimately collected. It was the only one ever charged to or paid out of the public school fund.

The same individual was the author of the acts establishing the system of common schools and the Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind. No specific provision was made in the system of common schools for the education of the blind, and whilst in drafting the act he recognized their equal claims with the other children of the State on the common school fund; and at no subsequent time in his numerous applications to the legislature for aid to the institution, did he ever ask for or receive an appropriation payable from the common school fund. No special tax has ever been levied for its support. At no time has the institution been subjected to the jurisdiction or supervision of the superintendent of public instruction. It is now and always has been one of the public charities of the State, and has been liberally sustained out of its common treasury.



KENTUCKY INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND.

The establishment of the school was aided by the kind efforts of Dr. S. G. Howe, the

superintendent of the institution for the blind in Massachusetts, and of Mr. William Chapin, the superintendent of the institution for the blind in Ohio, who, with some of their pupils, gave an exhibition before the legislature at Frankfort, and several exhibitions subsequently in Louisville. At these exhibitions, which were largely attended by the citizens, much interest was manifested, and a committee of twenty-one appointed to collect money to support the school for one year. The efforts of the committee were successful, and the school was opened May 9, 1842, on Sixth Street, west side, between Walnut and Chestnut, with Bryce M. Patten, superintendent, Miss Maria Howe, matron, and Otis Patten, one of the pupils from Dr. Howe's school in Boston, as a teacher.

In the year 1844, in virtue of an appropriation made by the legislature, a lot of land was purchased and a building erected on the south side of Broadway, between First and Second Streets. In May, 1847, the ladies of Louisville interested in the school gave a tea party, the proceeds of which, amounting to $500, were spent in furnishing the house. On the 29th of September, 1851, this building was destroyed by fire. The trustees of the University of Louisville at once very liberally tendered the use of the large and commodious edifice erected for the collegiate and law departments of the university, so that the operations of the school were hardly interrupted by the calamity. The legislature promptly made an appropriation for a new building and for the purchase of more extensive grounds. A commissioner was appointed by the governor of the State to select grounds for the institution, and the present site was chosen and a new building begun. On the 8th of October, 1855, it was far enough advanced to remove the school to its new quarters, where it remained with a constantly increasing prosperty until November, 1862, when the building was seized by the medical authorities of the United States army for hospital purposes, and retained until an appeal to the president resulted in a restoration of the building to the State. During this compulsory exit, which lasted five months, the school occupied the building on the workhouse road belonging to the Alexander estate. Since that time the occupation of the present building has been uninterrupted.

The present superintendent, Mr. B. B. Huntoon, an educator of long experience, has been in charge for years. He is an efficient man, and under his administration the institution has become a very model of excellence in its every department.

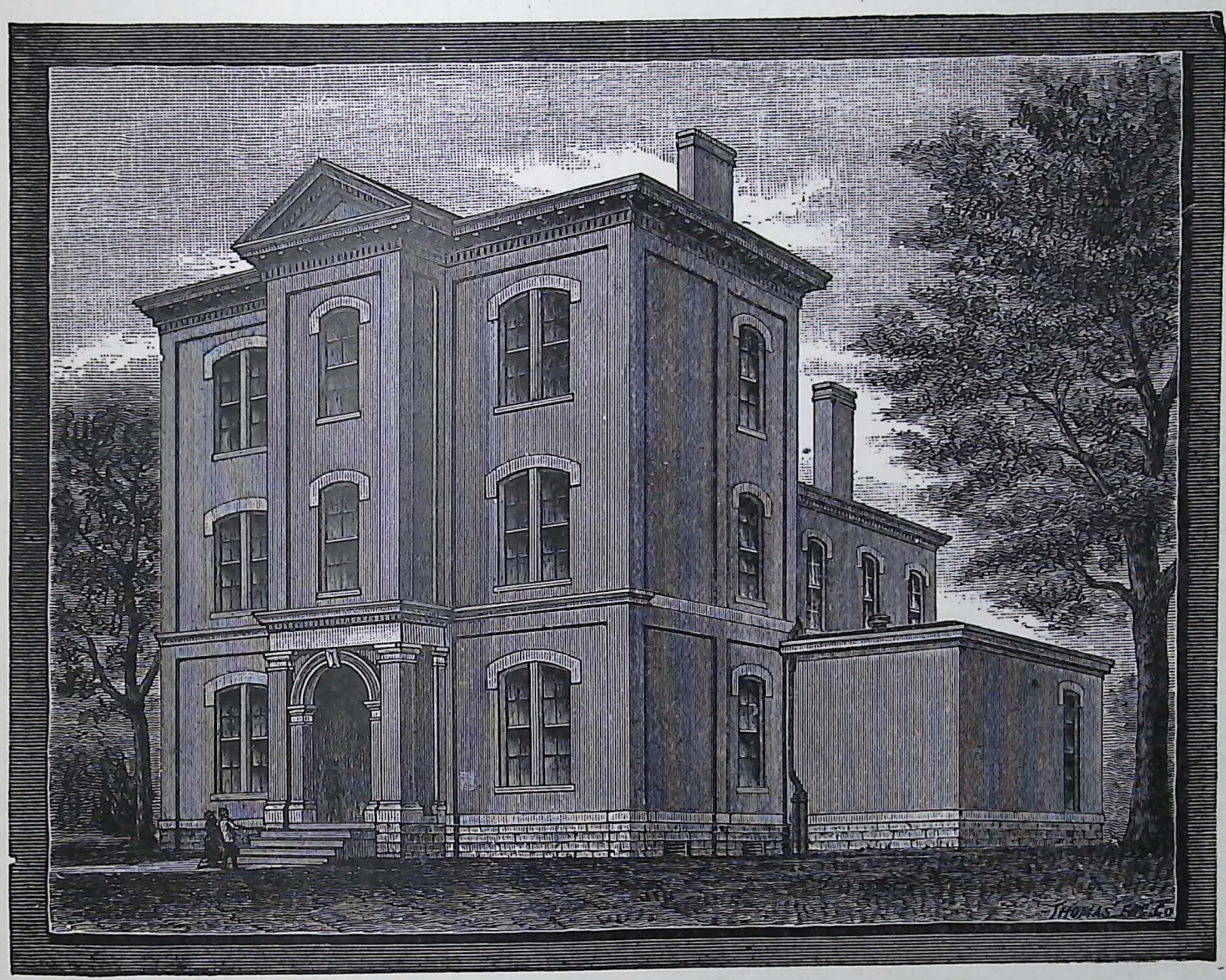
The American Printing House for the Blind, attached to the institution, and located upon a part of the same grounds, was originally chartered by the legislature in 1860. Its facilities for printing have been increased from time to time, until to-day it is the most extensive establishment of the kind in the world. It is the standard printing house for the blind in the United States, and in addition orders for books are constantly being received from Europe and the Canadas. The number of books printed each year runs up into the hundreds, and the demand is rapidly increasing. National aid is received under an act of congress passed March 3, 1879. The annual report of the trustees for that year says:

> By the provisions of this act the American Printing House for the Blind receives a sum of ten thousand ($10,000) dollars a year, with which to supply every public institution for the education of the blind in the United States with embossed books and tangible apparatus, according to the number of its pupils. The entire sum is to be expended in furnishing books and apparatus, and none of the money may be used in the erection or leasing of buildings. At a meeting of the board of trustees, held April 4, 1879, the trust imposed on them by the act was formally accepted.

Prior to this appropriation by congress, the American Printing House for the Blind had been mainly sustained by the beneficent wisdom of the State of Kentucky, as an indispensable means in the education of her own blind. An act of the legislature, passed soon after the printing house was established, appropriated $5 annually for every blind person in the State, according to the United States' census reports, to "aid the institution in printing books in raised letters for the blind, and in furnishing the same gratui-

tously to the indigent blind, and at cost to others, in accordance with the provisions of the charter of the said printing house for the blind." Other appropriations were made at different times, as the printing house needed them. Indeed, no State in the Union has been more liberal than Kentucky in support of her public charities.

A new printing house has recently been erected. It stands in a corner of the spacious grounds of the Institution for the Education of the Blind, and is an elegant brick building, three stories high, finished off with all the modern improvements. The printing presses run by steam, and although the orders for books are many, and are yearly increasing, the facilities for printing are equal to the demand.



AMERICAN PRINTING HOUSE FOR THE BLIND—LOUISVILLE.

The material wealth and resources of Kentucky are second to no State in the Union. With an area of 37,680 square miles, it contains some of the finest agricultural lands in North America, and its productions comprise almost everything grown in the temperate zone, but are chiefly wheat, corn, oats, grasses, tobacco, cotton, hemp, fruits, etc., etc. No country in the world is more famous for its fine stock; Kentucky thoroughbred horses and shorthorn cattle command higher prices than those of any other section. Coal, of an excellent quality, is found in many portions of the State, notably in the eastern and western portions; also beds of the finest cannel coal lie in certain localities. The State is rich in deposits of lead and iron ore, particularly the latter, and of salt; an excellent quality of marble and lithographic stone are found in the hilly and mountainous regions. With the "soil full of bread, and the earth full of minerals; with an upper surface of food, and underlayer of fuel; with perfect natural drainage, and abundant springs and streams, and navigable rivers; mid-way between the forests of the north and the fruits

of the south," Kentucky is rich in her agricultural, animal and mineral productions, as well as highly favored in her geographical position.

The following article, on the material resources of Kentucky, was written by Hon. John R. Proctor, State geologist, for the Encyclopædia Britannica, and is published in this work by permission:

The area of the State has been variously estimated at from 37,000 to 40,000 square miles. The surface is an elevated plateau sloping from the great Appalachian uplift on the southeast to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on the north and west. Only that portion of the State, including and lying between Pine or Laurel Mountain, and the Cumberland range, may be said to partake of the mountain structure. These parallel ranges have an elevation of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea-level, whilst the mountains in the Cumberland Valley between these ranges, have an elevation of 3,500. The Cumberland River, near where it passes through a break in Pine Mountain, is, at low-water mark, 960 feet above the sea. Some of the hills, immediately to the north, are as high as Pine Mountain, gradually decreasing in height to the western edge of the Appalachian coal field, where the greatest elevation is less than 1,600 feet above the sea. The eastern coal field, with an area over 10,000 square miles, has an elevation of 650 on the Ohio River, to 1,400 feet of the southwestern edge of the Tennessee line, and 3,500 feet on the southeastern border of the State. The great central, or "Blue Grass region," has an area of about 10,000 square miles, and an elevation of from 800 to 1,150 feet. Although elevated several hundred feet above the drainage level, the surface is that of a gently undulating plateau, with a pleasing topography. The Upper Silurian and Devonian, with an area of about 2,500 square miles, have an elevation of 450 on the northwest, and 800 on the northeastern end, to 1,100 feet where these formations curve around the Lower Silurian on the southwest. In this region are wide stretches of very level country, often with insufficient drainage. Around this central region extends, from the mouth of Salt River to the mouth of the Scioto, a continuous ridge, known as Muldrow's Hill, King's Mountain, Big Hill, and other local names, having an abrupt escarpment on its inner circle, and sloping away from the central uplifted dome of the Blue Grass region, as a broken plateau on the east, and an almost level plateau on the west, where the subcarboniferous limestone determines the topography. This range of hills is one of the prominent features in the State. The subcarboniferous has an area of about 10,000 square miles, with an elevation of from 350 to 600 feet on the southwestern, to 950 in the central region. In the eastern portion of this formation the streams have cut deep gorges in the limestone, but in its central part only the larger streams are open to daylight, and most of the drainage is subterraneous, which gives to that region a peculiar topography—the surface being a series of slight round or oval depressions, through which the surface water escapes to the streams below. Whenever the small passage way, leading downward from one of these sinks, becomes closed, a "pond" is formed. In this formation are the numerous caverns, for which this State is noted. The western coal field has an area of about 4,000 square miles, and an elevation of from 400 feet along the Ohio River, to 850 feet in its southeastern portion. The Quaternary, with an area of 2,500 square miles, has an elevation of about 280 feet on the river bottom lands, and from 350 to 450 on the uplands. The average elevation for the entire State is over 1,000 feet above the sea, and the numerous streams penetrating all portions have cut their channels deep enough to secure ample drainage, and exemption from the dangers of floods, with the exception of very limited areas.

The State has a river boundry of 813 miles of navigable streams:—the Chatterawha or Big Sandy on the east for 120 miles, the Ohio on the north for 643 miles, and the Mississippi on the west for 50 miles. The Chatterawha, Licking, Kentucky, Cumberland, and Tennessee Rivers have their sources in the Appalachain coal-field, and flow

through the State to the Ohio River. The Green and Tradewater Rivers drain the western coal-field. Kentucky has many hundred miles of navigable rivers, connecting with the Mississippi system and furnishing a most advantageous means of cheap transport for coal, timber, etc. A system of river improvement, begun by the State some years ago, by which the Green and Barren Rivers from Bowling Green downward, and also the lower portion of the Kentucky River, were made continuously navigable, is being prosecuted still further by the United States government. It is now possible to float down logs, rafts, flat boats, etc., from almost the fountain heads of the rivers.

The climate is very mild and salubrious. The mean annual temperature ranges in different parts of the State from 50° to 55° Fahrenheit. The extreme range is less than in the States north and west. The lowest record at the United States Signal Service station during the exceptionally cold months of December, 1880, and January, 1881, was −8°. During the very hot summer of 1881, the maximum temperature was greater as far north as Chicago than in Kentucky. Cattle remain upon the pasture during the entire winter, with but little additional food, and there is seldom a day, winter or summer, when a man may not perform a full day's work in the open air. The healthfulness of the climate is attested by the low death-rate, and by the strength and vigor of the population. The tabulated measurements of the United States volunteers during the civil war show that the soldiers born in Kentucky and Tennessee exceed all others in height, weight, circumference of head, circumference of chest, and ratio of weight to stature. The speed and endurance of the Kentucky horse, and the superior development of all kinds of domestic animals, are well known. The annual rain-fall ranges in various parts of the State from forty-five to fifty inches, and is probably still higher in the Cumberland Mountains.

With the exception of the more recent formations in the portion of the State west of the Tennessee River, and along the valleys of some of the streams, Kentucky is composed entirely of Paleozoic strata, having present all of the various groups found in the Ohio Valley, from the calciferous sandrock (3a of Dana's Table of Formations) to and including the carboniferous. The united thickness of the various groups is not great in Kentucky—probably not aggregating over 5,000 feet. The entire State is included within the area of the great Appalachian uplift. In the southeast the disturbance is greater, the strata often being inclined at a high angle, the successive undulations gradually diminishing toward the northwest. This disturbance in the southeast is emphasized by the Great Pine Mountain fault extending parallel to the axis of the Appalachian uplift, entirely through the southeastern portion of the State and bringing to the surface in the coal-measures rocks as low as the Clinton group of the Upper Silurian. The axis of the greatest geological elevation in the State is parallel to the above, and passes in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction through the counties of Montgomery, Clark, Madison, Garrard, Jessamine and Boyle, shown on the map by the deflexion of the Kentucky River from its general course toward the Ohio River. This uplift brings to the surface the lowest rocks exposed in the State, the "bird's eye" limestone of the Trenton (4a of Dana), and the dolomite, known as "Kentucky River marble," including what is probably the equivalent of the calciferous sandrock of the New York section. These lowest rocks of the Kentucky section form a triangular area having its depressed apex northwest of Frankfort, and its elevated base in the counties named above. Through these formations, having a thickness of over 400 feet, the picturesque gorge of the Kentucky River has been cut. Next in ascending order we have 150 feet of blue fossiliferous limestone, containing characteristic forms of the Trenton of New York, and 800 feet of limestone and shales containing the fossils of the Hudson River or Cincinnati groups (4c of Dana). These groups make up the well-known "Blue Grass" region of Kentucky, celebrated for the fertility of soil, high

agricultural development, and superiorty of the horses and other domestic animals produced. The soils of the most fertile portion of this region are derived from the 150 feet immediately above the bird's eye limestone. These rocks are very rich in phosphate of lime, and with careful tillage and proper rotation of crops the lands are not exhausted by cultivation. The blue limestones of central Kentucky are very prolific in fossil forms.

Surrounding this central region are the rocks of the Upper Silurian, averaging in thickness about 100 feet. East of Louisville this formation is about twenty-five miles wide, and in eastern central Kentucky about ten miles wide, decreasing in thickness and in superficial extent toward the southwestern portion. The rocks are mostly magnesian limestone, rich in fossil forms, of which the most characteristic are the beautiful chain corals. The soils of this formation are less fertile than those derived from the blue shell limestone and marly shales of the Lower Silurian. Above the latter formation, and forming the outer portion of the semi-circle or irregular triangle extending around the great central uplift, are the corniferous limestones of the Devonian (9c of Dana). The principal exposure is seen at the falls of the Ohio below Louisville, at low water presenting probably the most beautiful and extensive natural cabinet of corals in the world—a reef of corals perfectly preserved in minutest structure, and of exquisite beauty. The soils derived from these rocks are almost of equal fertility to the best soils of the blue limestone, and the topography is equally pleasing to the eye. The next formation in order is the black shale (10c of Dana), of the Devonian, with a thickness of about 150 feet in the northeast and decreasing gradually to the south and west. This formation is peculiar from the high percentage of petroleum contained in the shale. Before the discovery of oil-wells, oil was distilled from these shales, and the oil in the productive wells of Kentucky is derived from the same source. Where this shale determines the topography, the lands are generally flat, often with insufficient drainage, and are not so productive as analyses would seem to warrant. Doubtless underdraining will increase the yield.

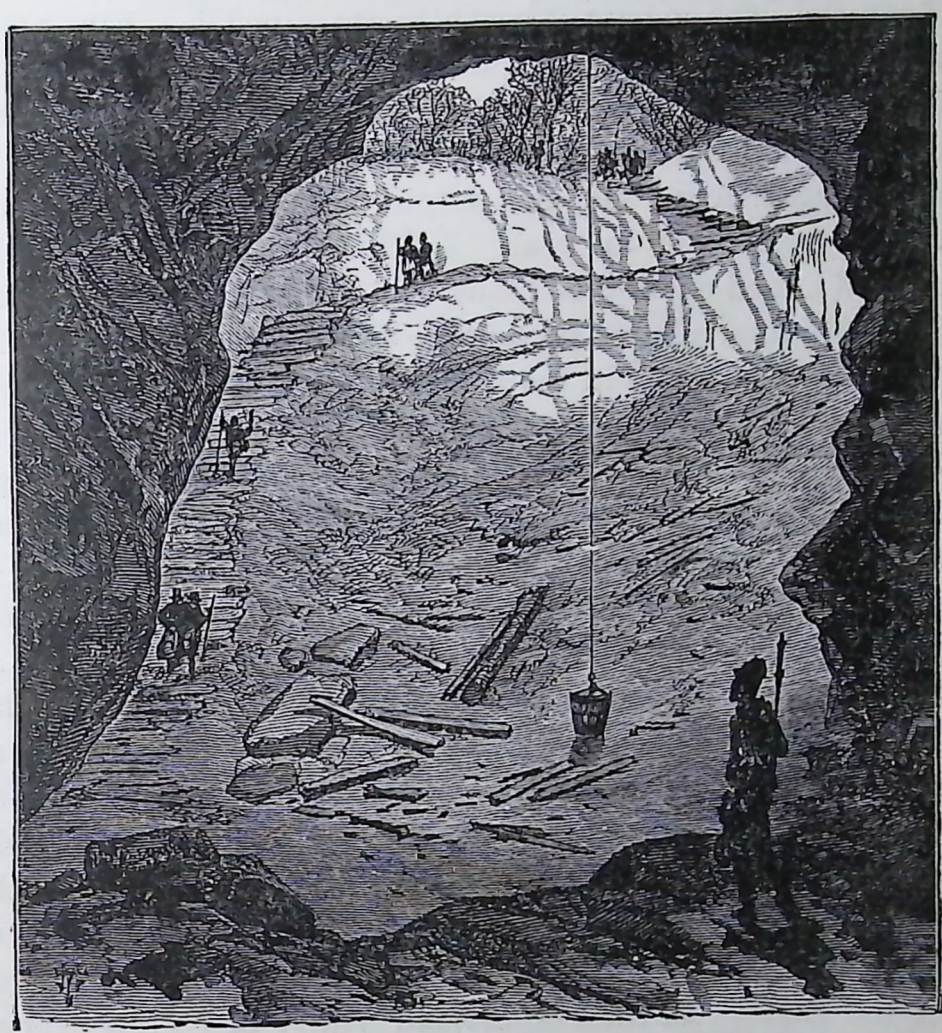
The subcarboniferous rocks, consisting of the several groups identified by fossil remains with the Waverly, Keokuk, Warsaw, St. Louis, and Chester groups (13a, 13b and 13c of Dana), composed of sandstones, shales, and limestones, with a total thickness of over 1,000 feet, cannot here be described in detail. Muldrow's Hill, representing the retreating escarpment of formations which formerly extended over the central Blue Grass region, is composed of these rocks, capped at Big Hill in Madison County with the carboniferous conglomerate. The subcarboniferous limestone region of western and southern Kentucky, drained by the Green and Cumberland Rivers, is characterized for the most part by an excellent soil, well adapted to the growth of Indian corn, wheat, barley, and other cereals, producing a very fine quality of tobacco, and certain grasses in great perfection. This formation is noted for the numerous caverns of large size and great beauty—the best known being the celebrated Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County, which is the largest known cavern in the world. Here many miles of subterranean passages have been excavated by the eroding action of water charged with carbonic acid, assisted in places by the action of the atmosphere. The caverns are beautified by columns and stalagmites formed by the deposition of carbonate of lime from the percolating waters, and by exfoliation of sulphate of lime, taking the form of flowers, rosettes, and other shapes, rendered more beautiful by their power of reflecting light.*

The detailed survey of the carboniferous strata of Kentucky is not yet completed, but enough is known to justify the assertion that the total area in the State is over 14,000 square miles—10,000 square miles of the Appalachian coalfield and 4,000 square miles of the western or Illinois coalfield. In the eastern field two workable coals

*For historical description of Mammoth Cave, see Appendix A, Note 32.

are found below, and twelve above the carboniferous conglomerate. The eastern field is remarkable for the thickness of some of the coal strata, and the purity of coals, for the large area of excellent cannel coals, and for the ease with which the coals may be mined, being mostly elevated above the drainage level. The thickest portion of the measures is in the synclinal trough between the Pine and Cumberland Mountains—there being a vertical thickness of over 2,200 feet of coal-measure rocks above the drainage level. In the southeastern portion of the eastern field an excellent coking coal has been traced over a wide area. This coal ranges from four feet to eight feet in thickness, can be mined cheaply, and has a very low percentage of ash and sulphur. The western coal-field is a broad synclinal, its axis almost parallel to the general direction of Green River, crossed by undulations, the axes of which extend from northeast to southwest. No workable coal has been opened below the conglomerate, which is thinner than in eastern Kentucky. Twelve coals are present in the measures above the conglomerate. Some of these coals are of excellent quality, although the percentage of sulphur is larger than in the best of the eastern Kentucky coals. The soils of the coal measures are variable in quality. Some of the most productive lands in the State are in the western coal-field. In the eastern field are very fertile valleys, and the uplands in the Cumberland Valley are quite productive. Even the poorest of the coal-measure soils are well adapted to certain grasses and fruits, and will yield good returns from intelligent culture.

There only remain to be noticed the Quaternary strata. The region west of the Tennessee River, and the level plains bordering the principal rivers and above high water level, are composed of a homogeneous buff-colored, silicious loam, known as the "bluff" or loess formation (20b of Dana). This is, with the exception of the alluvial "bottoms" along the rivers, the most recent formation in Kentucky. The deposit has a thickness of from 40 to 50 feet. Owing partly to the presence of numerous land and fresh-water shells (Helix, Cyclostoma, Pupa, Cyclas, etc.), this formation is highly calcareous, giving, from an average sample, 9.6 per cent of lime, and the soils are of marked fertility. This bluff loam rests upon a coarse gravel, varying in thickness from a few inches to thirty feet, composed mainly of water-worn pebbles from the carboniferous conglomerate, and slightly water-worn angular pebbles of chert and hornstone from the lower subcarboniferous and corniferous groups, and coarse angular sand. Intermingled throughout are silicified fragments of many of the Paleozoic fossils to be found in the Ohio Valley. In descending order are beds of white sand and clay, and shales of the Eocene (Tertiary), only slightly exposed in the extreme western part of the State, where the streams have cut deepest.



THE ENTRANCE TO MAMMOTH CAVE (LOOKING OUT).

Nowhere in the State, have evidences of glacial action been found. Over the uplifted Blue Grass region, are often thick deposits of what has been called drift material; but such deposits are composed altogether of silicified remains from the several formations above the Lower Silurian, and the evidences are conclusive that they are the remains of rocks decomposed *in situ*.

No precious metals have been discovered in Kentucky. The amount of coal hitherto mined has not been as large as the quantity and quality in the State would justify, but the increased facilities of transport have stimulated production, and the output will increase from year to year. In 1870, the amount mined was 150,582 tons, and in 1880, 1,050,095 tons, a larger percentage of increase than any other State in the Union. Iron ores of good quality abound in various parts of the State. In Bath County is a large deposit of Clinton ore, similar to the red fossil ore occurring in this formation from New York to Alabama. The same ore probably is in position along the western base of Pine Mountain. Along the southeastern border of the State it extends for many miles in Tennessee and Virginia, with a thickness of from eighteen inches to seven feet, where the very near proximity to the excellent coking coal of Kentucky, renders it of peculiar value in determining the future development of that portion of the State. In the Cumberland Valley of Western Kentucky, a high grade limonite is abundant in the subcarboniferous limestone, and in eastern Kentucky, a superior iron ore rests upon the top of the St. Louis group of this formation. Excellent carbonates and limonites abound in the eastern coal-measures and have been mined extensively in the northeastern part of the State. In the lower coal-measures of western Kentucky, a number of iron ore strata ranging in thickness from a few inches to five feet.

Galena, associated with sulphate of baryta, occurs in veins in the lower members of the blue limestone of central Kentucky, and also in the subcarboniferous strata in the lower Cumberland Valley, where it is associated with valuable deposits of fluorspar.

Petroleum has been produced from wells in Barren County, for a number of years. The oil is here derived from the Devonian black shale. Heavy lubricating oil is produced from the same formation in Wayne County. There is a wide area in the State, where petroleum may be obtained by boring.

Salt-brine is obtained from wells in the eastern coal field, and in the subcarboniferous limestone of western Kentucky.

Fire and pottery clays abound in the coal measures; pottery clays occur in the surface deposits in valleys of central Kentucky, and in the flat lands where the soil is derived from the decomposition of the Devonian black shale, and the argillaceous shales of the Waverly group. In the Tertiary shales below the gravel bed west of the Tennessee River, are pottery-clays, and fire-clays occur in great abundance.

Building stones of great variety abound in almost every section.

Forests.—Probably two-thirds of the State is yet covered by virgin forests of valuable timbers. At the time of the settlement of the State by the whites it was covered by forests, excepting a portion of the southwestern part, known as the "Barrens," which was a prairie, covered with tall grass, known as "barren-grass." Here only the roots of certain hardy trees had withstood the annual burning of the dry grasses; from these roots, "sprouts" grew every year, only to be destroyed by fire, and the roots or base grew horizontally under the soil. When the country was settled and the fires checked, the saplings springing from these roots soon grew into trees, and the region, was speedily covered with a dense growth, the prevailing timbers being black-jack oak (*Quercus nigra*), post oak (*Q. obtusiloba*), and black oak (*Q. tinctoria*). The outline of these barrens was almost identical with the outline of the cavernous group of the subcarboniferous limestone. On the lower limestones and shales of the subcarboniferous, the most valuable timbers remaining are yellow poplar (*Liriodendron tulipfera*), white oak (*Q. alba*), the hickories, and some black walnut (*Juglans nigra*). The several divisions of the Lower Silurian are character-

ized by a variation in the forest growth. On the lower rocks the most characteristic timbers are over-cup oak (*Q. macrocarpa*), white oak, shell bark hickory (*Carya alba*), black walnut and black ash (*Fraxinus sambuci folia*). The prevalent timbers on the best soils of this region are sugar maple (*Acer saccharinum*), blue ash (*Fr. quadrangulata*), black walnut, pig-nut hickory (*C. glabra*), hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*), mulberry (*Morus rubra*), buckeye (*Æsculus glabra*), honey-locust (*Gleditschia triacanthos*), box elder (*Negundo aceroides*) and Kentucky coffee-tree (*Gymnocladus*). On the soils derived from the silicious member of the Cincinnati group, the prevalent timbers are yellow poplar, beech, white and red oak, and hickory. White oak is the prevailing timber on the upper portion. On the Upper Silurian lands the timbers are mainly white oak, of superior quality, sweet gum (*Liquidambar styraci flua*), and water maple (*A. rubrum*). The growth on the corniferous limestone is very similar to that on the best soils of the blue limestone, with the exception that beeches and yellow poplars are more numerous. On the black shale of the Devonian are over-cup oak, black oak, sweet gum, beech and elm, and in places where the soil is well-drained, yellow poplar, wild cherry, and black walnut. The growth on the flat lands of the Waverly is elm, beech, sweet gum and white oak; on the uplands, chestnut, oak, (*Q. Prinus*), and small hickories, and on the thin uplands the above timbers and yellow pine (*Pinus mitis*). The great stores of valuable timbers are in the coal-measures. In eastern Kentucky there is an area of 10,000 square miles of virgin forests of white oak, ash, hickory, wild cherry and other valuable timbers. On the out-crop of the conglomerate sandstone, on the western edge of the coal-field, and on the top of the eastern slope of Pine Mountain and the western slope of Cumberland Mountain, the prevailing timbers are chestnut, oak and yellow pine and hemlock (*Abies canadensis*), where the streams have cut deep in the rock, with an undergrowth of rhododendrons, and kalmias, and on the dryer slopes azaleas. The above is also the growth where the conglomerate is thick on the eastern out-crop of the western coal-field. In the valley of Red River, on the conglomerate series, there is an area of about 40,000 acres where the prevalent timber is white pine (*P. strobus*). There are fine forests remaining on the Quaternary west of the Tennessee River. On the lowlands are forests of large cypress (*Taxodium distychum*). In this region the Catalpa speciosa and pecan (*Carya olivæformis*) abound and cotton-wood (*populus angulata*) on the banks of streams. Many valuable timbers in addition to the above, are to be had in various parts of the State. Owing to the large demands for timber on the treeless prairies, and the rapid exhaustion of timbers in the States north of the Ohio River, the extensive forests of Kentucky have an especial value.

With the exception of the area west of the Tennessee River, all the soils are derived from the decomposition of rocks *in situ*. The soils over an area of about 22,000 square miles are derived from the decomposition of limestones of various geological horizons. The soils of the Blue Grass region, derived from the decomposition of phosphatic limestone and shales, and the soils of a portion of the subcarboniferous limestone groups, are of great fertility, and are easily restored by a judicious rotation with clover and grasses.

The State was peopled almost exclusively with agriculturists from Virginia and Maryland, and agriculture has remained the favorite occupation. Out of a total population of 1,321,011, in 1870, only 44,197 were engaged in manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries. The peculiarity of Kentucky agriculture is its great diversity. It will be seen from the United States census that in each decade, from 1810 to the present time, the State ranked first in the production of one or more staple articles. Thus in 1840, though sixth in rank in population, it was the first in production of wheat and hemp, and the second in the production of swine, Indian corn and tobacco. In 1850 it ranked first in the production of Indian corn, flax and hemp, and second in swine, mules and tobacco. In 1870 it was the

eighth State in population, and the eighth in the total value of agricultural products (notwithstanding over one-half of the area of the State was virgin forests), it ranked first in the production of hemp and tobacco, sixth in Indian corn, and eighth in wheat. In 1880 it ranked first in the production of hemp and tobacco and seventh in Indian corn and rye. The decline in the relative position in the production of Indian corn and wheat was not caused by a decreased production, but by the increased production of these cereals by States in the west, where these are almost the exclusive crops. In Kentucky a diversified agriculture is found to be more profitable. Especial care has been devoted to the importation and improvement of domestic animals, until the State has become the great center for fine stock of all kinds. In arriving at this preeminence, the breeders have doubtless been assisted by the climate, the water and the perfection of pasturage. The Blue Grass (*Poa pratensis*), attains perfection in this region, making a beautiful turf; it grows in the shade of woodlands, and affords an excellent winter pasturage. Virginia, in early times, imported choice horses from England (when the breeders there paid attention to the endurance). The Kentucky breeders have kept those strains pure, and have from time to time added by importations from England until a race-horse having endurance and speed is the result. Probably over 75 per cent of the winnings on the American turf is by Kentucky-bred horses. The attention of many of the Kentucky stock breeders of late years has been turned to breeding trotting horses with very marked results. The production of the very fleet trotting horses of Kentucky is the result of intelligent breeding, under favorable conditions.

Kentucky is the principal tobacco growing State in the Union. In 1870, of the total of 262,735,371 pounds produced in the United States, Kentucky produced 105,305,869 pounds; and in 1880, out of the total of 473,107,573 pounds, Kentucky produced 171,121,134 pounds. The ten principal tobacco growing counties are:

	Pounds.
Christian	12,577,574
Henderson	10,312,631
Daviess	9,523,451
Graves	8,901,434
Mason	6,261,385
Bracken	6,126,635
Logan	6,039,983
Todd	5,808,425
Owen	5,765,351
Trigg	5,667,143

The production of the principal cereals in Kentucky was as follows in 1870 and 1880:

	1870.	1880.
Indian Corn	50,091,006	73,977,829
Wheat	5,728,704	11,355,340
Oats	6,620,103	4,582,968
Barley	238,486	487,031
Rye	1,108,933	676,245

Hemp, since the early settlement of the State, has been a favorite crop, more especially in the Blue Grass region. Contrary to an accepted opinion it has not here proved an exhausting crop where retted upon the land. Wheat succeeds almost as well after hemp as after clover sod. The yield of hemp for the year 1880, was about 15,000 tons. Cotton is grown only to a limited extent west of the Tennessee River, the total production amounting in 1880 to 1,367 bales. The total number of farms in 1870 was 118,422, the average size being 158 acres. In 1850 the average size of farms was 227 acres, and in 1860, 211 acres. Over 60 per cent of the area returned as farms was unimproved or in timber. The area returned as improved or under fence was less than one-third the area of the State.

Before the freeing of the slaves, domestic manufacturing on the farms was carried on to a large extent, and as late as 1870, the State ranked second in the value of domestic or home manufactures. The total value of manufactures was, in 1850, $21,712,210; in 1860, $37,931,240; and in 1870, $54,625,809. The increase since 1870 has been larger than before, and the State will soon rank high as a manufacturing State.

KENTUCKY INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF FEEBLE-MINDED CHILDREN, FRANKFORT.—SEE PAGE 536.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE 1, PAGE 95.

SEVERAL shell-heaps are noted in the Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873. On page 124, the State geologist, E. T. Cox, in speaking of the food of the Mound-Builders, says: Fresh water bivalves (Unionidæ) and univalve mollusks were also consumed in such quantities that great banks of shells, miles in length, are left to mark the places, where, it is possible, high carnivals were held over fresh-water "clam-bakes." At Clarksville, just below the falls of the Ohio River, in Clarke County, there is a shell-heap extending for a mile or more up and down the river. This locality must have been a favorite place of resort; an ancient Long-Branch where it was possible to find enjoyment and pass a pleasant summer, catching fish at the foot of the falls, where they congregated at certain seasons of the year in such vast numbers as to become an easy prey to the bone hooks and spears used for their capture by these pre-historic people.

Another of these shell heaps is located on the farm of W. T. Aydelotte, six miles below New Albany, and was carefully examined by Dr. E. S. Crosier at the time of its discovery. It is described by the assistant State geologist, William W. Borden, on page 185 of the above-mentioned report, as follows: It is situated in the river bottom, a short distance from the stream, and covers a large space. It is about fifteen or twenty feet high, and has an oval or elliptical form. Several years ago, Mr. Aydelotte had occasion to build a new house, and located it upon this mound above high water mark. In excavating the cellar, the shells were met within a foot below the surface, and are continuous to the bottom of the cellar. A quantity of human bones, including fragments of a skull, with the bones of animals, and quite a number of bone implements, were exhumed by the laborers, and are preserved in the museum of the New Albany Society of Natural History. Subsequently several stone axes manufactured of syenite and granite were found by further excavation, and have been also added to the collection at New Albany. The river bank from Mr. W. T. Aydelotte's farm to New Albany affords a fine field for the collection of Indian relics.

Similar relics are found along the Wabash River. See same report, page 371.

NOTE 2, PAGE 111.

Genealogy of the Boone Family.—It may be interesting to the general reader to learn as much as is known of the genealogy of the family from which Kentucky's honored pioneer descended, and the following is therefore copied from the original record presented to the Polytechnic Library in Louisville, some years ago:

Our genealogy, or pedigree, traced as far back as had come to the knowledge of John Boone (son of George and Mary Boone) wrote by James Boone (son of James Boone, Sr., and Mary, his wife, and grandson of the said George and Mary Boone), in the year of our Lord, 1787:

George Boone I (that is the first that we have heard of) was born in old England.

George Boone II (son of George Boone the First) was born in or near the city of Exeter, being a blacksmith. His wife's maiden name was Sarah Uppey. He died aged sixty; and she died, aged eighty years, and never had an aching bone or decayed tooth.

George Boone III (son of George and Sarah Boone) was born at Stoak (a village near the city of Exeter), A. D. 1666, being a weaver. His wife's maiden name was Mary Maugridge, who was born at Bradswick (a town eight miles from the city of Exeter), in A. D. 1669; the said Mary Maugridge was a daughter of John Maugridge and Mary, his wife, whose maiden name was Milton. They, the said George III and Mary, his wife, had nine children that lived to be men and women, namely: George, Sarah, Squire, Mary, John, Joseph, Benjamin, James and Samuel, having each of them several children, excepting John, who never married. The said George and Mary Boone, with their family, came from the town of Bradwinch, in Devonshire, old England. They arrived at Philadelphia, Penn., in A. D. 1717, September 29th, old style (or October 10th, according to the new style). Three of the children, to-wit: George, Sarah and Squire, they sent in a few years before from Abington, and stayed a few months there; thence to North Wales, and lived about two years there; thence to Oley, in the same county of Philadelphia, where Sarah (being married) had moved to sometime before. This last place of their residence (since the division made in the township of Oley and county of Philadelphia), is called the township of Exeter, in the county of Berks. It was called Exeter because they came from a place near the city of Exeter. He, the said George Boone III, died A. D. 1744, July 27th, about 8 o'clock, aged seventy-eight years, and Mary, his wife, died February 2, 1740–41, aged seventy-two

years, and they were decently interred in the Friend's Burying Ground, in the said township of Exeter. When he died he left eight children, fifty-two grandchildren and ten great-grandchildren living—in all seventy—being as many persons as the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt.

George Boone IV (eldest son of George and Mary Boone) was born in Bradwinch aforesaid, July 13th, in the year 1691, and died in Exeter Township aforesaid, aged about sixty-three years and four months. He taught school for several years near Philadelphia, was a good mathematician, and taught the several branches of English learning; was a magistrate for several years. His wife's maiden name was Deborah Howell.

George Boone V (eldest son of George and Deborah Boone) was never married, and died in Exeter Township aforesaid, aged about twenty-four years.

James Boone, Sr., (the sixth son of George and Mary Boone) was born in Bradwinch aforesaid, A. D. 1709, July 7th (old style), about one-half past two in the morning then (when it was between 9 and 10 o'clock at night here, in Pennsylvania), and was married May 3, 1735, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, to Mary Foulke (the eldest daughter of Hugh and Anne Foulke), by whom he had fourteen children, and nine of them lived to be grown up, namely: Annie, Mary, Martha, James, John, Judah, Joshua, Rachel and Moses; she, the said Mary, his first wife, died February 20, 1756, at twenty minutes past one o'clock, P. M., aged forty-one years and eleven weeks. John, their second son, just now mentioned, died in 1773, March 29, in the twenty-eighth year of his life, on the 1st day of September, A. D. 1785, at ten minutes past nine at night, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was decently interred in the Friends' Burying Ground, at Exeter. And as he was born in England when it was between 9 and 10 here in Pennsylvania, so he died when it was 9 and 10 at night here.

John Boone, Sr., (son of George and Mary Boone) was born in the town of Bradwinch, in Devonshire, old England, on the seventh day of the week, about 11 in the morning, and on the 3d of January, 1701–2, old style, or 1702, January 14 (new style), and he departed this life on the 11th of October, 1785, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (being the eldest of our name and family that we have heard of, and the last of all those of our relations who came from England). He was decently interred in the Friends' Burying Ground, at Exeter, the next day after his decease. He (with his parents, etc.) left England in the sixteenth year of his age, and 'tis remarkable that he lived exactly sixty-eight years here in North America from the day he landed at Philadelphia, and he lived only five weeks and four days after the decease of his brother James.

This genealogy, it will be observed, does not mention the subsequent history of Squire Boone, Sr. (son of George III and Mary Boone). How many children he had is not known, but Daniel, Squire, Edward, George, Hannah, and perhaps two other sisters, Mrs. Grant and Mrs. William Bryan, were residents of Kentucky for a time. Daniel was born February 11, 1731, and Squire about 1737, both in Berks County, Penn. It is not probable that Daniel was the eldest of the family of children, though the eldest of the brothers named. The children seem to have been left orphans about 1745, when they were taken by friends first to Winchester, Va., and thence to Holman's Ford, on the South Yadkin, in North Carolina. Here Daniel met Rebecca Bryan and his fate in a rather romantic way, if the current story of the event may be credited.

When a young man, Boone was out one night with some companions on a "fire hunt." While proceeding through a heavily timbered piece of bottom land, which bordered a small stream, that formed the boundary of Morgan Bryan's plantation, two brilliant sparks in the gloom gave indication that the fire had "shined the eyes" of a deer. Boone, who carried his rifle, ready to shoot the game which the light should hold with its fascinating glare, gave the concerted signal to the torch-bearer who preceded him, dismounted from his horse, and having secured him to a tree, crept cautiously forward. Finding a convenient covert in a clump of hazel and plum bushes, he peered about to discover the exact location of the surprised animal. Again the eyes turned with a steady gaze toward the treacherous light, and Boone raised his rifle to fire, when some mysterious impulse caused him to hesitate. At that instant, the game, startled by some sound or motion which broke the fatal charm, sprang through the underbrush with a rustle and bound, the ardent young hunter following in rapid pursuit.

The chase led toward the cabin, and thinking he had fallen upon a pet animal of the family, he continued his course to the house, impeded in his progress by hunting-traps and dogs which beset him on his nearest approach. Reaching the door he was admitted and welcomed, but before the young hunter regained his breath sufficient to tell his story, a boy of ten years, accompanied by a breathless girl of sixteen, "with ruddy cheeks, flaxen hair, and soft blue eyes," rushed into the room. "Oh father, father," cried the boy, "Sis was down to the creek to set my lines, and was chased by a painter or something. She's too skeart to tell."

It is not probable that this was the first meeting of the young man and maiden, but however that may be, it is said that the circumstances attending this event evoked an interest in each other which eventually brought the principal actors together in marriage.

NOTE 3, PAGE 114.

It is eminently proper that the names of the adventurers who bore subordinate parts in these early surveys should be preserved as far as painstaking researches have revealed them, and for the results achieved in this direction credit is largely due to

Mr. R. C. Collins. In Bullitt's company were Col. James Harrod, subsequently founder of Harrodsburg, John Smith, Isaac Hite, James Sodousky, Abraham Haptonstall, Ebenezer Severns, John Fitzpatrick and others. In the McAfee company were James, George and Robert McAfee, brothers; James McCoun, brother-in-law, and Samuel Adams, a young man and neighbor. In Taylor's company were Matthew Bracken and Jacob Drennon, perhaps others. James Douglass appears to have come alone to join Bullitt. John Finley—not to be confused with the first pioneer—was probably a member of Thompson's company, the other members of which seem to have left no trace of their personality.

NOTE 4, PAGE 115.

In the fall of 1758 Thomas Decker and some others commenced a settlement on the Monongahela River, at the mouth of what is now Decker's Creek. In the ensuing spring it was entirely broken up by a party of Delawares and Mingoes, and the greater part of its inhabitants murdered. There was at this time at Brownsville a fort then known as Redstone Fort, under the command of Capt. Paul. One of Decker's party escaped from the Indians who destroyed the settlement, and making his way to Fort Redstone gave its commander the melancholy intelligence. The garrison being too weak to admit of sending a detachment in pursuit, Capt. Paul dispatched a runner with the information to Capt. John Gibson, then stationed at Fort Pitt. Leaving the fort under the command of Lieut. Williamson, Capt. Gibson set out with thirty men to intercept the Indians on their return to their towns. In consequence of the distance which the pursuers had to go, and the haste with which the Indians had retreated, the expedition failed in its object. They, however, accidentally came on a party of six or seven Mingoes, on the head of Cross Creek, in Ohio, near Steubenville. These had been prowling about the river below Fort Pitt seeking an opportunity of committing depredations. As Capt. Gibson passed the point of a small knoll just after daybreak he came unexpectedly upon them. Some of them were lying down; the others were sitting around a fire making thongs of green hides. Kiskepila, or Little Eagle, a Mingo chief, headed the party. As soon as he discovered Capt. Gibson he raised the war-whoop and fired his rifle; the ball passed through Gibson's hunting-shirt and wounded a soldier just behind him. Gibson sprang forward, and swinging his sword with herculean force severed the head of Little Eagle from his body. Two other Indians were shot down, and the remainder escaped to their towns on the Muskingum.

When the captives who were restored under the treaty of 1763 came in, those who were at the Mingo towns when the remnant of Kiskepila's party returned stated that the Indians represented Gibson as having cut off Little Eagle's head with a long knife. Several of the white persons were then sacrificed to appease the manes of Kiskepila, and a war dance ensued, accompanied with terrific shouts and bitter denunciations of revenge on "the big knife warrior." This name was soon after applied to Virginia militia generally; and to this day they are known among the northwestern Indians as the "Long Knives" or "Big Knife Nation."—*Wither's Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 1821.

NOTE 5, PAGE 115.

Big Bone Lick is situated in Boone County, about a mile and a half east from Hamilton, on the Ohio River. This Lick, widely known as the original depository of numerous remains of extinct animals, was discovered by Longueil, a Frenchman, in 1739, and was early resorted to by the Indians in quest of game. In 1773 it was visited by various surveying parties, and its appearance is described in Robert McAfee's journal. It extended over about ten acres, which was bare of timber and herbage, and worn away by the hoofs and tongues of the animals that frequented the spot to a level some three or four feet below the original surface. Through this area the creek ran, which is fed on either side by two never-failing streams of salt water. Here the explorers of 1773 found a large number of mammoth bones in the lick or near it, indicating that the animals had stood side by side mired in mud, and so died. Some portions of the back bones lay out upon solid ground, and were used by the surveyors as seats; the ribs were found long enough to serve as tent poles, and one tusk protruded from a bank some six feet, defying the united efforts of six men to remove it. Teeth were found weighing upward of ten pounds, and with a grinding surface of seventy-five inches.

The first collection of these interesting remains was made in 1803 by Dr. William Goforth, then a physician in Cincinnati. In 1804 or 1805 the collector shipped about five tons of the bones to Pittsburgh, with the intention of forwarding them to Philadelphia, or where they could be profitably disposed of for scientific purposes. Unfortunately, this collection remained here until Thomas Ash, an Irish traveler, whose only claim to public notice is based on his literary piracies and base robbery of Dr. Goforth, met the collector. Insinuating himself into the confidence of his victim, Ash entered into a written engagement to secure the sale of these fossils for the benefit of the owner, for which the agent was to receive a percentage of the net proceeds. Thus gaining possession of the collection, Ash shipped it to New Orleans, where he refused an offer of $7,000 for it, and subsequently took it to England. Here he sold the valuable remains at a large price and pocketed the proceeds. Parts of this collection afterward found their way to the Royal College of Surgeons in London, to Dr. Blake, of Dublin, and to Prof. Monroe, of Edinburgh.

No complete description of these fossils exists, but in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, written in 1807, Dr. Goforth gives some interesting facts concerning them from memory: "The part of a head which

was in my possession, and which I thought to be the head of the mammoth, appeared small. I only possessed the maxilla superior and maxilla inferior, with the teeth. The maxilla superior was furnished with four large teeth, two on each side of the jaw; the two nearest the jaw were molars, and had two points or cones on each side of the tooth, making double processes thickly enameled on the cones or masticating surface. The maxilla inferior was in two parts naturally, teeth the same as in maxilla superior, and from the appearance of both jaws I concluded they had their full complement of teeth. —I judged the head to which these bones belonged was small, as I had teeth of the same kind more than five times the size of the largest in either jaw —each under jaw with the teeth weighing forty-eight pounds.

"I had a number of teeth ribbed transversely on the masticating surface, and enamelled, weighing from one and a half to twelve pounds each. Of the teeth of the mammoth kind, furnished with double coned or blunt pointer processes on the masticating surfaces, and thickly enamelled, and generally four processes for insertion in the jaw, as many as a wagon and four horses could draw, weighing from twelve to twenty pounds each.

"One small femoris, weight 31 pounds; 4 ribs, weight and length not recollected; they appeared to be so connected with the vertebræ as to throw their edge outward; one tusk, weighing 100 pounds, 21 inches in circumference in the middle, which was the thickest part; one other tusk, weight 150 pounds, 23 inches in circumference, and measuring 10 feet, 6 inches in length; its form thus—J; one horn 5 feet long, weight 21 pounds.

"The bones of one jaw nearly filled a flour barrel; it had four claws, and when the bones were regularly placed together, measured from the *os calcis* to the end of either middle claw 5 feet, 2 inches. The bones of this paw were similar to those of a bear's foot. Where I found these bones I found large quantities of bear's bones at the same time, and had opportunity of arranging and comparing the bones together, and the similarity was striking in every particular, except the size.

"The vertebræ of the back and neck, when arranged in order with the *os sacrum* and *coccygis*, measured nearly 60 feet, allowing for cartilages, though I am not confident the bones all belonged to one animal, and the number of vertebræ I cannot recollect. I had some thigh bones of incognita of a monstrous size when compared with my other bones, which I much regret I neither weighed nor measured, and a number of large bones so much impaired by time, it was fruitless to conjecture to what part of any animal they belonged."

A second collection was made by order of Mr. Jefferson, while he was president of the American Philosophical Society, about the year 1805, which was divided between that society and M. Cuvier, the distinguished French naturalist. A third collection was made in 1819, by the Western Museum Society, and in 1831 a fourth collection was made by Mr. Finnell. In 1840 it was estimated that the bones of 100 mastodons and of twenty elephants, besides other extinct species, had been collected here.

NOTE 6, PAGE 115.

Of the plain on which Louisville is built—including the sites of Portland and Shippingsport—2,000 acres were patented December 16, 1773, in the name of Dr. John Connolly, a surgeon's mate in the general hospital of the royal forces. On the same day 2,000 acres, adjoining and below the former, were patented to Charles de Warrenstaff, an ensign in the (royal) Pennsylvania regiment. In 1774 the latter conveyed his tract to Connolly and Col. John Campbell. In the following year Campbell purchased of Connolly an undivided half on the first mentioned 2,000 acres, and the 4,000 acres were partitioned in such a way that the upper and lower 1,000 acres fell to the share of Connolly. On July 1, 1780, owing to Dr. Connolly having previously been active in the cause of the crown, the upper 1,000 acres were escheated to the State, and Louisville established thereon by an act of the Virginia legislature. The other portion Connolly had conveyed to Campbell in 1778. The proof that any lots were sold on Bullitt's plan is entirely inferential, though reasonably certain. A new survey, however, was made in 1780 by Col. William Pope, and still another by William Peyton, subsequently. None of these early plats are preserved, however, and the earliest recorded plat to be found is that made in 1812 by Jared Brooks, which is just one-half of the 2,000 acres granted to Connolly. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 360.)

NOTE 7, PAGE 118.

The names of these first settlers have not all been preserved. From the examination of various depositions, Mr. Collins has discovered the following names: James Blair, James Brown, Abraham Chapline, John Clark, John Crawford, Jared Cowan, John Cowan, John Crow, Azariah Davis, William Fields, David Glenn, Thomas Glenn, Silas Harlan, James Harlan, James Harrod, Thomas Harrod, Evan (or John) Hinton, — Rees, John Shelp, James Wiley and John Wilson. Of Isaac Hite's company, the following are derived from the same authority: Robert Gilbert, James Hamilton, Isaac Hite, James Knox, James McColloch, Alexander Petrey, Jacob Sanduskey, James Sodousky, Benjamin Tutt and David Williams. (See Collins, Vol. II, p. 517.)

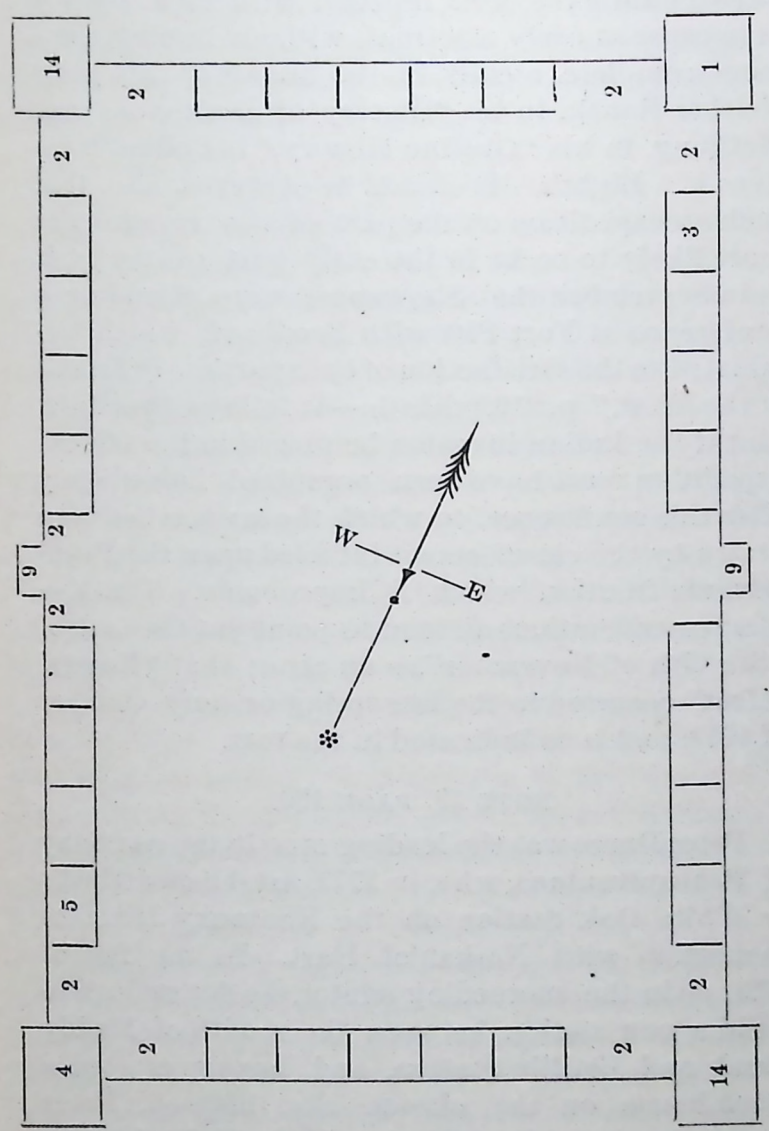
NOTE 8, PAGES 79–140.

At the subsequent meeting of the Indians held at Fort Stanwix, where negotiations were opened October 24, 1768, four grants were made by the Indians to the whites. One to the proprietors of Pennsylvania; one to George Croghan; one to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders; and one to his majesty, the king of England. A deed for the one to the traders was executed on the 3d of November, but Sir William Johnson and the commis-

sioners recommended that the chiefs of the Six Nations who had signed it, should carry it into congress and publicly acknowledge the execution of it, at the same time they executed the grant to the king of England and the proprietors of Pennsylvania. Accordingly, on November 5, these deeds being laid upon a table, were executed in the presence of the governor of New Jersey, the commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and other gentlemen present. The tract thus conveyed to the traders was between the Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers, and was by the traders named Indiana. It was subsequently practically confiscated by Virginia. (See "Plain Facts," published by R. Aitken, Philadelphia, 1781.)

NOTE 9, PAGE 143.

The dimensions are not found on the original draft but the general estimate of twenty feet for each cabin and opening would give the fort a length of about 260 feet and a breadth of 180 feet. The actual situation of the fort was so changed from the suggestion of the plan as to present the end of the structure toward the river. (Romance of Western History, p. 164.)



FORT AT BOONESBOROUGH.

1. Colonel Henderson's house.
2. Stockades
3. Colonel Henderson's kitchen.
4. Mr. Luttrell's house.
5. Mr. Luttrell's kitchen.
9. Fort gates.
14. Houses built for Cols. Hart and Williams.
Places not numbered, were cabins.

NOTE 10, PAGE 155.

The Girty family, of which this renegade was but one of several who achieved an infamous notoriety, is thus described by Judge Campbell: "Girty, the father, was an emigrant from Ireland, about eighty years ago, if report can be relied on. He settled in Pennsylvania, where that liberty he sought degenerated in his possession into the basest licentiousness. His hours were wasted in idleness and beastly intemperance. Nothing ranked higher in his estimation, or so entirely commanded his regard, as a jug of whisky. 'Grog was his song, and grog would he have.' His sottishness turned his wife's affection. Ready for seduction, she yielded her heart to a neighboring rustic, who, to remove all obstacles to their wishes, knocked Girty on the head and bore off the trophy of his prowess.

"He left four sons, Thomas, Simon, George and James. The three latter were taken prisoners by the Shawanese, Delawares and Senecas, in that war which developed the military talents of Gen. Washington. George was adopted by the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. He became a perfect savage, his manners being entirely Indian. To consummate cunning, he added the most fearless intrepidity. He fought in the battles of Kenhawa, Blue Licks and Sandusky, and gained himself much distinction for skill and bravery. In his latter years like his father, he gave himself up to intemperance and died drunk about twenty-five years ago on the Miami of the Lake.

"Simon was adopted by the Senecas, and became as expert a hunter as any of them. In Kentucky and Ohio, he sustained the reputation of an unrelenting barbarian. Forty-five years ago, with his name was associated everything cruel and fiend-like. To the women and children, in particular, nothing was more terrifying than the name of Simon Girty. At that time it was believed by many that he had fled from justice and sought refuge among the Indians, determined to do his countrymen all the harm in his power. This impression was an erroneous one. It is true he joined the Indians in their wars against the whites, and conformed to their usages. This was the education he had received, and those who were the foes of his brethren were also his foes. Although trained in all his pursuits as an Indian, it is said to be a fact, susceptible of proof, that through his importunities, many prisoners were saved from death. His influence was great, and when he chose to be merciful, it was generally in his power to protect the imploring captive. His reputation was that of an honest man. In the payment of his debts, he was scrupulously exact. Knowing and duly appreciating integrity, he fulfilled his engagement to the last cent. It is stated that on one occasion he sold his horse, rather than incur the odium of violating his promise.

"He was a great lover of rum; nothing could afford him more joy than a keg of this beverage. When intoxicated, in abuse he was indiscriminate sparing neither friends nor foes. Then it was he

had no compassion in his heart. Although much disabled by rheumatism for the last ten years of his life, he rode to his hunting grounds in pursuit of game. Suffering the most excruciating pains, he often boasted of his warlike spirit. It was his constant wish that he might breathe his last in battle. So it happened. He was at Proctor's defeat on the River Thames, and was cut to pieces by Col. Johnson's mounted men.

"James Girty fell into the hands of the Shawanese, who adopted him as a son. As he approached manhood, he became dextrous in all the arts of savage life. To the most sanguinary spirit he added all the vices of the depraved frontiersmen, with whom he frequently associated.

"It is represented that he often visited Kentucky at the time of its first settlement, many of the inhabitants feeling the effects of his courage and cruelty. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hands. His delight was in carnage. When unable to walk in consequence of disease, he laid low with his hatchet captive women and children, who came within his reach. Traders, who were acquainted with him, say that so furious was he, that he would not have turned on his heel to save a prisoner from the flames. His pleasure was to see new and refined tortures inflicted; and to perfect his gratification he frequently gave directions. To this barbarian are to be attributed many of the cruelties charged upon his brother Simon. Yet this monster was caressed by Elliott and Proctor." (See "Campbell's Remains," Columbus, 1838).

NOTE 11, PAGE 165.

This is not the view taken by the greater number of writers, who have had occasion to recount the events which follow. Indeed the order of these events is generally reversed, though it must be observed without very clear grounds for doing so. In any statement of the relation of "Rogers' defeat" and "Bowman's expedition," however, harmony is apparently to be secured only by arbitrary methods, and the order determined by the preponderance of circumstantial evidence. The confusion arrises from the careless and inadequate statement of the facts of McClung, p. 148. Marshall does not mention the first event; Butler does, pp. 102–4, and it is his narration which the text follows, avoiding the manifest error into which he is betrayed by adopting McClung's conclusion of the story.

The order followed in the text is based upon the following considerations: First.—McClung's narrative is found to contain such irreconcilable statements as to require some adjustments; the chief difficulty in the way of such adjustment being the date of Capt. Benham's rescue, *i. e.*, the "27th of November." Second.—Butler, by independent evidence (pp. 102–3), indicates that the boats proceeded up the river from the falls "in the spring of 1779." Third.—When the wounded men were discovered, they had only partially recovered from their wounds, and a period of about six weeks is generally assigned to the interval between the action and the rescue. Fourth.—Collins, Vol. II, p. 426, quotes the narrative of Samuel Frazee to the effect that he left the mouth of the Licking for Harrodsburg "to give the alarm of Indian depredations and expeditions." Returning with the volunteers to this point, the same narrator says: "We struck the trail of the red men, and followed it to Old Chillicothe," etc. Fifth.—Marshall, Vol. I, p. 91, and Butler, p. 108, place the march of Bowman's expedition in July; McClung, p. 113, in May. The former are accepted as correct. Sixth.—McClung speaks of the Indians as coming down the Little Miami in their retreat from Kentucky, a statement which is obviously a mistake. The natural correction seems to be that this band of "four or five hundred" Shawanese—Butler, p. 105—was on its way to attack the frontier posts in Kentucky; that falling in with Rogers, and achieving a signal victory, they accepted it as glory enough for one campaign, and retired — a proceeding entirely in accordance with their well-known practice. Seventh.—Such an explanation receives confirmation from the fact that it is clearly improbable that so large a force should have been repelled with such success as to cause so early a retreat, without finding some more complete record in the annals of this year. Neither Ranck, in his "History of Lexington," nor McClung, in his "Outline History," in Collins, mentions it. Eighth.—It should be observed, also, that such an expedition on the part of the savages was more likely to occur in the early part of the year, as in September the Shawanese were attending a conference at Fort Pitt with Brodhead, which terminated to the satisfaction of both parties. ("Annals of the West," p. 216.) Ninth.—It follows, therefore, that if the Indian invasion be placed in the fall the expedition must have been organized immediately after this conference, to which the savages had been drawn by the chastisement inflicted upon the Pennsylvania frontier, which is improbable. Tenth.—these considerations all tend to point out the date of "the 27th of November" as an error; that "Rogers' defeat" occurred in the late spring or early summer of 1779, and is so indicated in the text.

NOTE 12, PAGE 180.

Peter Duree was the leading man in the company of Pennsylvanians, who, in 1779, established Hart's or White Oak Station on the Kentucky River in connection with Nathaniel Hart. In the fall of 1781, or in the succeeding winter, he determined to build a new station between the mouth of Muddy Creek and Estill's Station, and, having erected a block-house on the chosen site, his son, Peter Duree, Jr., and his son-in-law, John Bullock, with their families, took possession of it. Here they were attacked by the Indians about the 20th of March. The men were outside of the cabin adjusting a hand-mill, when both were shot. After running a short distance toward the block-house Bullock fell, but Duree succeeded in reaching it and

throwing himself upon a bed. Mrs. Bullock, going to the door to ascertain the fate of her husband, received a shot in her breast, and fell dead upon the threshhold. Mrs. Duree, doubtful whether her husband had been wounded or had fainted, drew the murdered woman within the cabin and closed the door. Grasping a rifle, she told her husband she would help him to defend the cabin, when he told her he was wounded and dying. Presenting the gun in quick succession at the different port-holes, she turned to her dying husband, and calmly watched his life go out. After waiting several hours without seeing anything more of the Indians, she ventured out to go to the older station, carrying an infant in her arms, and leading a four-year-old son by her side. Avoiding the beaten track, she hurried through the forest, hoping to gain her destination unobserved. She struck the trail at some distance from her starting-point, however, and with her strength so far exhausted that she determined to follow it. A few miles further on she met the elder Peter Duree, with his wife and youngest son, on their way with their household effects to the new station. The shocking story which the poor refugee had to relate changed their course, and, unloading their horses in an adjacent cane-brake, the whole party hurried to White Oak Station, where they arrived before daylight.

NOTE 13, PAGE 181.

Of the five descriptions of this heroic encounter examined, no two agree upon all the essential points. That of R. H. Collins (Historical Sketches of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 634 *et seq.*), who bases his statements upon an examination of the evidence presented in the case of E. Crews *vs.* Crews Heirs and other equally authoritative data (see note, p. 636), is perhaps most entitled to credit. But this account is unfortunately marred by such carelessness of statement as to throw some doubt upon an otherwise consistent narrative. This will be observed in the last two paragraphs on page 234, which seem to indicate that a body of men who "pressed forward," consumed the time from "early next morning" till "an hour before sunset" in making the distance from Little Mountain to the scene of the battle, some two miles above Mount Sterling. If true, it is of sufficient importance to warrant the author in giving the reason for such an unusual delay, but it is probably an inaccuracy, in which the writer has fallen in amending the account as it existed in the original edition. Other accounts do not attempt to fix the hour of the engagement. It was probably somewhat earlier than "an hour before sunset;" it is more probable that it occurred an hour before sunrise. This time would satisfy all the conditions much better.

Authors differ in their characterization of Miller's conduct. A tradition is mentioned by Marshall which authorizes the statement that the lieutenant made the diversion as ordered, was met by the savages, and suffered the loss of three or four men killed or wounded. Besides its manifest improbability, this tradition is opposed by the almost unanimous conviction of the settlers and their descendants in the neighborhood of Estill's Station, and the subsequent action of Miller. For twenty years, it is said, one of the men wounded in the action patiently watched for Miller's return to Richmond, vowing to kill him on sight. "If he had met the threatened fate, no jury in Madison County would have convicted Cook—so intense was, and to this day is, * * * * the detestation for those who shamefully retreated." Miller did not return to Richmond.

There is a wide disagreement as to the date of the encounter. Marshall (Vol. I, p. 126) places the event in May, 1782, and Butler quotes his account without remark. The question seems to be authoritatively settled, and a sufficient warrant for the prominence accorded this inconclusive skirmish in history is given in the decision of Chief Justice Robertson, in the case of Conley's Heirs *vs.* Chiles, found in the 5th Marshall's Reports (note p. 124, Butler), the chief justice said: The battle was fought on the 22d of March, 1782. in the new county of Montgomery, and in the vicinity of Mount Sterling. It is a memorable incident, and perhaps one of the most memorable in the interesting history of the settlement of Kentucky. The usefulness and popularity of Capt. Estill; the deep and universal sensibility excited by the premature death of a citizen so gallant and so beloved; the emphatic character of his associates in battle; the masterly skill and chivalric daring displayed throughout the action ("every man to his man, and each to his tree"); the grief and despondence produced by the catastrophe, all contribute to give to "Estill's defeat" a most signal notoriety and importance, especially among the "early settlers." All the story, with all the circumstances of locality, and of "the fight," was told and told again and again, until even children knew it "by heart." No legendary tale was ever listened to with as intense anxiety, or was inscribed in as vivid and indelible an impress on the hearts of the few of both sexes, who then constituted the hope and the strength of Kentucky.

Such is the traditional as well as the recorded history of this sanguinary battle between the white men and the Indians; and such, too, is the testimony embodied in this cause.

NOTE 14, PAGE 182.

The details in regard to the attack on Bryant's or Bryan's Station are involved in the greatest confusion. According to Marshall the Indians attacked the station on the 15th, after the settlers had engaged in their ordinary work for the day, and continued their investment of the place until "the morning of the fourth day." Butler describes the enemy as approaching the fort in the darkness of the night of the 14th, and maintaining their siege until the morning of the fourth day, the 18th inst. McClung says the Indians came on the night of the

14th, and implies that they left on the morning of the 16th. Gov. Morehead, who had access to statements of those who were actors in the events of this period, agrees with McClung. Boone's narrative says the attack took place on the 15th, and that the enemy retired on the 17th, but in his letter, quoted below (note 15), he says the attack was on the 16th, and the retreat "about 10 o'clock the next day." An account by one who was present, quoted from Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany (Vol. I, page 236) makes the attack occur on the 16th, and the retreat "before daylight." on the 17th.

Later writers here generally accepted the night of the 14th, as the date of the arrival of the Indians, though why this rather than the 16th is not clear. By the concurrent testimony of McClung, Morehead, Boone and Cist's Miscellany, the period of active hostilities extended only through one day. The relieving party arrived on the next day, and on the third day fought the battle at the Lower Blue Lick. The date of the battle is invariably fixed on the 19th, and the date of the arrival of the force from Lexington and the beginning of the pursuit, on the 18th. This will be found the case in Marshall, Butler, McClung, Morehead, Collins, Perkins' "Annals of the West," Ranck's "History of Fayette County, Ky.," McKnight's "Our Western Border," and Shaler's "Kentucky." If these dates may be considered established, it follows that the attack occurred on the 17th, and the approach of the enemy on the night before, as in the text.

NOTE 15, PAGE 188.

The various writers who have recounted the battle of Blue Lick differ in their account of the opening details. The common narrative is given by Marshall, Stipp (Miscellany, Xenia, Ohio, 1827), McClung and Cooper. They represent the whole army following McGary in headlong confusion, without previous examination of the locality by scouts, or halt until confronted by the enemy. Boone's account in a letter to the governor of Virginia is as follows:

BOONE'S STATION, FAYETTE CO., August 30, 1782.

Sir:—Present circumstances of affairs cause me to write to your Excellency as follows: On the 16th inst, a large number of Indians with some white men attacked one of our frontier stations, known by the name of Bryan's Station. The siege continued from about sunrise till about 10 o'clock the next day, when they marched off.

Notice being given to the neighboring stations, we immediately raised 181 horsemen, commanded by Col. John Todd, including some of the Lincoln County militia, commanded by Col. Trigg, and having pursued about forty miles, on the 19th inst. we discovered the enemy lying in wait for us. On this discovery we formed our columns into one single line and marched up to their front within about forty yards before there was a guu fired. Col. Trigg commanded on the right, myself on the left, Maj. McGary in the center, and Maj. Harlan, the advance party, in the front.

From the manner in which we had formed, it fell to my lot to bring on the attack. This was done with a very heavy fire on both sides, and extended back of the line to Col. Trigg, where the enemy was so strong that they rushed up and broke the right wing at the first fire. Thus the enemy got in our rear, and we were compelled to retreat with the loss of seventy-seven of our men and twelve wounded.

Afterward we were enforced by Col. Logan, which made our force 460 men. We marched again to the battle-ground, but finding that the enemy had gone we proceeded to bury the dead. We found forty-three on the ground, and many lay about which we could not stay to find, hungry and weary as we were, and somewhat dubious that the enemy might not have gone off quite. By the sign we thought the Indians had exceeded 400, while the whole of the militia of this county does not amount to more than 130.

From these facts your Excellency may form an idea of our situation. I know that your own circumstances are critical, but are we to be wholly forgotten? I hope not. I trust about 500 men may be sent to our assistance immediately. If these shall be stationed as our county lieutenants shall deem necessary, it may be the means of saving our part of the country, but if they are placed under the direction of Gen. George Rogers Clark they will be of little or no service to our settlement. The falls lie 100 miles west of us, and the Indians northeast, while our men are frequently called to protect them. I have encouraged the people in this county all that I could, but can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thought of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case it will break up these settlements. I hope, therefore, your Excellency will take the matter into your consideration, and send us some relief as quickly as possible.

These are my sentiments without consulting any person. Col. Logan will, I expect, immediately send you an express, by whom I humbly request your Excellency's answer. In the meanwhile

I remain, DANIEL BOONE.

In this letter it will be observed Boone does not mention McGary's reckless conduct, and leaves it to be inferred that the battle was brought on by the determination of the council and in regular order. That it was begun in regular order receives confirmation from "a distinguished citizen of Kentucky" whom Mr. Collins quotes (Vol. II, p. 659). This gentleman gained his information from participants in the battle, and agrees with the accounts given from actors in this scene by Kenton and Clark.

Morehead, whom the text follows, takes a middle course; notes the precipitate action of McGary, but describes the final approach in accordance with Boone's account. This account raises the questions whether McGary would be likely to stop when once started in his mad career, and whether, if McGary did act the part generally assigned to him, Boone would be likely to omit all mention of it. To the latter it may be replied that Boone aimed only to give the outlines of the event, and omits many undoubtedly authentic details which have been recorded by the historians; that his purpose was not to make an official report, but to picture the general situation, and on his own responsibility to seek relief for the alarmed settlers; and that if the fact be as Marshall states, McGary's action would not appear of such importance as to be noted in the letter referred to.

Whether McGary would be any more amenable to reason after crossing the river than before, is a question for the decision of which there exists no evidence. It may be supposed, however, that the crossing may have given the crowd which followed him an opportunity for a sober second thought, and the "Rubicon" having been passed, they may have been inclined to accept the precautionary measures offered.

There is little reason to doubt that McGary forced the fighting in some way contrary to the calmer judgment of his superiors, and that by his contemporaries he was generally held responsible, to a large degree, for the disaster which followed. This responsibility, it is said, he defended rather than denied, and in so doing, aspersed the character of Todd, a proceeding which seems to make his culpability more probable. Butler (p. 129) refers to his defense as a tradition in which it was held that he "counseled a delay at Bryant's Station for twenty-four hours, until Logan could arrive with his powerful re-enforcement. This was rather tauntingly rejected, as it is alleged, by Col. Todd, who, in the honorable ambition of a brave man, was fearful of the escape of the Indians, and was apprehensive that he should lose this opportunity of distinguishing himself, by the arrival of his senior colonel." This view is not at all in keeping with the known character of the respective officers. McGary was of a reckless disposition, insubordinate, quarrelsome in his relations to his superiors. Todd was of a quiet, judicial temperament, and unselfish in his public and private life. Of this there is abundant evidence. It is true that Logan ranked higher in public esteem as an Indian fighter than any, save Clark, on the border, but Cooper is authority for the statement that Logan was not certainly expected, and as a matter of fact Todd was not only colonel in the militia, but also in the State line, which made him Logan's senior. In this connection, Mr. Charles McKnight ("Our Western Border," p. 283) relates: "Several years after the battle of the Blue Lick, a gentleman of Kentucky, since dead, fell in company of McGary at one of the circuit courts, and the conversation soon turned on the battle. McGary frankly acknowledged that he was the immediate cause of the loss of blood on that day, and with great heat and energy, assigned his reasons for urging on the battle. He said that in the hurried council that was held at Bryant's, on the 18th, he strenuously urged Todd and Trigg to halt for twenty-four hours, assuring them that with the aid of Logan, they would be able to follow them even to Chillicothe if necessary, and that their numbers then were too weak to encounter them alone. He offered, he said, to pledge his head that the Indians would not return with such precipitation as was supposed, but would afford ample time to collect more force, and give them battle with a prospect of success.

"He added that Col. Todd scouted his arguments and declared that, if a single day were lost, the Indians would never be overtaken; but would cross the Ohio and disperse; that now was the time to strike them, while they were in a body; that to talk of their numbers was nonsense, the more the merrier; that for his part he determined to pursue them without a moment's delay and did not doubt that there were brave men enough on the ground to enable him to attack them with effect." McGary declared that he felt somewhat nettled at the manner in which his advice had been received; that he thought Todd and Trigg jealous of Logan, who, as senior colonel, would be entitled to the command on his arrival; and that, in their eagerness to have the honor of victory to themselves, they were rashly throwing themselves into a condition which would endanger the safety of the country.

" 'However, sir' (continued he, with an air of unamiable triumph) 'when I saw the gentlemen so keen for a fight, I gave way, and joined in the pursuit as willingly as any; but when we came in sight of the enemy, and the gentlemen began to talk of numbers, position, Logan and waiting, I burst into a passion, d——d them for a set of cowards, who could not be wise until they were scared into it, and swore that since they had come so far for a fight, they *should fight*, or I would disgrace them forever. That when I spoke of waiting for Logan on the day before, they had scouted the idea, and hinted about courage, that now it would be shown who had courage, or who were d——d cowards, who could talk big when the enemy were at a distance, but turned pale when danger was near. I then dashed into the river, and called upon all who were not cowards to follow.' The gentleman, upon whose authority this is given, added that even then, McGary spoke with bittnerness of the deceased colonels, and swore that they had received just what they deserved, and that he, for one, was glad of it."

Such a statement can scarcely be credited, but if it be true, as there are indications that it is, it leaves nothing further wanting to mark McGary as the willful murderer of his comrades and the malicious slanderer of the noble dead.

The loss of the Indians is stated generally as equal to that of the whites. This appears incredible when the number and advantageous position of the savages are considered. Logan found no Indian burials, and but few trails of blood, but Boone states in his narrative that on numbering their dead the Indians discovered that their loss exceeded the whites by four, and therefore four of the prisoners were, by general consent, ordered to be killed. This is confirmed by the statement of prisoners who were exchanged in the next year. The loss of the Indians referred to, however, may have included the casualties received in both the battle of the Blue Lick and before Bryan's Station. In the latter engagement the whites had only two killed in the station, while the savages are believed to have lost

heavily. The losses in the two battles may have been equalized in the manner stated.

NOTE 16, PAGE 195.

In 1802 F. A. Michaux, M. D., a distinguished French naturalist, made a tour of the newer portions of the United States under the auspices of the French minister of the interior, and subsequently recorded the result of his observations in a volume printed in Paris. This was translated into English by B. Lambert, and published at London in 1805. It is from this work that the following extract is made:

The Barrens or meadows of Kentucky comprise an extent of sixty or seventy miles in length by fifty or sixty in breadth. From the signification of the word I expected to cross a bare tract, with a few plants scattered here and there upon it; and in this opinion I was supported by the notion which some of the inhabitants had given me of these meadows before I reached them. They told me that at this season (28th of August) I should perish with heat and thirst, and that I should not meet with any shade the whole length of the road, for the greater number of the Americans who live in woods have no conception that countries can exist that are entirely free from them, and still less that they can be habitable. Instead of finding a country such as described to me, I was agreeably surprised to see a beautiful meadow well covered with grass of two or three feet in height, which is used to feed cattle. A great variety of plants also grow here. * * * In some parts of these meadows several species of wild creeping vines are met with, and particularly that called by the inhabitants summer grapes. These grapes are as large and of as good a quality as those from the vineyards in the neighborhood of Paris, with this difference, that they are not so close upon the bunches.

* * * * * *

The Barrens are circumscribed within a chain of woods two or three miles in breadth, forming a continuation of the forests which cover the country. The trees comprising them are not very close, and their distances from each other increase in approaching the meadows. On the Tennessee side this chain is formed exclusively of post oaks, *Quercus obtusiloba*, the wood of which being very hard and not perishing easily is preferred to all others in the formation of fences. * * * Here and there through the meadows are also to be seen black oaks, *Quercus nigra*, and walnuts, *Juglans hickery*, which rise to about twelve or fifteen feet; sometimes they form small groves, but always so far asunder as not in any way to interrupt the sight. With the exception of little sallows about two feet high, *Salix longrostris*, and some sumachs, there is not any shrub to be seen. The surface of these meadows is in general very even; but toward the Dripping Spring I observed a long and high hill, slightly covered with wood and with enormous detached rocks which are visible from the road.

There appears to be a great number of subterraneous caverns in the Barrens, some of which are very near the surface. A short time before I passed this way, one of them sunk in the road near Bears' Wallow, under the feet of a traveler, who only escaped by a most fortunate chance. The danger of such accidents in a country where the habitations are so remote from each other, and where, perhaps, a traveler does not pass once in fifteen days, may be conceived.

There are also to be seen in these meadows broken holes of the shape of a funnel, the breadth of which varies, according to the depth, from fifteen to thirty feet. In some of these cavities, at five or six feet from the bottom, there is a small, trickling stream of water, which is totally lost in the crevice at the lower extremity of the funnel. These kind of streams never dry up, which has induced several of the inhabitants to settle in their vicinity; for except the Big Barren River, I did not discover the smallest brook or creek through all these plains. Neither have I heard of any attempt having been made to dig wells; and, therefore, can form no judgmen of the success of the trials, which will doubtless be hereafter made. From these observations it is evident that the want of water, and of wood fit for fences, will long be an obstacle to the increase of the establishments in this part of Kentucky.* * * The Barrens are therefore at present very thinly inhabited in comparison with their extent; for on the road, where the plantations are the most contiguous, there are only eighteen in a space of seventy miles.

Some of the inhabitants divide the land of the Barrens of Kentucky into three classes, according to their qualities, and in their opinion the middle class occupies the largest part of them. That part which I crossed, where the soil is yellowish and a little gravelly, seemed to be very well calculated for the culture of wheat. * * * * * *

Every year, in the course of the months of March and April, the inhabitants set fire to the herbage, which at that period is dry, and the extreme length of which would deprive the cattle, for a fortnight or three weeks longer, of the new grass, which then begins to shoot. This custom is, however, generally blamed, and with reason; for, being set fire to early, the grass dries, and, in consequence of its drooping, does not protect the rising crop from the spring frosts, and its vegetation retarded. This custom was formerly practiced by the natives, who came to hunt in these countries, and is still continued by them in other parts of North America, where there are savannahs of vast extent. Their object in setting fire to them is to attract the stags, bison, etc., into the burnt parts, when they can perceive them at a distance.

No idea can be formed of these dreadful conflagrations without having seen them. The flame, which generally occupies a line of several miles in extent, is sometimes driven forward with such rapidity that men on horseback have become their prey

The American hunters and the savages preserve themselves from this danger by a method as simple as ingenious; they immediately set fire to that part of the meadow in which they happen to be, and afterward retreat to this burnt spot, where the flame, which threatened them, stops for want of fuel. This is what the Canadian hunters call making their own fire.—*Michaux's Travels*, pp. 182–190.

NOTE 17, PAGE 195.

The early promise of success in grape culture was not confirmed by experience. Nearly eighteen years after Imlay wrote, Michaux recorded the result of the "agitation," to which the text refers: I left Lexington for Nashville, in the State of Tennessee, on the 10th of August, wrote the French traveler, and as the establishment formed for naturalizing the vine in Kentucky was only a few miles out of my road, I determined to visit it. * * *

At fourteen miles from Lexington, I quitted the road to Hickman's Ferry. I turned to the left and lost myself in the middle of the woods, so that I did not reach the vineyard until evening, where I was very politely received by M. Dufour, who directs the undertaking. He invited me to sleep there and pass the following day with him, which I accepted.

There is a public spirit in the United States which causes them to seize with avidity every prospect tending to enrich the country by agriculture or commerce. That of acclimating the vine in Kentucky was eagerly received. Several individuals formed themselves into a society to carry it into execution, and it was determined to raise a capital of 10,000 piasters (dollars,) divided into 200 shares of 50 piasters each. This subscription was soon filled. M. Defour, the principal of a small Swiss colony, who had established himself seven or eight years before in Kentucky, and was the proposer of this scheme, was employed to look for a suitable soil to procure some plants, and to do everything which he might judge necessary to insure success. The spot which he had selected and cleared was situated on the River Kentucky, twenty miles from Lexington. The soil is excellent, and the vines are planted on a small hill with a steep declivity, exposed to the south, and the base of which is about 200 toises (a fathom, six French feet, or 6.39459 English feet) from the river.

M. Dufour intended to pass into France to procure the vine plants, and with this view he went to New York, but the war or some other cause, with which I am unacquainted, prevented him, and he contented himself with procuring there and at Philadelphia plants of every species, which he could obtain from individuals who had them in their gardens. He collected twenty-five species, which he brought to Kentucky, where he has endeavored to multiply them. But his success is not equal to his attention; not more than four or five varieties are left, among which are those which he calls by the names of Burgundy and Madeira, and the first does not thrive well; the fruit always rots before it arrives at maturity. When I saw them the bunches were few and stinted, the grapes small, and everything appeared as though the vintage of the year 1802 would not be more abundant than those of the preceding years. The Madeira vines, on the contrary, seemed to give some hopes of 150 or 200 plants—about a third were loaded with very fine grapes. These vines do not occupy a space of more than six acres; they are planted and supported by props, as in the environs of Paris. The vicinity of the woods attracts a species of bird which is very destructive to them, and the nature of the country is a great obstacle to getting freed from them.

Such was then the situation of this establishment, in which the proprietors took but slight interest, and which was likely to meet with another hindrance in the division of M. Dufour's family, a part of which was on the point of quitting it to settle on the banks of the Ohio. These details are sufficient to give a very different idea of the state of the pretended flourishing vines of Kentucky, from that which may have been formed on the pompous accounts of them some months ago in the public papers.—*Michaux's Travels*, pp. 163–167.

NOTE 18, PAGE 199.

The decade which preceded Kenton's removal from Kentucky, marked the culmination and rapid decline of his fortunes. He had entered large tracts of land, which the continued immigration greatly enhanced in value. On the site of his old blockhouse, near Washington, he erected a fine brick residence, which became widely noted for the open-handed hospitality dispensed by its owner. But this prosperity was only short-lived. The great tide of immigration, which at first contributed so largely to his prosperity finally proved his ruin. Land became more scarce, and the greedy speculator began to invade his domains and involve him in legal difficulties, to which his ignorance and credulity made him an easy victim. One after another of his possessions were wrested from him on legal informalities, until not only was his valuable property absorbed, but even his body taken to satisfy the warranty of deeds to land which he had given away. Thus, four years after the general pacification of the Indians had promised him a life of ease, dearly earned by twenty years of constant danger and hardship, he found himself beggared by land suits.

In this predicament he turned to Ohio, where he had previously pushed his speculations. Here, in 1799, he "took up" land and began anew, settling, in 1802, near Urbana. His misfortunes still followed him, and it was not until 1820, when he moved to the head-waters of the Mad River, in Logan County, and entered land in the name of his wife and children, that he escaped the persecutions of the malign spirit which presided over the lands of Kentucky. In all this trouble he never inveighed against the injustice of his country, which to his exalted patriotism, seemed incapable of doing

wrong. In 1805, he was made brigadier-general of Ohio militia, and was ready at all times to give his services in defense of the frontier. On the breaking out of hostilities in 1812, he was anxious to take part in the military operations, and in the succeeding year, when Gov. Shelby led the Kentucky troops northward, he joined them with his rifle and horse as a volunteer, though constrained to act as a privileged member of the Governor's military family. In this capacity he was present at the battles of the Thames and of the Moravian town, where he displayed his old-time courage and address. With this he ended his military career.

In 1824 he made his first visit to Kentucky after his removal from that State. Certain mountainous lands of little value, which had, on that account, escaped the voracity of the land-hunters, had become forfeited to the State for unpaid taxes. To seek the release of this last vestige of his Kentucky fortunes, he was induced to undertake the journey alone. He made his way to Frankfort, where the legislature was in session, with as little idea of what steps were to be taken to effect his wishes as a child. On reaching his destination, he found himself an utter stranger. His worn out horse and tattered garments proclaimed his fallen fortunes, while his simple, dazed manner sharpened the curiosity of those who observed his entry into the town. Aimlessly wandering in the street, peering into each face for some familiar countenance, and followed by a crowd of curious urchins, the old white-haired man was at length recognized by Gen. Thomas Fletcher, who provided him with decent clothing, and took the old pioneer home for entertainment. His presence was soon noised abroad, and large numbers came to greet the renowned hunter and scout. He was taken to the capitol and placed in the speaker's chair, where the leading members of the government, as well as prominent citizens, were introduced to him. This spontaneous courtesy completely won his heart, and the simple-hearted old man counted this the proudest day of his life. His lands were promptly released by the State, and in the same year, through the exertions of Judge Burnett, of Cincinnati, and Gov. Vance, of Ohio, then members of congress, the United States granted Kenton a pension of $20 a month. This thoughtful provision enabled the old pioneer to end his days free from want. He died April 29, 1836, a victim of the cholera, which prevailed in this year.

Kenton married Elizabeth Jarbo, probably in Kentucky, by whom he had several children, though, strange to say, of all the notices of his eventful career to be found in the various encyclopedias and reviews, these important details omitted by his biographer have been supplied in none. His descendants subsequently moved to Indiana. McDonald, who became acquainted with the veteran pioneer in 1789, and knew him well during the remainder of his life, writes thus of his character and general appearance: "Gen. Kenton was of fair complexion, six feet one inch in height. He stood and walked very erect, and in the prime of life weighed about 190 pounds. He never was inclined to be corpulent, although of sufficient fullness to form a graceful person. He had a soft, tremulous voice, very pleasing to the hearer. He had laughing grey eyes, which appeared to fascinate the beholder. He was a pleasant, good-humored and obliging companion. When excited or provoked to anger (which was seldom the case) the fiery glance of his eye would almost curdle the blood of those with whom he came in contact. His rage, when roused, was a tornado. In his dealing he was perfectly honest; his confidence in man and his credulity were such that the same man might cheat him twenty times, and if he professed friendship he might cheat him still." His remains still rest in the obscurity of his unmarked grave in Ohio.

NOTE 19, PAGE 200.

On leaving Kentucky, Boone seems to have been swayed by alternating impulses, which carried him hither and thither, the prey of conflicting desires. In April, 1794, he is found at Point Pleasant, in western Virginia; in February, 1796, a few miles from Paris, Bourbon Co., Ky.; in April, 1797, floating down the Ohio River in a canoe, bound for that part of the Spanish possessions now known as Missouri. In all these wanderings his wife was his devoted companion, and in the last named year this aged couple found a resting place with their son, Daniel, Jr.

It appears that the venerable pioneer had received assurances from the governor of upper Louisiana that a liberal grant of land should be awarded him and his family. Ten thousand acres of choice land were accordingly marked out on the Missouri River, and given him for his individual use, but the title was never completed, as it could only be done by a trip to New Orleans, which Boone unfortunately failed to make. He became a citizen of Spain, and was appointed syndic or chief of the district of St. Charles. For a time prosperity seemed to shine upon him; he once more enjoyed the unbounded freedom of the woods, and with his rifle and traps earned sufficient to pay the debts which he was obliged to leave unsettled on his removal from Kentucky. It is said, he one day suddenly appeared amid the scenes of his pioneer labors, clad and armed as of old, sought out his various creditors, and taking their account of his indebtedness, paid each one in full, disappearing as suddenly as he came.

But the settlements began once more to intrude upon his hunting grounds. The territory was ceded to the French, and then to the United States. Longer trips were necessary for his hunting and trapping excursions, which took him far up the Missouri River and its tributaries. On one occasion he went to the Osage, accompanied only by a negro

lad. Having pitched his camp he was suddenly taken sick, and continued seriously ill for so long a time that the old woodsman thought the end was approaching. One pleasant day, when feeling somewhat stronger, he took his attendant to a slight eminence, and imperturbably marked out his own grave, and gave minute directions in regard to the distribution of his personal effects, and the manner of his burial. This done, he returned to his camp to await the arrival of the "awful summons," but his strong vitality weathered the storm, and he recovered to live some years.

About 1810 he again fell a victim to his incapacity for business affairs. Settlers intruded upon his land, and when he laid his claim before the commissioners of land claims, appointed by congress, they were compelled by their instructions to reject it, because he had failed to settle on and cultivate the land. These were the usual conditions annexed by the Spanish to their grants of land, but in the case of Boone, his official duties in the Spanish government requiring his residence elsewhere, these conditions were dispensed with. However, his failure to complete his title of gift, and his failure to occupy the land claimed, defeated his case before the commissioners. He, therefore, memorialized congress to afford relief, and "left once more, at about the age of eighty, to be a wanderer in the world," he prayed the legislature of Kentucky "to support his application to congress by their aid and influence." This petition promptly received the favorable attention of the legislature, and its instruction to the Kentucky senators and representatives in congress to use their exertions to secure a confirmation of the Spanish grant, or a suitable quantity as a donation, was prefaced by a tribute to the "many eminent services rendered by Col. Daniel Boone," which was alike honorable to the sentiment which moved the assembly and grateful to the simple, guileless spirit, whose keen sagacity and generous bravery had done so much for the infant fortunes of the commonwealth. It is pleasant to record that this effort on the part of the assembly was crowned with success. On February 10, 1814, congress granted Boone, as a donation, 1,000 arpens of land.

His old misfortunes still followed him. Not only did he lose the lands which he called his own, but such as he had sold became a source of loss and trouble. In selling these he gave a "warrantee deed," and subsequently when the original title proved invalid, under the jugglery of the Virginia law, he was obliged to part with his late grant from the United States to satisfy the purchaser. A greater misfortune befel Boone, however, about 1813, in the death of his aged wife. He mourned her loss as one who "would not be comforted," and from this event forward his spirit seems to have been completely broken. He took up his residence with his son, Nathan, and sought forgetfulness in long hunting excursions, which he extended in 1816 as far as Fort Osage, on the Kansas River, a hundred miles from his home. In these expeditions he was accompanied by an attendant who was bound by a written agreement to return his body, wherever he might die, to be buried beside his wife. But the infirmities of age curbed, at last, even the untiring energies of this indefatigable man. Obliged to forego his hunting excursions, and unable to walk far, he would sit at his cabin door for hours at a time, his trusty rifle across his knee, and his eyes directed toward the forest with a dreamy gaze, while in fancy he lived again amid the stirring scenes of his vigorous manhood.

His narrative, preserved by Filson, was a constant source of enjoyment to the kind-hearted old man, and he was never more gratified than when some friend would read to him the meager story of his eventful life. He listened with the keenest interest, occasionally rubbing his hands with excess of satisfaction, and ejaculate, "All true, every word true; not a lie in it." But while thus pleased with the record of his exploits, he seldom spoke of himself, save when particularly questioned. It was the printed memorial that "completely overcame the cold philosophy of his general manner, and he seemed to think it a master-piece of composition."

In 1819 an American artist, prompted by a patriotic wish to preserve the portrait of this notable man, visited him in Missouri, and communicated the following description of his surroundings to Gov. Morehead, who embodied it in his address: "He found him in a small rude cabin, indisposed and resting on his bed. A slice from the loin of a buck, twisted round the rammer of his rifle, within reach of him as he lay, was roasting before the fire. Several other cabins, arranged in the form of a parallelogram, marked the spot of a dilapidated station. They were occupied by the descendants of the pioneer. Here he lived in the midst of his posterity. His withered energies and locks of snow indicated that the sources of existence were nearly exhausted." A fever terminated his life on September 26, 1820, at the house of his son-in-law, Flanders Callaway, in Charette Village, on the Missouri River. He was buried by the side of his wife.

The legislature in session at St. Louis, on the announcement of this event, adjourned for the day in token of respect to his memory, and wore the usual badge of mourning for twenty days. In Kentucky no special observance of the event was made for some years. In its session of 1844–45, the Kentucky legislature adopted measures to have the mortal remains of the celebrated pioneer and his wife removed from Missouri to the public cemetery at Frankfort. On the 13th of September, 1845, these efforts were consummated by the elaborate obsequies with which the remains of the pioneer couple were placed in their new resting place. Since then a handsome monument has been erected, which, though somewhat marred by time, and relic hunters, still remains to mark the resting place of Daniel and Rebecca Boone.

NOTE 20, PAGE 202.

It is probable that Harrod's life was ended by murder. He had had a suit at law with one Bridges, in regard to some property, the result of which had produced a bitter enmity between the two litigants. They had not spoken to each other for some time, when, one day in 1793, Bridges returned after several weeks' absence, and, professing to wish a reconciliation, disclosed to Harrod that he had discovered an abandoned silver mine, of which there was a current tradition, and solicited him to furnish the capital to work it. Harrod's wife earnestly opposed his going alone with Bridges to examine the alleged discovery, and prevailed on him to allow a third person to join the investigation.

On reaching the Three-Forks of the Kentucky River, in the vicinity of which the mine was supposed to be located, the company halted, prepared a camp, and then set out in quest of game, each one pursuing his own course. Bridges and Harrod were not widely separated and proceeded some distance from camp, while the third man explored the less remote regions. He soon heard the report of a gun in the direction and about the vicinity he supposed Harrod was, and thinking he had secured a deer, returned to camp. Here he found Bridges apparently greatly alarmed; he said he had seen fresh Indian "signs," and believed Harrod had been killed; and insisted upon a precipitate retreat, in spite of the earnest remonstrance of his companion, who, rather than be left alone, soon followed to the settlements.

Bridges subsequently sold a quantity of furs to a hatter in Lexington, and at the same time disposed of a pair of silver buttons engraved with the letter H. These being sent to Mrs. Harrod, she instantly recognized them as the ones the colonel had worn in his linen hunting-shirt, when he set out on the expedition. A party of men at once set out for the Three-Forks, where they discovered the bones of a human being, picked bare by the wild beasts of the woods, but a hunting-shirt with the buttons gone remained, and was identified as belonging to Harrod. In the meanwhile, Bridges took the alarm, left the country, and was never more heard of. (See Dr. Graham's narrative in Collins, Vol. II, p. 614.)

NOTE 21, PAGE 208.

The "Kentucky boat," or "broad horn," was a flat-boat, constructed upon the crudest principles of naval architecture. Until 1800, it was the only traffic boat on the western rivers, but at this time the "keel-boat" was introduced, which gradually superseded its predecessor in the public service, although flat-boats were found on the Mississippi in considerable numbers until the steam-boat ended the career of all such craft,

The numerous water-ways and the utter lack of roads made travel and transportation by water an early necessity, and the flat-boat was an outgrowth of the self-help of the pioneers. It was earliest in demand as a means to transport immigrants and their goods to Kentucky, which gave rise to its name. At first these boats were constructed by those who had need of them, but immigration subsequently increased to such an extent that their construction became one of the more prominent industries of Brownsville and Pittsburgh, Penn., and of Wheeling, W. Va. The business was not confined to these points, however, and almost every settlement upon the navigable portion of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers, did more or less of boat building. Subsequently, when the "keel-boat" became prominent, the flat-boat lost its distinctive name, and was chiefly used by the farmers and merchants of Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana to convey their produce to the New Orleans market.

The form of these boats was a parallelogram, varying in length from fifteen to fifty feet, and in width from ten to fifteen feet, affording a capacity which varied from fifty to 500 tons burthen. On the Kentucky and Illinois Rivers they were sometimes built seventy-five feet long, and carried from 2,000 to 5,000 bushels of grain. The method and style of construction was simple, and suited to the meager resources of the times. The plan was to take a fine poplar or sycamore tree, hew it in rectangular shape about eighteen by twenty-four inches. This was split through the middle, leaving strips about twelve by eighteen inches and of varying length to suit the boat. These formed the gunwales, and constituted the main strength of the boat. The heart side was placed outward, amd on the inner corner was cut a "gain" large enough to allow the two-inch flooring to rest in it, and come to the level of the bottom of the gunwale. The width of the boat was established by cross pieces framed in the gunwales at moderate distances apart. Lengthwise the boat was further strengthened by "streamers" running parallel with the gunwales about four feet apart. Upon this framework, securely framed and fastened together, flooring of two-inch oak planks was laid double, pinned with wooden pins and heavy nails.

The boat, thus far constructed, was bottom side up, and after being well caulked, the difficulty encountered was to turn it over to be finished and launched. Among the farmers the practice was to choose a location on the bank of the river convenient for launching, and when the work reached this stage to turn it on the land, though the more skillful turned it on the water. If it was done on the land, the men of the neighborhood were invited, and all joined in lifting one side of the wooden leviathan, and letting it fall over on brush heaps and a multitude of hoop-poles, somewhat inclined to break its fall. This was attended with considerable risk of damage, and the other way was preferred. That was to place a temporary board railing on one side and the ends. Against this railing an embankment of earth was placed on the boat, and thus prepared, it was launched into the stream and towed by yawls into deep water. The side of

the boat, weighted with earth was placed up stream across the current, and while held in this position the embankment was broken in two places, to allow the water to find its way into the boat. The weight of the earth held this side lower than the other, to which was added the weight of the admitted water; this resulted in such a depression of this side as to give the current such hold of the structure as to turn it under the stream, when, the dirt falling off, it righted with the proper side uppermost. Great care was necessary to prevent the embankment from being prematurely broken, and for those who managed the turning to escape a serious wetting by leaping into a small boat kept near at hand.

When turned, it was hauled ashore by a cable previously fastened to it, and then completed. The gunwales were trimmed off at the prow to give the boat the proper "rake;" sides about four feet high were added by nailing clapboards on studding, framed in the sills or gunwales, and caulking applied to the first and second joints from the bottom, and sometimes higher. In case of boats bound for New Orleans, about three feet of the prow was left uninclosed to prevent snags piercing into the cargo. The inclosed portion was roofed over with boards projecting over the sides to shed the water perfectly, and rounded from one side to the other, the center being about five and a half to six feet high. This was the rule in case of traffic boats, but in other cases only the cabin was provided with roof. This was located at the stern, about six feet of which was devoted to bunks, a stone fireplace with "cat and clay" chimney. Emigrant boats were made to resemble a box and were abandoned to the current without any effort or means of navigating them. Traffic boats were provided with "sweeps," and a steering oar.

Such a craft could be purchased of regular builders at a price varying from $1 to $1.25 per linear foot, but the purchaser found it necessary to provide a cable, pump and fire-place at an additional cost of about $10. Flat-boats were built with square prow to resist the rapid current, and were illy adapted to progress up stream. Traffic boats were, therefore, sold as lumber or firewood on reaching their destination. Emigrant boats found some purchasers who would use them to continue the trip to New Orleans, but they were generally disposed of cheaply for the lumber in them.

NOTE 22, PAGE 209.

In his reminiscential letters, Dr. Drake, speaking of a visit in 1845 to the scene of his early home at Mayslick, Mason Co., Ky., says: "It is a remarkable fact that in the early period of which I am writing, from 1794 to 1800, the white population was greater in that neighborhood than I found it in the visit referred to. In a single solitary walk of two miles, which included the spot of our old home, I passed over the foundation—the decayed logs and dust—of no less than twelve cabins, on the broad hearths of which I used to warm myself in winter, or play around in other seasons, when sent to them on errands, or permitted to visit the boys and girls with which they were redolent. Besides, I saw two of a better kind than the first, erected of hewed logs, which were tenantless and surrounded by hemp. * * * * * * * The loss of white population so impressively shown forth by what I have said, has occurred in various parts of Kentucky. ("Pioneer Life in Kentucky," pp. 182–3.)

The following table shows the population at each census, 1790–1880:

Census Years.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total.
1790	61,133	114	12,430	73,677
1800	179,873	739	40,343	220,955
1810	324,237	1,713	80,561	406,511
1820	434,647	2,759	126,732	564,135
1830	517,787	4,917	165,213	687,917
1840	590,253	7.317	182,258	779,828
1850	761,413	10,011	210,981	982,405
1860	919,484	10,684	225,483	1,155,684
1870	1,098,692	222,210	.....	1,321,011
1880	1,377,187	271,521*	.....	1,648,708

*Including 10 Chinese and 50 Indians.

The following cities had in 1880 a population exceeding 5,000:

Louisville	123,645
Covington	29,720
Newport	20,433
Lexington	16,656
Paducah	8,376
Frankfort (State capital)	6,958
Maysville	5,220

NOTE 23, PAGE 214.

"We have individvals in Kentucky," wrote the famous naturalist, Audubon, "that even there are considered wonderful adepts in the management of the rifle. Having resided some years in Kentucky, and having more than once been witness of rifle sport, I shall present the results of my observation, leaving the reader to judge how far rifle shooting is understood in that State.

"Several individuals who conceive themselves adepts in the management of the rifle, are often seen to meet for the purpose of displaying their skill; and, betting a trifling sum, put up a target, in the center of which, a common sized nail is hammered for about two thirds its length. The marksmen make choice of what they consider a proper distance, and which may be forty paces. Each man cleans the interior of his tube, which is called *wiping* it, places a ball in the palm of his hand, pouring as much powder from his horn as will cover it. This quanity is supposed to be sufficient for any distance short of 100 yards. A shot which comes very close to the nail is considered that of an indifferent marksman; the bending of the nail is of course somewhat better; but nothing less than hitting it right on the head is satisfactory. One out of three shots generally hits the nail; and should the shooters amount to half a dozen, two nails are frequently needed before each can have a shot.

Those who drive the nail have a further trial among themselves, and the two best shots out of these generally settle the affair, when all the sportsmen adjourn to some house and spend an hour or two in friendly intercourse, appointing before they part a day for another trial. This is technically termed, 'driving the nail.'

"Barking of squirrels is delightful sport, and in my opinion, requires a greater degree of accuracy than any other. I first witnessed this manner of procuring squirrels while near the town of Frankfort. The performer was the celebrated Daniel Boone. We walked out together and followed the rocky margins of the Kentucky River until we reached a piece of flat land, thickly covered with black walnuts, oaks and hickories. As the general mast was a good one for that year, squirrels were seen gamboling on every tree around us. My companion, a stout, hale, athletic man, dressed in a homespun hunting shirt, bare-legged and moccasined, carried a long and heavy rifle, which, as he was loading, he said had proved efficient in all of his former undertakings, and which he hoped would not fail on this occasion, as he felt proud to show me his skill. The gun was wiped, the powder measured, the ball patched with six-hundred-thread linen, and a charge sent home with a hickory rod. We moved not a step from the place, for the squirrels were so thick that it was unnecessary to go after them.

"Boone pointed to one of these animals, which had observed us, and was crouched on a bough about fifty paces distant, and bade me mark well where the ball should hit. He raised his piece gradually until the bead, or sight of the barrel, was brought to a line with he spot he intended to hit. The whip-like report resounded through the woods, and along the hills in repeated echoes. Judge of my surprise when I perceived that the ball had hit the piece of bark immediately underneath the squirrel, and shivered it into splinters, the concussion produced by which had killed the animal, and sent it whirling through the air as if it had been blown up by the explosion of a powder magazine. Boone kept up his firing, and before many hours had elapsed, we had procured as many squirrels as we wished. Since that first interview with the veteran Boone, I have seen many other individuals perform the same feat.

"The snuffing of a candle with a ball I first had an opportunity of seeing near the banks of the Green River, not far from a large pigeon-roost, to which I had previously made a visit. I had heard many reports of guns during the early part of a dark night, and knowing them to be those of rifles, I went forward toward the spot to ascertain the cause. On reaching the place I was welcomed by a dozen tall, stout men, who told me they were exercising for the purpose of enabling them to shoot after night, at the reflected light from the eyes of a deer or wolf by torch-light. A fire was blazing near, the smoke of which rose curling among the thick foliage of the trees. At a distance which rendered it scarcely distinguishable, stood a burning candle, but which in reality was only fifty yards from the spot on which we all stood. One man was within a few yards of it to watch the effect of the shots, as well as to light the candle should it chance to go out, or to replace it should the shot cut it across. Each marksman shot in his turn. Some never hit either the snuff or the candle, and were congratulated with a loud laugh, while others actually snuffed the candle without putting it out, and were recompensed for their dexterity with numerous hurrahs. One of them, who was particularly expert, was very fortunate, and snuffed the candle three times out of seven, while the other shots either put out the candle or cut it immediately under the light.

"Of the feats performed by the Kentuckians with the rifle, I might say more than might be expedient on the present occasion. By way of recreation, they often cut off a piece of the bark of a tree, make a target of it, using a little powder wetted with water or saliva, for the bulls-eye, and shoot into the mark all the balls they have about them, picking them out of the wood again."

NOTE 24, PAGE 223.

A great part of the insecurity of land-titles arose from the eagerness of ignorant men. The location of land at that date was attended with no little danger, arising from the hostility of the Indians, and demanded for its successful accomplishment such qualifications as were seldom possessed by the frontiersmen. To the technical proficiency of the surveyor, the situation demanded the addition of the wood-craft of the pioneer and the bold hardiness of the scout. Those who possessed the last two generally lacked the first qualification, and it was believed it could better be omitted in choosing a locator than the others. Hence it followed that, in their eagerness to anticipate their competitors for possession of public lands, many holders of land-warrants entrusted their interests to persons who were more skilled in wood-craft than in the legal requirements of the legislative enactment. But the success of such locators was generally hindered by the dangers and natural difficulties of the work, as well as by the urgency of their employers, and the inevitable result was that, notwithstanding the honest intentions of the agents, "locations" were strewn "over the face of the country, as autumn distributes its falling leaves." The character of the consequent confusion is aptly illustrated by Marshall (Vol. I, pp. 150, 151) as follows: "Lewis Craig enters 500 acres of land upon a treasury warrant, adjoining his former entry on the north side, and running along northwardly with Christian's and Todd's line for quantity."

Here, it is to be remarked, that of all the country north of the Kentucky River, no particular water-course is called for, or other object of general de-

scription named, whereby the attention of the subsequent locator could be led to a particular section or circuit, within, or about, which to look for the particular objects of location. Again, it does not appear what former entry of Craig's is meant; neither is it certain what line of Christian and Todd is intended, or who, among many of the name, they are; or what line of theirs is to be followed, or where it is to be found; or, if one be found, whether it be the same called for by Craig or not. This exemplifies a vague entry.

The same day "George Smith enters 500 acres of land on a treasury-warrant, lying on the north side of Kentucky, a mile below a creek, beginning about twenty poles below a lick, running down the river, westerly and northwestwardly, for quantity."

It is obvious that the location-calls in this entry are all vague and uncertain to a subsequent locator.

The "north side of Kentucky" comprehended the whole county of Fayette, and more than one-third of the whole country. The next call is, "a mile below a creek," but which of the 500 creeks on the north side of the Kentucky does not appear either by name or description; and finally it is to begin "about twenty poles from a lick," but what lick, or where, are questions all-important to the locator of the adjoining land, but which are left unanswered and unanswerable by anything in Mr. Smith's entry. It is presumable that the person who made Mr. Smith's location knew the place which he intended to include, but certainly those holding unlocated warrants were not bound to find him; nor could his verbal explanation, if seen, aid an entry which the law required should be in writing. The holder of a warrant, which he desired to locate, with a copy of Mr. Smith's entry in his hand, could not know how to adjoin it, nor yet how to avoid an interference. He would, however, proceed to make his entry, and possibly, with a similar degree of vagueness. When they came to be surveyed, very probably, and to the very great surprise of both owners, the two interfered.

Another instance: "Edward Hall enters 622 acres of land, upon a treasury warrant, on Eagle Creek, a branch of Kentucky; beginning at a small beech, marked thus, 'I. N,' on the north side of a small drain; then east 320 poles; then north at right angles for quantity."

To see that this entry is wholly vague and uncertain to a subsequent locator, it is only necessary to observe that Eagle Creek is fifty miles in length, has 1,000 drains, and 1,000,000 of beech trees; while I. N. being cut on any one of them left it still destitute of notoriety. Hence it was totally unreasonable to require of a subsequent locator that he should find where it was in order to avoid an interference. He, of course, proceeded without knowing.

Besides these, there were other circumstances which contributed to produce interference between the claims to land, and which the importance of the subject requires should be mentioned. The country, being unknown and unsettled in its greatest extent, was explored by individuals, or small parties, who often gave different names to the same objects, such as water-courses, traces, licks, etc., and often mistook or confounded places and distances from the one to the other.

Whence sprang an infinitude of conflicting claims. Others made or referred to obscure marks, which, not having acquired the attention of those conversant in their vicinity, wanted *notoriety* to supply the *absence of description*, and relied on them as the foundation of their locations. To notice another source of interference, though last not least productive, it often happened that two sets of locators, commencing their entries on parallel creeks, and running out each way until they interlocked, were quite astonished to find their surveyors crossing each other's lines.

NOTE 25, PAGE 228.

This plant, known to the botanist as *Panax quinque folium*, is highly prized by the Chinese. The root, when dried, is of a yellowish white color, with a mucilaginous sweetness in the taste, somewhat resembling licorice, accompanied with a slight aromatic bitterness. It is found in America, from Lower Canada as far as the State of Georgia. It thrives most in the mountainous regions of the Alleghanies, where it is more abundant. It is also met with in the environs of New York and Philadelphia, as well as in those parts of the northern States situated between the mountains and the sea, but it is so scarce as not to be worth the trouble of seeking. It is not found in the lower parts of Virginia and the Carolinas. It grows on declivities of mountains, in cool shady places, and in the richest soil. A man will not take up more than eight or nine pounds of the fresh roots in a day; these roots are always less than an inch in diameter, even after a growth of fifteen years, if any dependence can be placed on the number of rings on the upper part of the neck of the root, which are produced by the annual addition of successive layers.

Its collection in the United States is begun in the spring and ends when frost begins. Its root shrivels in drying, and finally becomes extremely hard, losing a third of its volume, and nearly half its weight in the process. By a simple process the Chinese give it a semi-transparency, which greatly enhances its commercial value. A description of this operation, though no secret, was early sold for $400 to persons in Kentucky, who turned the knowledge to a valuable account. Ginseng, thus prepared, brought $6 or $7 a pound in Philadelphia, and was sold at $50 to $100 in Canton. A considerable quantity was exported direct to China from Kentucky. It is still gathered and sold to some extent.

NOTE 26, PAGE 265.

On January 1, 1785, all that part of Jefferson

south of Salt River became Nelson County, in accordance with an act of the legislature passed the previous year. In the fall session of this year acts were passed forming three new counties, and all that part of Fayette lying "within a line beginning at the mouth of Upper Howard's Creek, on Kentucky River, running up the main fork thereof to the head; thence with the dividing ridge between Kentucky and Licking, until it comes opposite Eagle Creek; from thence a direct line to the nearest part of Raven Creek, a branch of Licking, and down Raven Creek to the mouth thereof; thence with Licking to the Ohio; thence with the Ohio to the mouth of Sandy Creek, up said creek to Cumberland Mountain; thence with the said mountain to the line of Lincoln County; thence with that line and the Kentucky River to the beginning," was constituted the county of Bourbon, and organized May 1, 1786.

The county of Mercer was formed of that part of Lincoln County lying within "a line beginning at the confluence of Sugar Creek and Kentucky River; thence a direct line to the mouth of Clark's Run; thence a straight line to Wilson's Station, in the fork of Clark's Run; then the same course continued to the line of Nelson County; thence with the said line to the line of Jefferson County; thence with that line to the Kentucky River; thence up the said river to the beginning."

Madison County was formed at the same time from that portion of Lincoln lying within "a line beginning at the confluence of Kentucky River and Sugar Creek; thence up said creek to the fork that James Thompson lives on; thence up said fork to the head thereof; thence a straight line to where an east course from John Ellis' will intersect the ridge that divides the waters of Paint Lick from the waters of Dick's River; thence along the top of said ridge southwardly, opposite to Hickman's Lick; thence south, forty-five degrees east, to the main Rockcastle River; thence up the said river to the head thereof; thence with the ridge that divides the waters of Kentucky River from the waters of Cumberland River to the line of Washington County; thence along said line to the main fork of Kentucky River that divides the county of Fayette from the county of Lincoln; thence down the said river to the beginning."

This will suffice to indicate the order and character of this development, which may be summarized in the following table:

	New Counties.	Formed from	Year.
1	Jefferson	Kentucky	1780
2	Fayette	Kentucky	1780
3	Lincoln	Kentucky	1780
4	Nelson	Jefferson	1784
5	Bourbon	Fayette	1785
6	Mercer	Lincoln	1785
7	Madison	Lincoln	1785
8	Mason	Bourbon	1788
9	Woodford	Fayette	1788
10	Washington	Nelson	1792
11	Scott	Woodford	1792
12	Shelby	Jefferson	1792
13	Logan	Lincoln	1792
14	Clark	Fayette and Bourbon	1792
15	Hardin	Nelson	1792
16	Greene	Lincoln and Nelson	1792
17	Harrison	Bourbon and Scott	1793
18	Franklin	Woodford, Mercer and Shelby	1794
19	Campbell	Harrison, Scott and Mason	1794
20	Bullitt	Jefferson and Nelson	1796
21	Christian	Logan	1796
22	Montgomery	Clark	1796
23	Bracken	Mason and Campbell	1796
24	Warren	Logan	1796
25	Garrard	Mercer, Lincoln and Madison	1796
26	Fleming	Mason	1798
27	Pulaski	Lincoln and Greene	1798
28	Pendleton	Bracken and Campbell	1798
29	Livingston	Christian	1798
30	Boone	Campbell	1798
31	Henry	Shelby	1798
32	Cumberland	Greene	1798
33	Gallatin	Franklin and Shelby	1798
34	Muhlenburg	Logan and Christian	1798
35	Ohio	Hardin	1798
36	Jessamine	Fayette	1798
37	Barren	Warren and Greene	1798
38	Henderson	Christian	1798
39	Breckinridge	Hardin	1799
40	Floyd	Fleming, Montgomery and Mason	1799
41	Knox	Lincoln	1799
42	Nicholas	Bourbon and Mason	1799
43	Wayne	Pulaski and Cumberland	1800
44	Adair	Greene	1801
45	Greenup	Mason	1803
46	Casey	Lincoln	1806
47	Clay	Madison, Knox and Floyd	1806
48	Lewis	Mason	1806
49	Hopkins	Henderson	1806
50	Estill	Madison and Clark	1808
51	Caldwell	Livingston	1809
52	Rockcastle	Lincoln, Pulaski, Madison and Knox	1810
53	Butler	Logan and Ohio	1810
54	Grayson	Hardin and Ohio	1810
55	Union	Henderson	1811
56	Bath	Montgomery	1811
57	Allen	Warren and Barren	1815
58	Daviess	Ohio	1815
59	Whitley	Knox	1818
60	Harlan	Floyd and Knox	1819
61	Hart	Hardin and Greene	1819
62	Owen	Scott, Franklin and Greene	1819
63	Simpson	Logan, Warren and Allen	1819
64	Todd	Logan	1819
65	Monroe	Barren and Cumberland	1820
66	Trigg	Christian and Caldwell	1820
67	Grant	Pendleton	1820
68	Perry	Clay and Ford	1820
69	Lawrence	Greenup and Floyd	1821
70	Pike	Floyd	1821
71	Hickman	Caldwell and Livingston	1821
72	Calloway	Hickman	1822
73	Morgan	Floyd and Bath	1822
74	Oldham	Jefferson, Shelby and Henry	1823
75	Graves	Hickman	1823
76	Meade	Hardin and Breckinridge	1823
77	Spencer	Nelson, Shelby and Bullitt	1824
78	McCracken	Hickman	1824
79	Edmonson	Warren, Hart and Grayson	1825
80	Laurel	Rockcastle, Clay, Knox and Whitley	1825
81	Russell	Adair, Wayne and Cumberland	1825
82	Anderson	Franklin, Mercer and Washington	1827
83	Hancock	Breckinridge, Daviess and Ohio	1829

New Counties.	Formed from.	Year.
84 Marion	Washington	1834
85 Clinton	Wayne and Cumberland	1835
86 Trimble	Gallatin, Henry and Oldham	1836
87 Carroll	Gallatin	1838
88 Carter	Greenup and Lawrence	1838
89 Breathitt	Clay, Perry and Estill	1839
90 Kenton	Campbell	1840
91 Crittenden	Livingston	1842
92 Marshall	Calloway	1842
93 Ballard	Hickman and McCracken	1842
94 Boyle	Mercer and Lincoln	1842
95 Letcher	Perry and Harlan	1842
96 Owsley	Clay, Estill and Breathitt	1843
97 Johnson	Floyd, Lawrence and Morgan	1843
98 Larue	Hardin	1843
99 Fulton	Hickman	1845
100 Taylor	Greene	1848
101 Powell	Montgomery, Clark and Estill	1852
102 Lyon	Caldwell	1854
103 McLean	Daviess, Muhlenburg and Ohio	1854
104 Rowan	Fleming and Morgan	1856
105 Jackson	Estill, Owsley, Clay, Laurel, Rockcastle and Madison	1858
106 Metcalfe	Barren, Greene, Adair, Cumberland and Monroe	1860
107 Boyd	Greenup, Carter and Lawrence	1860
108 Magoffin	Morgan, Johnson and Floyd	1860
109 Webster	Hopkins, Henderson and Union	1860
110 Wolfe	Morgan, Breathitt, Owsley and Powell	1860
111 Robertson	Nicholas, Harrison, Bracken and Mason	1867
112 Bell	Harlan and Knox	1867
113 Menifee	Bath, Morgan, Powell, Montgomery and Wolfe	1869
114 Elliott	Morgan, Carter and Lawrence	1869
115 Lee	Owsley, Estill, Wolfe and Breathitt	1870
116 Martin	Pike, Johnson, Floyd and Lawrence	1870
117 Knott	Floyd, Letcher, Perry and Breathitt	1884

For a time the organization of successive counties indicated the gradual development of the country, but that period has passed sometime since. Many of the later counties owe their origin to other motives than the demands of a sound public policy, and a number of "pauper counties" have been added to the list, the existence of which is prejudicial to nearly every interest concerned. The last county formed is a conspicuous example of this unfortunate legislation, the origin of which is given in a very readable article found in the Louisville *Commercial* for July 8, 1885, as follows:

The last legislature included a plain-looking man of forty-five, of the average size, cheaply dressed, slightly bald and wearing spectacles—Robert Bates, the member from Letcher and some other counties. He occupied a seat in a remote corner of the House of Representatives, and never arose to speak even to a "point of order." The chief distinction he wore was that of being a brother to "Baby Bates," the celebrated Kentucky giant, known to the patrons of every museum in the land. Back of the seat occupied by Bates, frequently leaning over the railing of the lobby to talk with him, sat an ex-member named Fitzpatrick, tall, awkward, smooth-faced, and always appearing in the same heavy drab overcoat. Before the session closed an act was passed to create a county to be called Knott, with a county-seat named Hindman, in honor of the two officials wearing these names. Perhaps it would not have been termed inappropriately "An act to establish a county-seat upon the land of Robert Bates."

The traveler southward from Catlettsburg, on the Chattaroi Railroad, will find that the cars stop at Richardson, on the Big Sandy River. In the winter some sort of a boat can be procured to Prestonburg, in Floyd County, but at this season part of the distance must be traveled in a vehicle, which may be described as an ambulance, and part on horseback. Here the traveler is still forty-two miles from the Forks of Troublesome, indicated by the act as the seat of government for the new county. Another horse must be procured for the ride over the rough road which follows Beaver Creek during a greater part of the way. Upon arriving at the Forks of Troublesome nothing appears but two or three log houses, not grouped together with any view of making a beginning for a town, while vast forests extend in every direction. A road extends to Whitesburg, the county-seat of Letcher; another to Hazard, in Perry County, and a third to Jackson, in Breathitt. Two of these counties, at least, have made a reputation for outlawry that has extended beyond the State.

On Monday, July 7, 1884, the commissioners named to form the new county of Knott assembled at the "forks." The event had been duly advertised throughout those parts of Breathitt, Floyd, Perry and Letcher Counties, which were to be embraced in the new organization. A few persons from a distance were lodged in the "double" log-house, which served as the only inn in that section. It consisted of two log pens, covered by one roof, with a space between them large enough for another room. The second largest house was the store of "Chick" Allen, a son-in-law of Robert Bates aforesaid. The third house was what is facetiously known in the "moonshine" districts as a "bonded warehouse." No distillery was in sight, but a plentiful supply of white native whisky was served from the log-cabin with the high-sounding name. Mr. Bates was on hand, of course, as was his friend, Fitzpatrick, the latter being the spokesman of the commissioners.

Early in the day the neighboring people—and not all of them near neighbors—began to assemble. The young people predominated, because a "good time" was promised. Rustic maidens, accompanied by their swains, and rugged farmers with their families came on foot or on horseback, according to the distance. Soon two fiddlers of local repute made an appearance, which was a signal for clearing a small level space near the store, which was used for dancing through the day. The "bonded warehouse" was the chief attraction, however, and the pure mountain liquor, as the good people deemed it, flowed steadily from morning until night. With some, numerous potations proved an incentive for

greater agility on the dancing-ground—not that anybody was drunk, but "they war a drinkin' some." The effect upon others was to make them boisterous, singing and shouting, now and then firing a pistol to add to the general "hilarity." The people of these counties are the most hospitable in the world, and the most amiable toward strangers, who give no grounds for suspicion. Everything was good natured, therefore, though a few small disputes had to be settled by personal encounters in which no weapons were employed.

A marked figure on this scene was old man Everidge, evidently of the age of sixty, who had never owned a hat, "'cause it made his head too warm." Nor did he wear any shoes in summer. Not even a coat was needed to complete his costume for the dance. He drank nothing, but was none the less hilarious for that, and danced as regularly as any of the younger bloods. The dancing ground was small, bounded on one side by a dry ditch, which, during part of the year, is one of the branches of Troublesome Creek. Once, while dancing a cotillion, the old man was led to the brink of the ditch by two of the women, whose hands held him, when they suddenly let him go, with the effect of landing him on his back on the sand below. It was great sport for everybody, and the old man lost no temper in consequence. A figure more noticeable was the belle of the ball—a young woman of twenty, with a most attractive form and the bearing of a princess. A ruddy complexion, great brown eyes, and a profusion of auburn ringlets were additional attractions. Dressed tastefully, she would have attracted wide admiration on any of our fashionable streets. Perhaps she would have excited greater curiosity, however, in her native habiliments. She wore a dress of red calico, severely plain with the exception of a yellow ruffle about the bottom of the skirt and a narrow blue ribbon around the waist. A small green sun-bonnet, which did not hide half her ringlets, formed the rest of her attire. The belle wore shoes, without stockings, upon her arrival, but like the other dancers she placed these against the stone wall which lined one side of the dancing-ground. She was heard to say that she "couldn't dance to do no good with shoes on." The ladies drank more sparingly than their lords of the white whisky, so that none of them, except one or two of dubious reputations, became intoxicated.

Meanwhile the commissioners were compelled, by the general excitement, to adjourn to a farmhouse half a mile down the creek, where their business was transacted. The nature of that business perhaps was never recorded. It was not altogether a peaceable meeting. The territory to be formed into a new county embraced the homes of the assessor of Floyd County, the sheriff of Letcher, the coroner of Breathitt and the surveyor of Perry. The first mentioned, Bolling Hall, was named as the head of a committee to divide the county into magisterial districts, but refused to serve, asserting that he would never consent to any arrangement which would deprive him of his former well-paying office, as the formation of the new county would do. Another work of the commissioners was to arrange for the election of county officers a month later, and to order a set of blank books for the county records. The latter have been secured, and the bill for them sent, as the law requires, to Frankfort, to be paid by the State. The shrewdness of these unsophisticated people is shown in the fact that while no other new county has expended more than $1,200 for an outfit of record books, the bill sent by Knott was $2,100, an amount which Auditor Hewitt has refused to pay until forced by law to do so. Thus it seems that one of the first acts of the new county was to raid the State treasury for the private benefit of a few citizens. There is a story told at Frankfort which is *a propos:* The late James Davidson, while State treasurer, always doled out the public moneys grudgingly, as if bestowing private alms upon undeserving persons. One day the sheriff of Perry County came in to make his settlement with the State. There were twenty-five "idiot claims," which were approved by the auditor, who gave a warrant upon the treasurer for their payment. Mr. Davidson counted the claims slowly and aloud, turning, as he finished, to the sheriff with the remark:

"Why, Mr. Coombs, you must all be idiots up in Perry County."

"Pretty near, I guess," was the reply, "but we generally have sense enough to get what's comin' to us from the treasury."

In the latter respect it seems that Perry County people are not unlike all the others.

The close of the festivities at what had become, during the day, the town of Hindman, was a fitting climax. The local magistrate and the only physician in the community lay on their backs in the sand, which lined the bottom of the dry creek, the former singing with all his might until he became too drowsy longer to make any exertion. Many others lay stretched at full length upon the grass. The growth of the darkness made the enthusiastic survivors more reckless, and pistol shots became more frequent until late in the night. Since the first day's performance in making the new county it is not reported that any further measures have been taken toward setting the county machinery in motion. The double log-house is the only known repository of the expensive record books, and no accommodations have been provided for holding courts. Such is the new county named for the present governor of Kentucky. Such is the county formed for the benefit of Mr. Bates and his friends.

Yet these are not bad people. Their quarrels are among themselves, and they do not offer to molest a stranger. Their ideas are narrow because they have no relations with the rest of the world. The man among them who happens to get to Frank-

fort once or twice in a lifetime, as the steerer of a raft of logs, is listened to thereafter on public questions as an oracle. Probably not more than two dozen persons present at the organization of Knott County could read, but there was evident a certain amount of respect for the man able to read and write. Some one was being discussed with reference to his becoming a candidate for the legislature.

"Hell!" says one; "he ain't fitten for no legislature."

"Yes he is!" ejaculated his neighbor; *"he can read and repeat!"*

What degree of qualification this may be is left for the reader to conjecture.

NOTE 27, PAGE 268.

James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757, studied medicine in Philadelphia, but after the battle of Bunker Hill repaired to Cambridge, and was soon appointed captain in Reed's New Hampshire regiment, serving as such with Arnold in the northern army; promoted brigade-major July, 1776, and lieutenant-colonel January 12, 1777; bearer of dispatches to Gen. Washington from Gen. Gates December, 1776, he participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Upon Gates' accession to command of the northern army, Wilkinson was made his adjutant-general May, 1777, and upon surrender of Burgoyne he conveyed the official dispatches to congress. Brevetted brigadier-general in November, he was, in January, 1778, appointed secretary of the board of war, of which Gates was president. A quarrel arising with the latter at the time of the Conway cabal, Wilkinson resigned his secretaryship, and in July, 1779, was appointed clothier-general of the army. Settled in Kentucky after the peace, and engaged in mercantile affairs. Appointed lieutenant-colonel Second Infantry November, 1791, and conducted an expedition against the Wabash Indians in 1791–92; promoted to be brigadier-general March 1792, and commanded the right wing of Wayne's army at Maumee Rapids, and in December, 1796, became general-in-chief of the army, serving on the western frontier; one of the commissioners to receive Louisiana from the French in 1803; he was governor of that territory in 1805–06; ordered to command on the Mississippi December, 1808; he was recalled to Washington in 1810, and tried by court-martial in 1811 on charges of corruptly receiving money from Spain, and being in complicity with Aaron Burr. The court acquitted him with credit, and he returned to the southern department. In 1813 he was appointed major-general and transferred to the northern frontier. Owing to the failure of Hampton to co-operate with him, his plans for the occupation of Canada totally failed. He was superseded in command, and a court of inquiry ordered in 1815, which acquitted him of all blame. On the re-organization of the army in 1815, he was discharged, and passed the later years of his life upon his estates in Mexico. In 1816 he published "Memoirs of My Own Times" (3 Vols., 8 vo.); died near the City of Mexico December 28, 1825. (Johnson's Cyclopedia.)

NOTE 28, PAGE 275.

A memoir by Daniel Clark, supposed to be the nephew of the gentleman of the same name who was appointed Wilkinson's agent, gives a concise history of the matter, which is extracted from American State Papers, Vol. XX, p. 707. Wilkinson, in his "Memoirs of My Own Times," confirms this account as substantially correct. "About the period of which we are now speaking, in the middle of the year 1787, the foundation of an intercourse with Kentucky and the settlements on the Ohio was laid, which daily increased. Previous to that time, all those who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized by the first commanding officer whom they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the countries. Now and then an emigrant who wished to settle in Natchez, by dint of entreaty, and solicitation of friends who had interests in New Orleans, procured permission to move there with his family, slaves, cattle, furniture and farming utensils, but was allowed to bring no other property except cash. An unexpected incident, however, changed the face of things, and was productive of a new line of conduct. The arrival of a boat, belonging to Gen. Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, is announced in town, and a guard was immediately sent on board of it. The general's name had hindered this being done at Natchez, as the commandant was fearful that such a step might be displeasing to his superiors, who might wish to show some respect to the property of a general officer; at any rate the boat was proceeding to New Orleans, and they would there resolve on what measures they ought to pursue and put in execution. The government, not much disposed to show any mark of respect or forbearance toward the general's property, he not having at that time arrived, was about proceeding in the usual way of confiscation, when a merchant in New Orleans, who had considerable influence there, and who was formerly acquainted with the general, represented to the governor that the measures taken by the intendant would very probably give rise to disagreeable events; that the people of Kentucky were already exasperated at the conduct of the Spaniards in seizing on the property of all those who navigated the Mississippi; and if this system was pursued, they would very probably, in spite of congress and the executive of the United States, take upon themselves to obtain the navigation of the river by force, which they were well able to do; a measure for some time before much dreaded by this government, which had no force to resist them, if such a plan was put in execution. Hints were likewise given

that Wilkinson was a very popular man, who could influence the whole of that country; and probably that his sending a boat before him with a wish that she might be seized was but a snare at his return to influence the minds of the people, and, having brought them to the point he wished, induce them to appoint him their leader, and then, like a torrent, spread over the country, and carry fire and desolation from one end of the province to the other.

"Gov. Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with the American government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men, whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the intendant that the guard might be removed from the boat, which was accordingly done, and a Mr. Patterson, who was the agent of the general, was permitted to take charge of the property on board, and to sell it free of duty. The general, on his arrival in Orleans, sometime after, was informed of the obligation he lay under to the merchant, who had impressed the government with such an idea of his importance and influence at home, waited on him, and in concert with him, formed a plan for their future operations. In his interview with the governor, that he might not seem to derrogate from the character given of him, by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat load of tobacco, hams and butter, he gave him to understand that the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who, availing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States, by way of Orleans, wished to make trial of the temper of this government, as he, on his arrival, might inform his own what steps had been pursued under his eye, that adequate measures might be afterward taken to procure satisfaction. He acknowledged with gratitude the attention and respect manifested by the governor toward himself in the favor shown to his agent; but at the same time mentioned that he would not wish the governor to expose himself to the anger of his court by refraining from seizing on the boat and cargo, as it was but a trifle, if such were the positive orders from the court, and that he had not power to relax them according to circumstances. Convinced by this discourse that the general rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs than sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed. For wo or three years before, particularly since the arrival of the commissioners from Georgia, who had come to Natchez to claim that country, he had been fearful of an invasion at every annual rise of the waters, and the news of a few boats being seen was enough to alarm the whole province. He revolved in his mind what measures he ought to pursue (consistent with the orders he had from home not to permit the free navigation of the river), in order to keep the Kentucky people quiet; and in his succeeding interviews with Wilkinson, having procured more knowledge than he had hitherto acquired of their character, population, strength and dispositions, he thought he could do nothing better than hold out a bait to Wilkinson to use his influence in restraining the people from an invasion of this province till he could give advice to his court, and require further instructions. This was the point to which the parties wished to bring him, and being informed that in Kentucky two or three crops were on hand, for which, if an immediate vent was not to be found, the people could not be kept within bounds, he made Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account to New Orleans, free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky, thinking by this means to conciliate the good will of the people, without yielding the point of navigation, as the commerce carried on would appear the effect of an indulgence to an individual, which could be withdrawn at pleasure. On consultation with his friends, who well knew what further concessions Wilkinson would extort from the fears of the Spaniards, by the promise of his good offices in preaching peace, harmony, and good understanding with this government, until arrangements were made between Spain and America, he was advised to insist that the governor should insure him a market for all the flour and tobacco he might send, as in the event of an unfortunate shipment, he would be ruined whilst endeavoring to do a service to Louisiana. This was accepted. Flour was always wanted in New Orleans, and the king of Spain had given orders to purchase more tobacco for the supply of his manufactories at home than Louisiana at that time produced, and which was paid for at about $9.50 per cwt. In Kentucky it cost but $2, and the profit was immense. In consequence, the general had appointed his friend Daniel Clark his agent here, returned by way of Charleston in a vessel, with a particular permission to go to the United States, even at the very moment of Gardoqui's information; and on his arrival in Kentucky, bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped and disposed of as before mentioned, and for some time all the trade for the Ohio was carried on in his name, a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection he could desire."

NOTE 29, PAGE 284.

An act concerning the erection of the District of Kentucky into an independent State. Passed the 18th of December, 1789.

WHEREAS it is represented to this present General Assembly, that the act of last session entitled "an act concerning the erection of the District of Kentucky into an independent State," which contains terms materially different from those of the act of October session, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, are found incompatible with the real views of this Commonwealth, as well as injurious to the good people of said district:

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly,* That in the month of May, next, on the respective court days of the counties within the said district, and at the respective places of holding courts therein,

Representatives to continue in appointment for one year, and to compose a convention, with the powers, and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, shall be elected by the free male inhabitants of each county above the age of twenty-one years, in like manner as delegates to the General Assembly have been elected within said district in the proportions following: In the county of Jefferson shall be elected five representatives; in the county of Nelson, five representatives; in the county of Mercer, five representatives; in the county of Lincoln, five representatives; in the county of Madison, five representatives; in the county of Fayette, five representatives; in the county of Woodford, five representatives; in the county of Bourbon, five representatives; and in the county of Mason, five representatives: *Provided*, That no free male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years shall vote in any other county except that in which he resides, and that no person shall be capable of being elected unless he has been a resident within the said district at least one year.

SEC. 2. That full opportunity may be given to the good people of exercising their right of suffrage on an occasion so interesting to them, each of the officers holding such elections, shall continue the same from day to-day, passing over Sunday, for five days, including the first day, and shall cause this act to be read on each day immediately preceding the opening of the election at the door of the court house or other convenient place; each of the said officers shall deliver to each person duly elected a representative, a certificate of his election, and shall transmit a general return to the clerk of the Supreme Court, to be, by him, laid before the convention.

SEC. 3. For every neglect of any of the duties hereby enjoined on such officer, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt by any person suing for the same.

SEC. 4. The said convention shall be held at Danville, on the twenty-sixth day of July next, and shall and may proceed, after choosing a president and other proper officers, and settling the proper rules of proceeding, to consider and determine whether it be expedient for, and the will of the good people of the district, that the same be erected into an independant State, on the terms and conditions following:

SEC. 5. First, that the boundary between the proposed State and Virginia, shall remain the same as at present separates the district from the residue of this commonwealth.

SEC. 6. Second, that the proposed State shall take upon itself a just proportion of the debt of the United States, and the payment of all the certificates granted on account of the several expeditions carried on from the Kentucky district against the Indians, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five.

SEC. 7. Third, that all private rights and interests of lands within the said district, derived from the laws of Virginia prior to such separation, shall remain valid and secure under the laws of the proposed State, and shall be determined by the laws now existing in this State.

SEC. 8. Fourth, that the lands within the proposed State of non-resident proprietors, shall not in any case be taxed higher than the lands of residents, at any time prior to the admission of the proposed State to a vote by its delegates in Congress, where such non-residents reside out of the United States, nor at any time either before or after such admission, where such non-residents reside within this Commonwealth, within which the stipulation shall be reciprocal; or where such non-residents reside within any other of the United States, which shall declare the same to be reciprocal within its limits; nor shall a neglect of cultivation or improvement of any land within either the proposed State of this Commonwealth, belonging to non-residents, citizens of the other, subject such non-residents to forfeiture or other penalty, within the term of six years, after the admission of the said State into the Federal Union.

SEC. 9. Fifth, that no grant of land or land warrant to be issued by the proposed State, shall interfere with any warrant heretofore issued from the land office of Virginia, which shall be located on land within the said district, now liable thereto, on or before the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

SEC. 10. Sixth, that the unlocated lands within the said district, which stand appropriated to individuals of description of individuals, by the laws of this Commonwealth, for military or other services, shall be exempted from the disposition of the proposed State, and shall remain subject to be disposed of by the Commonwealth of Virginia, according to such appropriation until the first day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and no longer; thereafter the residue of all lands remaining within the limits of the said, shall be subject to the disposition of the proposed State.

SEC. 11. Seventh, that the use and navigation of the river Ohio, so far as the territory of the proposed State, or the territory which shall remain within the limits of this Commonwealth lies therein, shall be free and common to the citizens of the United States, and respective jurisdictions of this Commonwealth and of the proposed State on the river as aforesaid, shall be concurrent only with the States which may possess the opposite shores of the said river.

SEC. 12. Eighth, that in case any complaint or dispute shall at any time arise between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said district, after it shall be an independent State, concerning the meaning or execution of the foregoing articles, the same shall be determined by six commissioners, of whom two shall be chosen by each of the parties, and the remainder by the commissioners so first appointed.

SEC. 13. *Provided, however*, That five members assembled shall be a sufficient number to adjourn from day to day, and to issue writs for supplying vacancies which may happen from deaths, resignations or refusals to act; a majority of the whole shall be a sufficient number to choose a President, settle the proper rules of proceeding, authorize any number to summon a convention during a recess, and to act in all other instances where a greater number is not expressly required. Two-thirds of the whole shall be a sufficient number to determine on the expediency of forming the said district into an independent State on the aforesaid terms and conditions: *Provided*, that a majority of the whole number to be elected concur therein.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That if the said convention shall approve of the erection of the said district into an independent State on the foregoing terms and conditions, they shall and may proceed to fix a day posterior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, on which the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws, under the exceptions aforesaid, shall cease and determine forever over the proposed State, and the said articles become a solemn compact mutually binding on the parties, and unalterably by either without the consent of the other.

SEC. 15. *Provided, however*, That prior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, the general government of the United States shall consent to the erection of the

said district into an independent State, shall release this Commonwealth from all its Federal obligations arising from the said district as being part thereof, and shall agree that the proposed State shall immediately after the day to be fixed as aforesaid, posterior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, or at some convenient time future thereto. be admitted into the Federal Union.

SEC. 16. And to the end that no period of anarchy may happen to the good people of the proposed State, it is to be understood that the said convention shall have the authority to take the necessary provisional measures for the election and meeting of a convention, at some time prior to the day fixed for the determination of the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws over said district, and posterior to the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one aforesaid, with full power and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution of government for the proposed State, and to declare what laws shall be in force therein, until the same shall be abrogated or altered by the legislative authority acting under the constitution so to be framed and established.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted,* That the electors in going to, continuing at, and returning from an election of members to the said convention, shall be entitled to the same privileges from arrest, as are by law allowed at an election of members to the General Assembly; and each person returned to serve as a member in said convention, shall be entitled to the same privileges from arrest in going to, during his attendance on, and returning from said convention, as are by law allowed to members of the General Assembly.

SEC. 18. This act shall be transmitted by the Executive to the representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, who are hereby instructed to use their endeavors to obtain from Congress a speedy act to the effect above specified.

NOTE 30, PAGE 297.

The House, according to the standing order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Commonwealth, Mr. Caldwell in the chair. And after some time spent therein, the Speaker resumed the chair, and Mr. Caldwell reported that the committee had, according to order, had under consideration the Governor's address, and had come to the following resolutions therepon, which he had delivered in at the Clerk's table, where they were twice read and agreed to by the House.*

I. *Resolved,* That the several States composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that by compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void and of no force; That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party; That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

II. *Resolved,* That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the laws of nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," therefore, also, the same act of Congress passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act entitled an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States;" as also the act passed by them on the 27th day of June, 1798, entitled "An act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States" (and all other of their acts which assume to create, define or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory.

III. *Resolved,* That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or to the people: That thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses, which cannot be separated from their use, should be tolerated, rather than the use be destroyed, and thus also they guarded against all abridgement by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of its citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference. And that in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercises thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," whereby guarding in the same sentence and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, or of the press insomuch, that whatever violates either, throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehoods, defamation equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals. That therefore the act of Congress of the United States passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

IV. *Resolved,* That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States nor pro-

*Proceedings Kentucky Legislature, November 10, 1798.

hibited to the individual State distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true as a general principle and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the act of the Congress of the United States passed on the 22d day of June, 1798, entitled "An act concerning aliens," which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

V. *Resolved*, That in addition to the general principle as well as the express declaration, that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared, "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." That this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of the said act concerning aliens; that a provision against the prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is therefore contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

VI. *Resolved*, That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Commonwealth on his failure to obey the simple order of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act entitled "An act concerning aliens," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and that another having provided "that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense," the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defense, without counsel, is contrary to these provisions also of the Constitution, is therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force. That transferring the power of judging any person who is under the protection of the laws, from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior," and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted, that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the general government who already possesses all the executive, and a qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

VII. *Resolved*, That the construction applied by the general government (as is evinced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States, which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense, and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the government of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all the limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution; that words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument; that the proceedings of the general government, under color of these articles, will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of greater tranquility, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

VIII. *Resolved*, That the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the senators and representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth, who are hereby enjoined to present the same to their respective houses, and to use their best endeavors to procure, at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

IX. *Resolved*, Lastly, that the governor of this Commonwealth be, and is hereby authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this Commonwealth considers union for specified national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late Federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the States; that faithful to that compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation; that it does also believe, that to take from the States all the powers of self-government, and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the peace, happiness, or prosperity of these States. And that, therefore, this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, to tamely submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man or body of men on earth; that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them; that the general government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge and jury, whose suspicions may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his officer the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the powers of a majority of Congress, to protect from a like exportation or other more grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the Legislature, judges, governors, and counselors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the State and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment, but the citizens will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against Re-

publican governments, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism. Free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence. It is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which and no further our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has now been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. Let him say what the government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of law and justice. In questions of power then let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the claims of the Constitution. That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration, that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States and consolidating them in the hands of the general government with a power assumed to bind the States (not merely in cases made Federal) but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made not with their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its power from its own will, and not from out authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, and will each unite with this Commonweath in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.

EDMUND BULLOCK,
Speaker House of Representatives.

JOHN CAMPBELL,
Speaker Senate, pro tem.

Passed the House of Representatives November 10, 1798.

Attest: THOMAS TODD,
Chairman House of Representatives.

In Senate, November 13, 1798, unanimously concurred in.

Attest: B. THRUSTON,
Clerk Senate.

Approved November 16, 1798, by the Governor.

JAMES GARRARD,
Governor Kentucky.

HARRY TOULMIN,
Secretary of State.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Secretary's Department Boston, October 20, 1884.

A true copy of the original, on file in this Department.

[L. S.] Witness the Seal of the Commonwealth.

HENRY B. PIERCE,
Secretary.

NOTE 31, PAGE 325.

CONSTITUTION OF 1850.

ARTICLE I.

CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT.

SECTION 1. The powers of the government of the State of Kentucky shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them to be confided to a separate body of magistracy, to-wit, those which are legislative to one; those which are executive to another, and those which are judiciary to another.

SEC. 2. No person, or collection of persons, being of one of those departments, shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others, except in the instances hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

ARTICLE II.

CONCERNING THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a House of Representatives and Senate, which together shall be styled "The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky."

SEC. 2. The members of the House of Representatives shall continue in service for the term of two years from the day of the general election, and no longer.

SEC. 3. Representatives shall be chosen on the first Monday in August in every second year, and the mode of holding the election shall be regulated by law.

SEC. 4. No person shall be a Representative, who, at the time of his election, is not a citizen of the United States, has not attained the age of twenty-four years, and who has not resided in this State two years next preceding his election, and the last year thereof in the county, town or city for which he may be chosen.

SEC. 5. The General Assembly shall divide each county of this Commonwealth into convenient election precincts, or may delegate power to do so to such county authorities as may be designated by law; and elections for Representatives for the several counties shall be held at the places for holding their respective courts, and in the several election precincts into which the counties may be divided. *Provided*, That when it shall appear to the General Assembly that any city or town hath a number of qualified voters equal to the ratio then fixed, such city or town shall be invested with the privilege of a separate Representative, in either or both houses of the General Assembly, which shall be retained so long as such city or town shall contain a number of qualified voters equal to the ratio which may from time to time be fixed by law, and, thereafter, elections for the county in which such city or town is situated shall not be held therein; but such city or town shall not be entitled to a separate representation unless such county, after the separation, shall also be entitled to one or more

representatives. That whenever a city or town shall be entitled to a representation in either house of the General Assembly, and by its members shall be entitled to more than one representative, such city or town shall be divided, by squares which are contiguous, so as to make the most compact form, into representative districts, as nearly equal as may be, equal to the number of representatives to which such city or town may be entitled; and one representative shall be elected from each district. In like manner shall said city or town be divided into senatorial districts, when by the apportionment more than one Senator shall be allotted to such city or town, and a Senator shall be elected from each senatorial district; but no ward or municipal division shall be divided by such division of senatorial or representative districts, unless it be necessary to equalize the elective, senatorial or representative districts.

SEC. 6. Representation shall be equal and uniform in this Commonwealth, and shall be forever regulated and ascertained by the number of qualified voters therein. In the year 1850, again in the year 1857, and every eighth year thereafter, an enumeration of all qualified voters of the State shall be made, and to secure uniformity and equality of representation, the State is hereby laid off into ten districts. The first district shall be composed of the counties of Fulton, Hickman, Ballard, McCracken, Graves, Calloway, Marshall, Livingston, Crittenden, Union, Hopkins, Caldwell and Trigg. The second district shall be composed of the counties of Christian, Muhlenburgh, Henderson, Daviess, Hancock, Ohio, Breckinridge, Meade, Grayson, Butler and Edmonson. The third district shall be composed of the counties of Todd, Logan, Simpson, Warren, Allen, Monroe, Barren and Hart. The fourth district shall be composed of the counties of Cumberland, Adair, Green, Taylor, Clinton, Russell, Wayne, Pulaski, Casey, Boyle and Lincoln. The fifth district shall be composed of the counties of Hardin, Larue, Bullitt, Spencer, Nelson, Washington, Marion, Mercer and Anderson. The sixth district shall be composed of the counties of Garrard, Madison, Estill, Owsley, Rockcastle, Laurel, Clay, Whitley, Knox, Harlan, Perry, Letcher, Pike, Floyd and Johnson. The seventh district shall be composed of the counties of Jefferson, Oldham, Trimble, Carroll, Henry and Shelby and the city of Louisville. The eighth district shall be composed of the counties of Bourbon, Fayette, Scott, Owen, Franklin, Woodford and Jessamine. The ninth district shall be composed of the counties of Clark, Bath, Montgomery, Fleming, Lewis, Greenup, Carter, Lawrence, Morgan and Breathitt. The tenth district shall be composed of the counties of Mason, Bracken, Nicholas, Harrison, Pendleton, Campbell, Grant, Kenton, Boone and Gallatin. The number of Representatives shall, at the several sessions of the General Assembly next after making the enumerations, be apportioned among the ten several districts, according to the number of qualified voters in each; and the representatives shall be apportioned, as near as may be, among the counties, towns and cities in each district; and in making such apportionment the following rules shall govern, to-wit: Every county, town or city, having the ratio, shall have one Representative; if double the ratio, two Representatives, and so on. Next the counties, towns or cities having one or more Representatives, and the largest number of qualified voters above the ratio, and counties having the largest number under the ratio, shall have a Representative, regard being always had to the greatest number of qualified voters. *Provided*, That when a county may not have a sufficient number of qualified voters to entitle it to one Representative, then such county may be joined to some adjacent county or counties, which counties shall send one Representative. When a new county shall be formed of territory belonging to more than one district, it shall form a part of that district having the least number of qualified voters.

SEC. 7. The House of Representatives shall choose its speaker and other officers.

SEC. 8. Every free white male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided in the State two years, or in the county, town, or city in which he offers to vote, one year next preceding the election, shall be a voter; but such voter shall have been for sixty days next preceding the election a resident of the precinct in which he offers to vote, and he shall vote in said precinct and not elsewhere.

SEC. 9. Voters, in all cases, except treason, felony, breach or surety of the peace, shall be privileged from arrest during their attendance at, going to, and returning from elections.

SEC. 10. Senators shall be chosen for the term of four years, and the Senate shall have power to choose its officers biennially.

SEC. 11. Senators and Representatives shall be elected under the first apportionment after the adoption of this Constitution, in the year 1851.

SEC. 12. At the session of the General Assembly next after the first apportionment under this Constitution, the Senators shall be divided by lot, as equally as may be, into two classes; the seats of the first class shall be vacated at the end of two years from the day of the election, and those of the second class at the end of four years, so that one-half shall be chosen every two years.

SEC. 13. The number of Representatives shall be one hundred, and the number of Senators thirty-eight.

SEC. 14. At every apportionment of representation, the State shall be laid off into thirty-eight senatorial districts, which shall be so formed as to contain, as near as may be, an equal number of qualified voters, and so that no county shall be divided in the formation of a senatorial district, except such county shall be entitled, under the enumeration, to two or more Senators; and where two or more counties compose a district, they shall be adjoining.

SEC. 15. One Senator for each district shall be elected by the qualified voters therein, who shall vote in the precincts where they reside, at the places where elections are by law directed to be held.

SEC. 16. No person shall be a Senator, who at the time of his election, is not a citizen of the United States, has not attained the age of thirty years, and who has not resided in this State six years next preceding his election, and the last year thereof in the district for which he may be chosen.

SEC. 17. The election for Senators, next after the first apportionment under this constitution shall be general throughout the State, and at the same time that the election for representatives is held, and thereafter there shall be a biennial election for Senators to fill the places of those whose term of service may have expired.

SEC. 18. The General Assembly shall convene on the first Monday in November, after the adoption of this constitution, and again on the first Monday in November, 1851, and on the same day of every second year thereafter, unless a different day be appointed by law, and their sessions shall be held at the seat of government.

SEC. 19. Not less than a majority of the members of each house of the General Assembly shall constitute a quorm to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and shall be authorized by law to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as may be prescribed thereby.

SEC. 20. Each house of the General Assembly shall judge of the qualifications, elections and returns of its members; but a contested election shall be determined in such manner as shall be directed by law.

SEC. 21. Each house of the General Assembly may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish a member for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause.

SEC. 22. Each house of the General Assembly shall keep and publish, weekly, a journal of its proceedings, and the yeas and nays of the members on any question shall, at the desire of any two of them, be entered on their journal.

SEC. 23. Neither house during the session of the General Assembly shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which they may be sitting.

SEC. 24. The members of the General Assembly shall severally receive from the public treasury a compensation for their services, which shall be three dollars a day during their attendance on, and twelve and a half cents per mile for the necessary travel in going to, and returning from, the sessions of their respective houses: *Provided*, That the same may be increased or diminished by law; but no alteration shall take effect during the session at which such alteration shall be made; nor shall a session of the General Assembly continue beyond sixty days, except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, but this shall not apply to the first session held under this constitution.

SEC. 25. The members of the General Assembly shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, breach or surety of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SEC. 26. No Senator or Representative shall, during the term for which he was elected, nor for one year thereafter be appointed or elected to any civil office of profit under this Commonwealth, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased, during said term, except to such offices or appointments as may be filled by the election of the people.

SEC. 27. No person, while he continues to exercise the functions of a clergyman, priest or teacher of any religious persuasion, society or sect, nor while he holds or exercises any office of profit under this Commonwealth, or under the government of the United States, shall be eligible to the General Assembly except attorneys at law, justices of the peace and militia officers: *Provided*, That attorneys for the Commonwealth who receive a fixed annual salary, shall be ineligible.

SEC. 28. No person who at any time may have a collector of taxes or public moneys for the State or the assistant or deputy of such collector, shall be eligible to the General Assembly unless he shall have obtained a quietus, six months before the election, for the amount of such collection, and for all public moneys for which he may have been responsible.

SEC. 29. No bill shall have the force of a law until on three several days it be read over in each House of the General Assembly, and free discussion allowed thereon, unless, in cases of urgency, four-fifths of the house where the bill shall be depending, may deem it expedient to dispense with this rule.

SEC. 30. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose amendments, as in other bills: *Provided*, that they shall not introduce any new matter, under color of amendment, which does not relate to raising revenue.

SEC. 31. The General Assembly shall regulate by law by whom and in what manner writs of election shall be issued to fill the vacancies which may happen in either branch thereof.

SEC. 32. The General Assembly shall have no power to grant divorces, to change the names of individuals, or direct the sales of estates belonging to infants or other persons laboring under legal disabilities, by special legislation; but by general laws shall confer such powers on the courts of justice.

SEC. 33. The credit of this Commonwealth shall never be given or loaned in aid of any person, association, municipality or corporation,

SEC. 34. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws to diminish the resources of the sinking-fund, as now established by law, until the debt of the State be paid, but may pass laws to increase them; and the whole resources of said fund from year to year, shall be sacredly set apart and applied to the payment of the interest and principal of the State debt, and to no other use or purpose, until the whole debt of the State is fully paid and satisfied.

SEC. 35. The General Assembly may contract debts to meet casual deficits or failures in the revenue; but such debts, direct or contingent, singly or in the aggregate, shall not at any time exceed $500,000; and the moneys arising from loans creating such debts shall be applied to the purposes for which they were obtained or to repay such debts: *Provided*, That the State may contract debts to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or if hostilities are threatened, provide for the public defense.

SEC. 36. No act of the General Assembly shall authorize any debt to be contracted on behalf of the Commonwealth, except for the purposes mentioned in the thirty-fifth section of this article, unless provision be made therein to lay and collect an annual tax sufficient to pay the interest stipulated, and to discharge the debt within thirty years; nor shall such act take effect until it shall have been submitted to the people at a general election, and shall have received a majority of all the votes cast for or against it: *Provided*, that the General Assembly may contract debts, by borrowing money to pay any part of the debt of the State, without submission to the people, and without making provision in the act authorizing the same for a tax to discharge the debt so contracted, or the interest thereon.

SEC. 37. No law enacted by the General Assembly shall relate to more than one subject, and that shall be expresssed in the title.

SEC. 38. The General Assembly shall not change the venue in any criminal or penal prosecution, but shall provide for the same by general laws.

SEC. 39. The General Assembly may pass laws authorizing writs of error in criminal or penal cases, and regulating the right of challenge of jurors therein.

SEC. 40. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass any act or resolution for the appropriation of any money, or the creation of any debt, exceeding the sum of one hundred dollars, at any one time, unless the same, on its final passage, shall be voted for by a majority of all the members then elected to each branch of the General Assembly, and the yeas and nays thereon entered on the journal.

ARTICLE III.

CONCERNING THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The supreme executive power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a chief magistrate, who shall be styled the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

SEC. 2. The Governor shall be elected for the term of four years by the qualified voters of the State, at the time when and places where they shall respectively vote for Representatives. The person having the highest number of votes shall be Governor; but if two or more shall be equal and highest in votes, the election shall be determined by lot, in such manner as the General Assembly may direct.

SEC. 3. The Governor shall be ineligible for the succeeding four years after the expiration of the term for which he shall have been elected.

SEC. 4. He shall be at least thirty-five years of age, and a citizen of the United States. and have been an inhabitant of this State at least six years next preceding his election.

SEC. 5. He shall commence the execution of the duties of his office on the fifth Tuesday succeeding the day of the general election on which he shall have been chosen, and shall continue in the execution thereof until his successor shall have taken the oath or affirmation prescribed by this Constitution.

SEC. 6. No member of Congress, or person holding any office under the United States, or minister of any religious society, shall be eligible to the office of Governer.

SEC. 7. The Governor shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he was elected.

SEC. 8. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of this Commonwealth, and of the militia thereof, except when they shall be called into the service of the United States; but he shall not command personally in the field, unless advised so to do by a resolution of the General Assembly

SEC. 9. He shall have power to fill vacancies that may occur, by granting commissions, which shall expire when such vacancies shall have been filled according to the provisions of this Constitution.

SEC. 10. He shall have power to remit fines and forfeitures, grant reprieves and pardons, except in cases of impeachment. In cases of treason he shall have power to grant reprieves until the end of the next session of the General Assembly, in which the power of pardoning shall be vested; but he shall have no power to remit the fees of the Clerk, Sheriff, or Commonwealth Attorney in penal or criminal cases.

SEC. 11. He may require information, in writing, from the officers in the executive department upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

SEC. 12. He shall, from time to time, give to the General Assembly information of the state of the Commonwealth, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he may deem expedient.

SEC. 13. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the General Assembly at the seat of government, or at a different place if that should have become, since their last adjournment, dangerous from an enemy or from contagious disorders; and in case of disagreement between the two Houses. with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper, not exceeding four months.

SEC. 14. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 15. A Lieutenant-Governor shall be chosen at every regular election for Governor, in the same manner, to continue in office for the same time, and possess the same qualifications as the Governor. In voting for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor the electors shall state for whom they vote as Governor and for whom as Lieutenant-Governor.

SEC. 16. He shall, by virtue of his office, be Speaker of the Senate, have a right, when in Committee of the Whole, to debate and vote on all subjects, and, when the Senate are equally divided to give the casting vote.

SEC. 17. Should the Governor be impeached, removed from office, die, refuse to qualify, resign, or be absent from the State, the Lieutenant-Governor shall exercise all the power and authority appertaining to the office of Governor, until another be duly elected and qualified, or the Governor absent or impeached shall return or be acquitted.

SEC. 18. Whenever the government shall be administered by the Lieutenant-Governor, or he shall fail to attend as Speaker of the Senate, the Senators shall elect one of their own members as Speaker for that occasion. And if during the vacancy of the office of Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor shall be impeached, removed from office, refuse to qualify, resign, die, or be absent from the State, the Speaker of the Senate shall, in like manner, administer the government: *Provided*, That whenever a vacancy shall occur in the office of Governor, before the first two years of the term shall have expired, a new election for Governor shall take place to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 19. The Lieutenant-Governor, or Speaker *pro tempore* of the Senate, while he acts as Speaker of the Senate. shall receive for his services the same compensation which shall, for the same period, be allowed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and no more; and during the time he administers the government, as Governor, shall receive the same compensation which the Governor would have received had he been employed in the duties of his office.

SEC. 20. If the Lieutenant-Governor shall be called upon to administer the government, and shall, while in such administration, resign, die, or be absent from the State during the recess of the General Assembly, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State, for the time being, to convene the Senate for the purpose of choosing a Speaker.

SEC. 21. The Governor shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint a Secretary of State, who shall be commissioned during the term for which the Governor was elected, if he shall so long behave himself well. He shall keep a fair register, and attest all the official acts of the Governor, and shall, when required, lay the same, and all papers, minutes and vouchers relative thereto, before either House of the General Assemby; and shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by law.

SEC. 22. Every bill which shall have passed both Houses shall be presented to the Governor. If he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the House in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, a majority of all the members elected to that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be considered, and, if approved by a majority of all the members elected to that House, it shall be a law; but in such cases, the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting for and against the bill shall be entered upon the journals of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Governor within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, it shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the General Assembly, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall be a law, unless sent back within three days after their next meeting.

SEC. 23. Every order, resolution, or vote in which the concurrence of both Houses may be necessary, except on a question of adjournment, shall be presented to the Governor, and before it shall take effect be approved by him; or, being disapproved, shall be repassed by a majority of all the members elected to both Houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in case of a bill.

SEC. 24. Contested elections for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined by both houses of the General Assembly, according to such regulations as may be established by law.

SEC. 25. A Treasurer shall be elected by the qualified voters of the State, for the term of two years; and an Auditor of Public Accounts, Register of the Land-Office, and Attorney-General for the term of four years. The duties and responsibilities of these officers shall be prescribed by law: *Provided*; That inferior State officers, not specially provided for in this Constitution, may be appointed or elected in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, for a term not exceeding four years.

SEC. 26. The first election under this Constitution for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Treasurer, Auditor of Public Accounts, Register of the Land-Office and Attorney-General, shall be held on the first Monday in August, in the year 1851.

ARTICLE IV.

CONCERNING THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of this Commonwealth, both as to matters of law and equity, shall be vested in one Supreme Court (to be styled the Court of Appeals), the courts established by this Constitution, and such courts, inferior to the Supreme Court, as the General Assembly may, from time to time, erect and establish.

CONCERNING THE COURT OF APPEALS.

SEC. 2. The Court of Appeals shall have appellate jurisdiction only, which shall be co-extensive with the State, under such restrictions and regulations, not repugnant to this Constitution, as may, from to time be prescribed by law.

SEC. 3. The Judges of the Court of Appeals shall, after their first term, hold their offices for eight years, from and after their election, and until their successors shall be duly qualified, subject to the conditions hereinafter prescribed; but for any reasonable cause the Governor shall remove any of them on the address of two-thirds of each House of the General Assembly: *Provided, however*, That the cause or causes for which such removal may be required shall be stated at length in such address and on the journal of each House. They shall, at stated times, receive for their services an adequate compensation, to be fixed by law, which shall not be diminished during the time for which they have been elected.

SEC. 4. The Court of Appeals shall consist of four Judges, any three of whom may constitute a court for the transaction of business. The General Assembly at its first session after the adoption of this Constitution, shall divide the State, by counties, into four districts, as nearly equal in voting population and with as convenient limits as may be, in each of which the qualified voters shall elect one Judge of the Court of Appeals: *Provided*, That whenever a vacancy shall occur in said court, from any cause, the General Assembly shall have the power to reduce the number of Judges and districts; but in no event shall there be less than three Judges and districts. Should a change in the number of the Judges of the Court of Appeals be made, the term of office and number of districts shall be so changed as to preserve the principle of electing one Judge every two years.

SEC. 5. The Judges shall, by virtue of their office, be conservators of the peace throughout the State. The style of all process shall be "The Commonwealth of Kentucky." All prosecutions shall be carried on in the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and conclude "against the peace and dignity of the same."

SEC. 6. The Judges first elected shall serve as follows, to wit: One shall serve until the first Monday in August, 1852; one until the first Monday in August, 1854; one until the first Monday in August, 1856; and one until the first Monday in August, 1858. The Judges, at the first term of the court suceeding their election, shall determine, by lot, the length of time which each one shall serve; and at the expiration of the service of each an election in the proper district shall take place to fill the vacancy. The Judge having the shortest time to serve shall be styled Chief Justice of Kentucky.

SEC. 7. If a vacancy shall occur in said court from any cause, the Governor shall issue a writ of election to the proper district to fill such vacancy for the residue of the term: *Provided*, That if the unexpired term be less than one year, the Governor shall appoint a Judge to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 8. No person shall be eligible to the office of Judge of the Court of Appeals who is not a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district for which he may be a candidate two years next preceding his election, at least thirty years of age, and who has not been a practicing lawyer eight years or whose service upon the bench of any court of record when added to the time he may have practiced law, shall not be equal to eight years.

SEC. 9, The Court of Appeals shall hold its sessions at the seat of government, unless otherwise directed by law; but the General Assembly may, from time to time, direct that said court shall hold sessions in any one or more of said districts.

SEC. 10. The first election of the Judges and Clerks of the Court of Appeals shall take place on the second Monday in May, 1851, and thereafter, in each district, as a vacancy may occur, by the expiration of the term of office; and the Judges of the said court shall be commissioned by the Governor.

SEC. 11. There shall be elected, by the qualified voters of this State, a Clerk of the Court of Appeals, who shall hold his office, from the first election, until the first Monday in August, 1858, and thereafter for the term of eight years from and after his election; and should the General Assembly provide for holding the Court of Appeals in any one or more of said districts, they shall also provide for the election of a Clerk by the qualified voters of such district, who shall hold his office for eight years, possess the same qualifications, and be subject to removal in the same manner, as the Clerk of the Court of Appeals; but if the General Assembly shall, at its first or any other session, direct the Court of Appeals to hold its session in more than one district, a Clerk shall be elected by the qualified voters of such district. And the Clerk first provided for in this section shall be elected by the qualified voters of the other district or districts. The same principle shall be observed whenever the court shall be directed to hold its sessions in either of the other districts. Should the number of Judges be reduced, the term of the office of Clerk shall be six years.

SEC. 12. No person shall be eligible to the office of Clerk of the Court of Appeals, unless he be a citizen of the United States, a resident of the State two years next preceding his election, of the age of twenty-one years, and have a certificate from a Judge of the Court of Appeals, or a Judge of

a Circuit Court, that he has been examined by the Clerk of his Court, under his supervision, and that he is qualified for the office for which he is a candidate.

SEC. 13. Should a vacancy occur in the office of Clerk of the Court of Appeals, the Governor shall issue a writ of election, and the qualified voters of the State, or of the district in which the vacancy may occur, shall elect a Clerk of the Court of Appeals, to serve until the end of the term for which such Clerk was elected: *Provided*, That when a vacancy shall occur from any cause, or the Clerk be under charges upon information, the Judges of the Court of Appeals shall have power to appoint a clerk *pro tempore*, to perform the duties of Clerk until such vacancy shall be filled or the Clerk acquitted: *And provided further*, That no writ of election shall issue to fill a vacancy unless the unexpired term exceed one year.

SEC. 14. The General Assembly shall direct, by law, the mode and manner of conducting and making due returns to the Secretary of State of all elections of the Judges and Clerk or Clerks of the Court of Appeals, and of determining contested elections of any of these offices.

SEC. 15. The General Assembly shall provide for an additional Judge or Judges, to constitute, with the remaining Judge or Judges, a special court for the trial of such cause or causes as may, at any time, be pending in the Court of Appeals, on the trial of which a majority of the Judges cannot sit, on account of interest in the event of the cause, or on account of their relationship to either party, or when a Judge may have been employed in or decided the cause in the inferior court.

CONCERNING THE CIRCUIT COURTS.

SEC. 16. A Circuit Court shall be established in each county now existing, or which may hereafter be erected in this commonwealth.

SEC. 17. The jurisdiction of said court shall be and remain as now established, hereby giving to the General Assembly the power to change or alter it.

SEC. 18. The right to appeal or sue out a writ of error to the Court of Appeals shall remain as it now exists, until altered by law, hereby giving to the General Assembly the power to change, alter, or modify said right.

SEC. 19. At the first session after the adoption of this Constitution, the General Assembly shall divide the State into twelve judicial districts, having due regard to business, territory, and population: *Provided*, That no county shall be divided.

SEC. 20. They shall, at the same time that the judicial districts are laid off, direct elections to be held in each district, to elect a Judge for said district, and shall prescribe in what manner the election shall be conducted. The first election of Judges of the Circuit Court shall take place on the second Monday in May, 1851; and afterward on the first Monday in August, 1856, and on the first Monday in August in every sixth year thereafter.

SEC. 21. All persons qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly, in each district, shall have the right to vote for Judges.

SEC. 22. No person shall be eligible as Judge of the Circuit Court who is not a citizen of the United States, a resident of the district for which he may be a candidate two years next preceding his election, at least thirty years of age, and who his not been a practicing lawyer eight years, or whose service upon the bench of any court of record, when added to the time he may have practiced law, shall not be equal to eight years.

SEC. 23. The Judges of the Circuit Court shall, after their first term, hold their office for the term of six years from the day of their election. They shall be commissioned by the Governor, and continue in office until their successors be qualified, but shall be removable from office in the same manner as the Judges of the Court of Appeals; and the removal of a Judge from his district shall vacate his office.

SEC. 24. The General Assembly, if they deem it necessary, may establish one additional district every four years, but the judicial districts shall not exceed sixteen, until the population of this State shall exceed 1,500,000.

SEC. 25. The Judges of the Circuit Court shall, at stated times, receive for their service an adequate compensation, to be fixed by law, which shall be equal and uniform throughout the State, and which shall not be diminished during the time for which they were elected.

SEC. 26. If a vacancy shall occur in the office of Judge of the Circuit Court, the Governor shall issue a writ of election to fill such vacancy for the residue of the term: *Provided*, that if the unexpired term be less than one year, the Governor shall appoint a Judge to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 27. The judicial districts of this State shall not be changed, except at the first session after enumeration, unless when a new district may be established.

SEC. 28. The General Assembly shall provide by law for holding Circuit Courts when, from any cause, the Judge shall fail to attend, or, if in attendance, cannot properly preside.

CONCERNING COUNTY COURTS.

SEC. 29. A County Court shall be established in each county now existing, or which may hereafter be erected within this Commonwealth, to consist of a Presiding Judge and two Associate Judges, any two of whom shall constitute a court for the transaction of business: *Provided*, the General Assembly may at any time abolish the office of the Associate Judges, whenever it shall be deemed expedient; in which event they may associate the said court any or all of the Justices of the Peace for the transaction of business.

SEC. 30. The Judges of the County Court shall be elected by the qualified voters in each county, for the term of four years, and shall continue in office until their successors be duly qualified, and shall receive such compensation for their services as may be provided by law.

SEC. 31. The first election of County Court Judges shall take place at the same time of the election of Judges of the Circuit Court. The Presiding Judge, first elected, shall hold his office until the first Monday in August, 1854. The Associate Judges shall hold their offices until the first Monday in August, 1852, and until their successors be qualified; and afterward elections shall be held on the first Monday in August, in the years in which vacancies regularly occur.

SEC. 32. No person shall be eligible to the office of Presiding or Associate Judge of the County Court, unless he be a citizen of the United States, over twenty-one years of age, and shall have been a resident of the county in which he shall be chosen one year next preceding the election.

SEC. 33. The jurisdiction of the County Court shall be regulated by law; and, until changed, shall be the same now vested in the County Courts of this State.

SEC. 34. Each county in this State shall be laid off into districts of convenient size, as the General Assembly may from time to time direct. Two Justices of the Peace shall be elected in each district, by the qualified voters therein, at such time and place as may be prescribed by law, for the term of

four years, whose jurisdiction shall be co-extensive with the county. No person shall be eligible as a Justice of the Peace unless he be a citizen of the United States, twenty-one years of age, and a resident of the district in which he may be a candidate.

SEC. 35. Judges of the County Court and Justices of the Peace shall be conservators of the peace. They shall be commissioned by the Governor. County and district-officers shall vacate their offices by removal from the district or county in which they shall be appointed. The General Assembly shall provide by law the manner of conducting and making due return of all elections of Judges of the County Court and Justices of the Peace, and for determining contested elections, and provide the mode of filling vacancies in these offices.

SEC. 36. Judges of the County Court and Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, Surveyors, Jailors, County Assessor, Attorney for the County, and Constables, shall be subject to indictment or presentment for malfeasance or misfeasance in office, or willful neglect in the discharge of their official duties, in such mode as may be prescribed by law, subject to appeal to the Court of Appeals; and upon conviction, their offices shall become vacant.

SEC. 37. The General Assembly may provide by law that the Justices of the Peace in each County shall sit at the Court of Claims and assist in laying the county levy and making appropriations only.

SEC. 38. When any city or town shall have a separate representation, such city or town, and the county in which it is located, may have such separate municipal courts and executive and ministerial officers as the General Assembly may from time to time provide.

SEC. 39. The Clerks of the Court of Appeals Circuit and County Courts, shall be removable from office by the Court of Appeals, upon information and good cause shown. The court shall be judges of the fact as well as the law. Two-thirds of the members present must concur in the sentence.

SEC. 40. The Louisville Chancery Court shall exist under this Constitution, subject to repeal, and its jurisdiction to enlargement and modification of the General Assembly. The Chancellor shall have the same qualifications as the Circuit Court Judge, and the Clerk of the said Court as the Clerk of the Circuit Court, and the Marshal of said Court as a Sheriff; and the General Assembly shall provide for the election, by the qualified voters within its jurisdiction, of the Chancellor, Clerk and Marshal of said Court, at the same time that the Judge and Clerk of the Circuit Court are elected for the County of Jefferson, and they shall hold their offices for the same time, and shall be removable in the same manner; *Provided*, that the Marshal of said Court shall be ineligible for the succeeding term.

SEC. 41. The City Court of Louisville, the Lexington City Court, and all other police courts established in any city or town, shall remain until otherwise directed by law, with their present powers and jurisdictions; and the Judges, Clerks, and Marshals of said Courts shall have the same qualifications, and shall be elected by the qualified voters of such cities or towns at the same time, and in the same manner, and hold their offices for the same term, as County Judges, Clerks and Sheriffs, respectively, and shall be liable to removal in the same manner. The General Assembly may vest judicial powers, for police purposes, in Mayors of cities, Police Judges and Trustees of towns.

ARTICLE V.

CONCERNING IMPEACHMENTS.

SECTION 1. The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 2. All impeachments shall be tried by the Senate. When sitting for that purpose, the Senators shall be on oath or affirmation. No person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

SEC. 3. The Governor and all civil officers shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment in such cases shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under this Commonwealth; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be subject and liable to indictment, trial, and punishment by law.

ARTICLE VI.

CONCERNING EXECUTIVE AND MINISTERIAL OFFICERS FOR COUNTIES AND DISTRICTS.

SECTION 1. A Commonwealth's Attorney for each Judicial District, and a Circuit Court Clerk for each County, shall be elected, whose term of office shall be the same as that of the Circuit Judges; also a County Court Clerk, an Attorney, Surveyor, Coroner, and Jailer, for each County, whose term of office shall be the same as that of the presiding Judge of the County Court.

SEC. 2. No person shall be eligible to the offices mentioned in this article who is not at the time twenty-four years old (except Clerks of the County and Circuit Courts, Sheriffs, Constables and County Attorneys, who shall be eligible at the age of twenty-one years), a citizen of the United States, and who has not resided two years next preceding the election in the State, and one year in the county or district for which he is a candidate. No person shall be eligible to the office of Commonwealth's Attorney or County Attorney unless he shall have been a licensed practicing attorney for two years. No person shall be eligible to the office of Clerk unless he shall have procured from a Judge of the Court of Appeals, or a Judge of the Circuit Court, a certificate that he has been examined by the Clerk of his court, under his supervision, and that he is qualified for the office for which he is a candidate.

SEC. 3. The Commonwealth's Attorney and Circuit Court Clerk shall be elected at the same time as the Circuit Judge—the Commonwealth's Attorney by the qualified voters of the district, the Circuit Court Clerk by the qualified voters of the county. The County Attorney, Clerk, Surveyor, Coroner and Jailer shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the Presiding Judge of the County Court.

SEC. 4. A Sheriff shall be elected in each county by the qualified voters thereof, whose term of office shall, after the first term, be two years, and until his successor be qualified; and he shall be re-eligible for a second term; but no Sheriff shall, after the expiration of the second term, be re-eligible, or act as deputy, for the succeding term. The first election of Sheriff shall be on the second Monday in May, 1851; and the Sheriffs then elected shall hold their offices until the first Monday in January, 1853, and until their successors be qualified; and on the first Monday in August, 1852, and on the first Monday of August every second year thereafter, elections for Sheriff shall be held: *Provided*, That the Sheriffs first elected shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices on the first Monday in June, 1851, and after the first election on the first Monday in January next succeeding their election.

SEC. 5. A Constable shall be elected in every Justice's district, whos hall be chosen for two years, at such time and place as may be provided by law, whose jurisdiction shall be co-extensive with the county in which he may reside.

SEC. 6. Officers for towns and cities shall be elected for such terms, and in such manner, and

with such qualifications as may be prescribed by law.

SEC. 7. Vacancies in offices under this article shall be filled, until the next regular election, in such manner as the General Assembly may provide.

SEC. 8. When a new county shall be erected, officers for the same to serve until the next stated election, shall be elected or appointed in such a way and at such times as the general assembly may prescribe.

SEC. 9. Clerks, Sheriffs, Surveyors, Coroners, Constables and Jailers, and such other officers as the General Assembly may from time to time require, shall, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices, and as often thereafter as may be deemed proper, give such bond and security as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 10. The General Assembly may provide for the election or appointment, for a term not exceeding four years, of such other county or district ministerial and executive officers as shall, from time to time, be necessary and proper.

SEC. 11. A County Assessor shall be elected in each county at the same time and for the same term that the Presiding Judge of the County Court is elected, until otherwise provided for by law. He shall have power to appoint such assistants as may be necessary and proper.

ARTICLE VII.

CONCERNING THE MILITIA.

SECTION 1. The militia of this Commonwealth shall consist of all free, able-bodied male persons (negroes, mulattoes and Indians excepted) resident in the same, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years; except such persons as now are, or hereafter may be, exempted by the laws of the United States or of this State; but those who belong to religious societies, whose tenets forbid them to carry arms, shall not be compelled to do so, but shall pay an equivalent for personal services.

SEC. 2. The Governor shall the Adjutant-General and his other staff-officers, the Major-Generals, Brigadier-Generals, and Commandants of regiments shall respectively appoint their staff-officers; and commandants of companies shall appoint their non-commissioned officers.

SEC. 3. All militia officers, whose appointment is not herein otherwise provided for, shall be elected by persons subject to military duty within their respective companies—battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions—under such rules and regulations, and for such terms, not exceeding six years, as the General Assembly may, from time to time, direct and establish.

ARTICLE VIII.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

SECTION 1. Members of the General Assembly and all officers, before they enter upon the execution of the duties of their respective offices, and all members of the bar, before they enter upon the practice of their profession, shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear [or affirm, as the case may be] that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this State, and be faithful and true to the Commonwealth of Kentucky so long as I continue a citizen thereof, and that I will faithfully execute, to the best of my abilities, the office of ——, according to law; and I do further solemnly swear [or affirm] that since the adoption of the present Constitution I, being a citizen of this State, have not fought a duel, with deadly weapons, within this State, nor out of it, with a citizen of this State, nor have I sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel, with deadly weapons, with a citizen of this State; nor have I acted as second in carrying a challenge, or aided or assisted any person thus offending: So help me God."

SEC. 2. Treason against this Commonwealth shall consist only in levying war against it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or his own confession in open court.

SEC. 3. Every person shall be disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit for the term for which he shall have been elected, who shall be convicted of having given or offered any bribe or threat to procure his election.

SEC. 4. Laws shall be made to exclude from office and from suffrage those who shall be hereafter convicted of bribery, perjury, forgery, or other crimes or high misdemeanors. The privilege of free suffrage shall be supported by laws regulating elections and prohibiting, under adequate penalties, all undue influence thereon from power, bribery, tumult or other improper practices.

SEC. 5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in pursuance of appropriations made by law, nor shall any appropriations of money for the support of an army be made for a longer time than two years, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys shall be published annually.

SEC. 6. The General Assembly may direct by law, in what manner, and in what courts, suits may be brought against the Commonwealth.

SEC. 7. The manner of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as is most consistent with the conscience of the deponent, and shall be esteemed by the General Assembly the most solemn appeal to God.

SEC. 8. All laws which, on the first day of June, 1792, were in force in the State of Virginia, and which are of a general nature, and not local to the State, and not repugnant to this Constitution, nor to the laws which have been enacted by the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, shall be in force within this State, until they shall be altered or repealed by the General Assembly.

SEC. 9. The compact with the State of Virginia, subject to such alterations as may be made therein agreeably to the mode prescribed by the said compact, shall be considered as a part of this Constitution.

SEC. 10. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass such laws as shall be necessary and proper to decide differences by arbitrators, to be appointed by the parties who may choose that summary mode of adjustment.

SEC. 11. All civil officers for the Commonwealth at large shall reside within the State, and all district, county, or town officers, within their respective districts; counties or towns (trustees of towns excepted), and shall keep their offices at such places therein as may be required by law; and all militia officers shall reside in the bounds of the division, brigade, regiment, battalion or company to which they may severally belong.

SEC. 12. Absence on the business of this State or the United States, shall not forfeit a residence once obtained, so as to deprive any one of the right of suffrage, or of being elected or appointed to any office under this Commonwealth, under the exception contained in this Constitution.

SEC. 13. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to regulate, by law, in what cases, and what deductions from the salaries of public officers shall be made, for neglect of duty in their official capacity.

SEC. 14. Returns of all elections by the people shall be made to the Secretary of State, for the time being, except in those cases otherwise provided for this Constitution, or which shall be otherwise directed by law.

SEC. 15. In all elections by the people, and also by the Senate and House of Representatives jointly or separately, the votes shall be publicly and personally given *viva voce: Provided,* That dumb persons, entitled to suffrage, may vote by ballot.

SEC. 16. All elections by the people shall be held between the hours of six o'clock in the morning and seven o'clock in the evening.

SEC. 17. The General Assembly shall, by law, prescribe the time when the several officers authorized or directed by this Constitution to be elected or appointed shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices, except where the time is fixed by this Constitution.

SEC. 18. No member of Congress, nor person holding or exercising any office of trust or profit under the United States, or either of them, or under any foreign power, shall be eligible as a member of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, or hold or exercise any office of trust or profit under the same.

SEC. 19. The General Assembly shall direct by law how persons who now are, or who may hereafter become, securites for public officers may be relieved or discharged on account of such securityship.

SEC. 20. Any person who shall, after the adoption of this Constitution, either directly or indirectly, give, accept, or knowingly carry a challenge to any person or persons to fight in single combat, with a citizen of this State, with any deadly weapon, either in or out of the State, shall be deprived of the right to hold any office of honor or profit in this Commonwealth, and shall be punished otherwise in such manner as the General Assembly may prescribe by law.

SEC. 21. The Governor shall have power, after five years from the time of the offence, to pardon all persons who shall have in anywise participated in a duel, either as principals, seconds or otherwise, and to restore him or them to all the rights, privileges and immunities to which he or they were entitled before such participation. And upon the presentation of such pardon, the oath prescribed in the first section of this article shall be varied to suit the case.

SEC. 22. At its first session after the adoption of this Constitution, the General Assembly shall appoint not more than three persons, learned in the law, whose duty it shall be to revise and arrange the statute laws of this Commonwealth, both civil and criminal, so as to have but one law on any subject; and also three other persons, learned in the law, whose duty it shall be to prepare a code of practice for the courts both civil and criminal in this Commonwealth, by abridging and simplifying the rules of practice and laws in relation thereto; all of whom shall, at as early a day as practicable, report the result of their labors to the General Assembly for their adoption or modification.

SEC. 23. So long as the Board of Internal Improvement shall be continued, the President thereof shall be elected by the qualified voters of this Commonwealth, and hold the office for the term of four years, and until another be duly elected and qualified. The election shall be held at the same time, and be conducted in the same manner, as the election of Governor of this Commonwealth under this Constitution; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the General Assembly from abolishing said Board of Internal Improvement, or the office of President thereof.

SEC. 24. The General Assembly shall provide by law for the trial of any contested election of Auditor, Register, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Judges of Circuit Courts, and all other officers not otherwise herein specified.

SEC. 25. The General Assembly shall provide by law for the making of the returns, by the proper officers, of the election of all officers to be elected under this Constitution; and the Governor shall issue commissions to the Auditor, Register, Treasurer, President of the Board of Internal Improvement, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and such other officers as he may be directed by law to commission, as soon as he has ascertained the result of the election of those officers respectively.

SEC. 26. When a vacancy shall happen in the office of Attorney-General, Auditor of Public Accounts, Treasurer, Register of the Land Office, President of the Board of Internal Improvements, or Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Governor, in the recess of the Senate, shall have power to fill the vacancy, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the next session, and shall fill the vacancy for the balance of the time by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

ARTICLE IX.

CONCERNING THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

The seat of government shall continue in the city of Frankfort, until it shall be removed by law: *Provided, however,* That two-thirds of all the members elected to each House of the General Assembly shall concur in the passage of such law.

ARTICLE X.

CONCERNING SLAVES.

SECTION 1. The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners, or without paying their owners, previous to such emancipation, a full equivalent in money for the slaves so emancipated, and providing for their removal from the State. They shall have no power to prevent immigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State. They shall pass laws to permit owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and to prevent them from remaining in this State after they are emancipated. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State as merchandise. They shall have full power to prevent slaves being brought into this State who have been, since the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or may hereafter be, imported into any of the United States from a foreign country. And they shall have full power to pass such laws as may be necessary to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity; to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions; to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the directions of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of their owner or owners.

SEC. 2. The General Assembly shall pass laws providing that any free negro or mulatto hereafter immigrating to, and any slave hereafter emancipated in, and refusing to leave this State, or having left, shall return and settle within this State, shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by confinement in the penitentiary thereof.

SEC. 3. In the prosecution of slaves for felony no inquest by a grand jury shall be necessary, but the proceedings in such prosecutions shall be regulated by law, except that the General Assembly

shall have no power to deprive them of the privilege of an impartial trial by a petit jury.

Article XI.

CONCERNING EDUCATION.

Section 1. The capital of the fund called and known as the "common school fund," consisting of one million two hundred and twenty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight dollars and forty-two cents, for which bonds have been executed by the State to the Board of Education, and seventy-three thousand five hundred dollars of stock in the Bank of Kentucky; also, the sum of fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-three dollars and twenty-nine cents, balance of interest on the school-fund of the year 1848, unexpended, together with any sum which may be hereafter raised in the State by taxation, or otherwise, for the purposes of education, shall be held inviolate, for the purpose of sustaining a system of common schools. The interest and dividends of said funds, together with any sum which may be produced for that purpose, by taxation, or otherwise, may be appropriated in aid of common schools, but for no other purpose. The General Assembly shall invest said fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-three dollars and twenty-nine cents in some safe and profitable manner, and any portion of the interest and dividends of said school-fund, or other money or property raised for school purposes, which may not be needed in sustaining common schools, shall be invested in like manner. The General Assembly shall make provision by law for the payment of the interest of said school-fund. *Provided*, That each county shall be entitled to its proportion of the income of said fund, and if not called for for common school purposes, it shall be re-invested from time to time for the benefit of such county.

Sec. 2. A Superintendent of Public Instruction shall be elected by the qualified voters of this Commonwealth at the same time the Governor is elected, who shall hold his office for four years, and his duties and salary shall be prescribed and fixed by law.

Article XII.

MODE OF REVISING THE CONSTITUTION.

Section 1. When experience shall point out the necessity of amending this Constitution, and when a majority of all the members elected to each house of the General Assembly shall, within the first twenty days of any regular session, concur in passing a law for taking the sense of the good people of this Commonwealth as to the necessity and expediency of calling a convention, it shall be the duty of the several Sheriffs and other officers of elections, at the next general election which shall be held for Representatives to the General Assembly after the passage of such a law, to open a poll for, and make a return to the Secretary of State, for the time being, of the names of all those entitled to vote for Representatives who have voted for calling a convention; and if thereupon it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the State entitled to vote for Representatives have voted for calling a convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next regular session, direct that a similar poll shall be opened and return made for the next election for Representatives, and if thereupon it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of this State entitled to vote for Representatives have voted for calling a convention, the General Assembly shall, at their next session, pass a law calling a convention to consist of as many members as there shall be in the House of Representatives, and no more, to be chosen on the first Monday in August thereafter, in the same manner and proportion, and at the same places, and possessed of the same qualifications of a qualified elector by citizens entitled to vote for Representatives, and to meet within three months after their election for the purpose of re-adopting, amending or changing this Constitution; but if it shall appear by the vote of either year, as aforesaid, that a majority of all the citizens entitled to vote for Representatives did not vote for calling a convention, a convention shall not then be called. And for the purpose of ascertaining whether a majority of the citizens entitled to vote for Representatives, did or did not vote for calling a convention as above, the General Assembly passing the law authorizing such vote shall provide for ascertaining the number of citizens entitled to vote for Representatives within the State.

Sec. 2. The convention when assembled shall judge of the election of its members, and decide contested elections, but the General Assembly shall, in calling a convention, provide for taking testimony in such cases and for issuing a writ of election in case of a tie.

Article XIII.

BILL OF RIGHTS.

That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and established, we declare:

Section 1. That all freemen, when they form a social compact, are equal, and that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services.

Sec. 2. That absolute, arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of freemen, exists nowhere in a Republic, not even in the largest majority.

Sec. 3. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave, and its increase, is the same, as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.

Sec. 4. That all property is inherent in the people and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their peace, safety, happiness, security and the protection of property. For the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper.

Sec. 5. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority ought, in any case, whatever, to control or intefere with the rights of conscience; that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious societies or modes of worship.

Sec. 6. That the civil rights, privileges or capacities of any citizen shall in no wise be diminished or enlarged on account of his religion.

Sec. 7. That all elections shall be free and equal.

Sec. 8. That the ancient mode of trial by jury shall be held sacred, and the right thereof remain inviolate, subject to such modifications as may be authorized by this Constitution.

Sec. 9. That printing-presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the general assembly, or any branch of government, and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable

rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

SEC. 10. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court as in other cases.

SEC. 11. That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions from unreasonable seizures and searches, and that no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or thing, shall issue, without describing them as nearly as may be, nor without probable cause supported by oath or affirmation.

SEC. 12. That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused hath a right to be heard by himself and counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him; to meet the witness face to face; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and, in prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the vicinage; that he cannot be compelled to give evidence against himself; nor can he be deprived of his life, liberty or property unless by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

SEC. 13. That no person shall, for any indictable offence, be proceeded against criminally, by information, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger, or by leave of the court, for oppression or misdemeanor in office.

SEC. 14. No person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of his life or limb; nor shall any man's property be taken or applied to public use without the consent of his representatives and without just compensation being previously made to him.

SEC. 15. That all courts shall be open, and every person, for an injury done him in his lands, goods, person or reputation, shall have remedy by the due course of law and right and justice administered without sale, denial or delay.

SEC. 16. That no power of suspending laws shall be exercised, unless by the General Assembly or its authority.

SEC. 17. That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel punishments inflicted.

SEC. 18. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient securities, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident or presumption great; and the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

SEC. 19. That the person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 20. That no *ex post facto* law, nor any law impairing contracts, shall be made.

SEC. 21. That no person shall be attainted of treason or felony by the General Assembly.

SEC. 22. That no attainder shall work corruption of blood, nor, except during the life of the offender, forfeiture of the estate to the Commonwealth.

SEC. 23. That the estates of such persons as shall destroy their own lives shall descend or vest as in case of natural death; and if any person shall be killed by casualty, there shall be no forfeiture by reason thereof.

SEC. 24. That the citizens have the right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance.

SEC. 25. That the rights of the citizens to bear arms in defense of themselves and the State shall not be questioned; but the General Assembly may pass laws to prevent persons from carrying concealed arms.

SEC 26. That no standing army shall, in time of peace, be kept up without the consent of the General Assembly, and the military shall, in all cases and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

SEC. 27. That no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

SEC. 28. That the General Assembly shall not grant any title of nobility, or hereditary distinction, nor create any office, the appointment to which shall be for a longer time than for a term of years.

SEC. 29. That emigration from the State shall not be prohibited.

SEC. 30. To guard against transgressions of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare that everything in this article is excepted out of the general powers of government, and shall forever remain inviolate, and that all laws contrary thereto, or contrary to this Constitution shall be void.

SCHEDULE.

That no inconvenience may arise from the alterations and amendments made in the Constitution of this Commonwealth, and in order to carry the same into complete operation, it is hereby declared and ordained:

SECTION 1. That all the laws of this Commonwealth, in force at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, and not inconsistent therewith, and all rights, actions, prosecutions, claims, and contracts, as well of individuals as of bodies-corporate, shall continue as if this Constitution had not been adopted.

SEC. 2. The oaths of office herein directed to be taken, may be administered by any Judge or Justice of the Peace, until the general assembly shall otherwise direct.

SEC. 3. No office shall be superseded by the adoption of this Constitution, but the laws of the State relative to the duties of the several officers, legislative, executive, judicial, and military, shall remain in full force, though the same be contrary to this Constitution, and the several duties shall be performed by the respective officers of the State, according to the existing laws, until the organization of the government, as provided for under this Constitution, and the entering into office of the officers to be elected or appointed under said government, and no longer.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly which shall convene in the year 1850, to make an apportionment of the representation of this State, upon the principles set forth in this Constitution; and until the first apportionment shall be made as herein directed, the apportionment of Senators and Representatives among the several districts and counties in this State shall remain as at present fixed by law: *Provided*, That on the first Monday in August, 1850, all Senators shall go out of office, and on that day an election for Senators and Representatives shall be held throughout the State, and those then elected shall hold their offices for one year, and no longer: *Provided further*, that at the elections to be held in the year 1850, that provision in this Constitution which requires voters to vote in the precinct within which they reside, shall not apply.

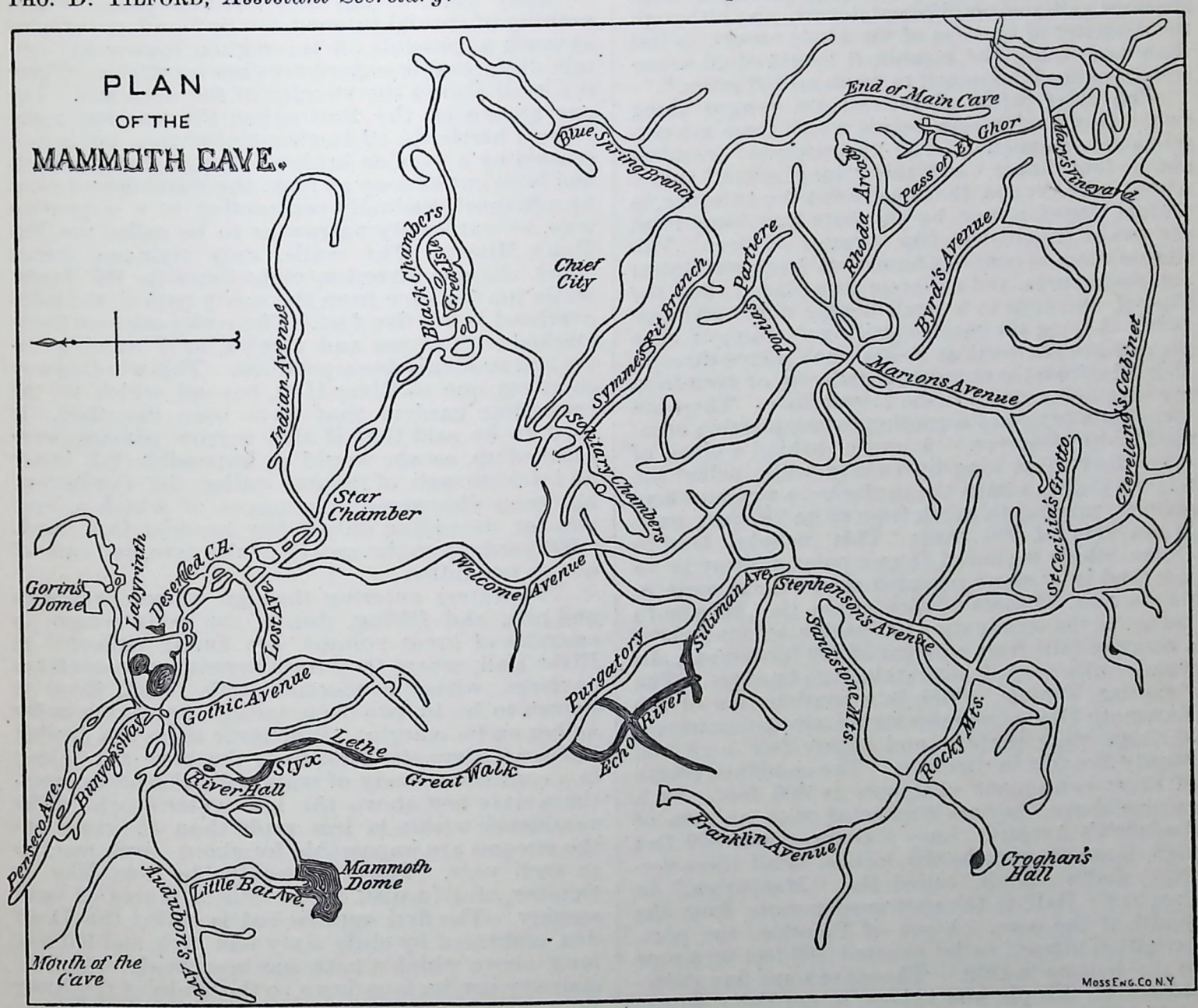
SEC. 5. All recognizances heretofore taken, or which may be taken before the organization of the judicial department under this Constitution, shall remain as valid as though this Constitution had not been adopted, and may be prosecuted in the name of the Commonwealth. All criminal prosecutions and penal actions which have arisen or may arise, before the reorganization of the judicial department under this Constitution, may be prosecuted to judgment and execution in the name of the Commonwealth.

We, the Representatives of the freemen of Kentucky, in convention assembled, in their name, and by the authority of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and in virtue of the powers vested in us, as delegates from the counties respectively affixed to our names, do ordain and proclaim the foregoing to be the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky from and after this day.

Done at Frankfort this eleventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, and in the fifty-ninth year of the Commonwealth.

JAMES GUTHRIE, *President.*

THO. S. HELM, *Secretary,*
THO. D. TILFORD, *Assistant Secretary.*



NOTE 32, PAGE 542.

The Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County, Ky., by rail eighty-five miles south-southwest of Louisville, was discovered in 1809 by a hunter named Hutchins, while in pursuit of a wounded bear. Its mouth is in a forest ravine, 194 feet above Green River, and 600 feet above the sea. This aperture is not the original mouth, the latter being a chasm a quarter of a mile north of it, and leading into what is known as Dixon's Cave. The two portions are not now connected, though persons in one can make themselves heard by those in the other. Saltpetre was formerly made from the nitrous earth, in which the cave abounded, but it is now mainly turned to account as a place of exhibition.

The cavernous limestone of Kentucky covers an area of 8,000 square miles, is massive and homogeneous, and belongs to the subcarboniferous period. It shows few traces of dynamic disturbance, but has been carved since the Miocene epoch into many caverns, of which the Mammoth Cave is the noblest specimen known. The region is undulating, but its valleys are mostly funnel-shaped depressions, emptying through fissures into subterranean streams, which feed rivers, often of navigable size, and whose waters are never frozen over, even in severe winters. Such valleys are called sink-holes.

The natural arch that admits one to the Mammoth Cave has a span of seventy feet, and from a ledge above it a cascade leaps fifty feet to the rocks below, where it disappears. A winding flight of stone steps leads the way down to a narrow passage, through which the air rushes with violence, outward in summer and inward in winter. The temperature of the cave is uniformly 54° Fahrenheit throughout the year, and the atmosphere is both chemically and optically of singular purity. While the lower levels are moist from the large pools that have secret connection with Green River, the

upper galleries are extremely dry. These conditions led, at one time, to the erection of thirteen cottages, at a point about a mile under ground, for the use of invalids, especially consumptives. The experiment ended in failure, and only two cottages now remain.

The main cave, from forty to 300 feet wide, and from thirty-five to 125 feet high, has several vast rooms, *e. g.*, the Rotunda, where are the ruins of the old saltpetre works; the Star Chamber, where the protrusion of white crystals through a coating of the black oxide of manganese, creates an optical illusion of great beauty; the Chief City, where an area of two acres is covered by a vault 125 feet high, and the floor is strewn with rocky fragments, among which are found numerous half-burnt torches made of canes, and other signs of prehistoric occupancy. Two skeletons were exhumed near the Rotunda, but no other bones have been found. The so-called Mammoth Cave "mummies" (*i. e.*, bodies kept by being inhumed in nitrous earth), with accompanying utensils, ornaments, braided sandals, and other relics were found in Short and Salt Caves near by, and removed to Mammoth Cave for exhibition. The main cave, which abruptly ends four miles from the entrance, is joined by winding passages, with spacious galleries on different levels, and although the diameter of the area of the whole cavern is less than ten miles, the combined length of all accessible avenues is supposed to be about 150 miles.*

The chief points of interest are ranged along two lines of exploration, beside which there are certain side excursions. The "short route" requires about four hours, and the "long route" nine. Audubon's Avenue, the one nearest the entrance, is seldom visited except by the bats that hang from the walls in clusters like swarms of bees. The Gothic Avenue contains numerous large stalactites and stalagmites, and an interesting place called the Chapel, and ends in a small double dome and cascade. Among the most suprising features of cave scenery are the vertical shafts that pierce through all levels, from the uppermost galleries, or even from the sink-holes, down to the lowest floor. These are styled pits or domes according to the position occupied by the observer. A crevice behind a block of stone, forty feet long by twenty wide, called the Giant's Coffin, admits the explorer to a place where six pits, varying in depth from 65 to 220 feet, exist in an area of 600 yards. This includes Gorin's Dome, which is viewed from a point midway in its side, and is by many regarded as the finest room in the cavern. Others admire more the Mammoth Dome, at the termination of Spark's Avenue, where a cataract falls from a height of 250 feet amid walls wonderfully draped with stalactitic tapestry. The Egyptian Temple, which is a continuation of the Mammoth Dome, contains six massive columns, two of them quite perfect, and eighty feet high and twenty-five feet in diameter. The combined length of these contiguous chambers is 400 feet. By a crevice above, they are connected with an arm of Audubon's Avenue. Lucy's Dome, about 300 feet high, is supposed to be the loftiest of all these vertical shafts. A pit, called the "Maelstrom," in Croghan's Hall, is the spot most remote from the mouth of the cave. A son of Prentice, the poet, permitted himself to be lowered 190 feet by a rope to the bottom in 1859. There are some fine stalactites near this pit, and others in the Fairy Grotto and in Pensico Avenue, but considering the magnitude of Mammoth Cave, its poverty of stalactitic ornamentation is remarkable. The wealth of crystals is, however, surprising. These are of endless variety and fantastic beauty. Beside the sparkling vault of the Star Chamber (300 feet long and 80 feet high), there are halls canopied by fleecy clouds or studded with mimic snowballs, and others displaying various grotesque resemblances on the walls and ceiling.

Cleveland's Cabinet and Marion's Avenue, each a mile long, are adorned by myriads of gypsum rosettes and curiously twisted crystals called "oulopholites." These cave flowers are unfolded by pressure, as if a sheaf were forced through a tight binding, and the crystal fibres curl outward from the center of the group. Thus spotless arches of fifty feet span are embellished by floral clusters and garlands, hiding nearly every foot of grey limestone. The botryoidal formations, hanging by thousands in Mary's Vineyard, resemble mimic clusters of grapes as the oulopholites resemble roses. Again, there are chambers with drifts of snowy crystals of the sulphate of magnesia, the ceilings so thickly covered with their efflorescence that a loud concussion of the air will cause them to fall like the flakes of a snow storm.

Many small rooms and tortuous paths, where nothing of special interest can be found, are avoided as much as possible on the regular routes; but certain disagreeable experiences are inevitable. There is a peril also in the vicinity of the deep pits. The one known as the Bottomless Pit was for many years a barrier to all further exploration, but is now crossed by a wooden bridge. Long before the shaft had been cut as deep as now, the water flowed away by a channel gradually contracting to a serpentine way, so extremely narrow as to be called the Fat Man's Misery. The walls, only eighteen inches apart, change direction eight times in 105 yards, while the distance from the sandy path to the ledge overhead is but five feet. The rocky sides are finely marked with waves and ripples, as if running water had suddenly been petrified. This winding way conducts one to River Hall, beyond which lie the crystalline gardens that have been described. It used to be said that if this narrow passage were blocked up, escape would be impossible; but lately an intricate web of fissures, called the Corkscrew, has been discovered, by means of which a good climber, ascending only a few hundred feet, lands 1,000 yards from the mouth of the cave, and cuts off one or two miles.

The waters entering through numerous domes and pits, and falling, during the rainy season, in cascades of great volume, are finally collected at River Hall, where they form several extensive lakes or rivers, whose connection with Green River is known to be in two deep springs, appearing under arches on its margin. Whenever there is a freshet in Green River the streams in the cave are joined in a continuous body of water, the rise being sometimes sixty feet above the low water mark. The subsidence within is less rapid than the rise; and the streams are impassable for about seven months in each year. They are navigable from May to October, and furnish interesting features of cave scenery. The first approached is called the Dead Sea, embraced by cliffs sixty feet high and 100 feet long, above which a path has been made, whence a stairway conducts us down to the banks of the River Styx, a body of water forty feet wide and 400 feet long, crossed by a natural bridge. Lake Lethe comes next, a broad basin, enclosed by walls ninety feet high, below which a narrow path leads to a pontoon at the neck of the lake. A beach of the finest yellow sand extends for 500 yards to Echo River, the largest of all, being from twenty to 200 feet wide, ten to forty feet deep, and about three

*The present manager, Mr. F. Klett, has undertaken the difficult task of a thorough survey, the results of which, so far as completed, are presented on the accompanying map. The portion beyond River Hall is supplemented by an older survey by Stephen, the guide.

quarters of a mile long. It is crossed by boats. The arched passage-way is very symmetrical, varying in height from ten to thirty-five feet, and famous for its musical reverberations,—not a distinct echo, but an harmonious prolongation of sound for from ten to thirty seconds after the original tone is produced. The long vault has a certain key-note of its own, which, when firmly struck, excites harmonies, including tones of incredible depth and sweetness.

The fauna of Mammoth Cave has been classed by Putman, Packard and Cope, who have catalogued twenty-eight species truly subterraneous, besides those that may be considered as stragglers from the surface. They are distributed thus: Vertebrata, 4 species; insects, 11, arachnida, 6; myriapoda, 2; crustacea, 2; vermer, 3. Ehrenberg adds a list of 8 polygastric infusoria, 1 fossil infusorian, 5 phytolitharia, and several microscopic fungi. A bed of Agaricus was found by the writer near the River Styx; and upon this hint an attempt has been made to propagate edible fungi in this locality. The most interesting inhabitants of the Mammoth Cave are the blind, wingless grasshoppers, with extremely long antennæ; blind, colorless crayfish (*cambarus pellucidus, telk*); and the blind fish (*amblyopsis spelæus*), colorless and viviparous, from one inch to six inches long. The cambarus and amblyopsis have wide distinction, being found in many other caves, and also in deep wells in Kentucky and Indiana. Fish not blind are occasionally caught, which are apparently identical with species existing in streams outside. The true subterranean fauna may be regarded as chiefly of pleistocene origin; yet certain forms are possibly remnants of tertiary life. The strongly marked divergence of these animals from those found outside, convinced the elder Agassiz that they were especially created for the limits in which they dwell. But the opinion now held is that they are modified from allied species existing in the sunlight, and that their peculiarities may all be accounted for on principles of evolution, the process being accelerated (or retarded) by their migration from the outer world to a realm of absolute silence and perpetual darkness.—*Rev. H. C. Hovey, in the Encyclopedia Britannica.*

APPENDIX B.

UNITED STATES ARMY.

*Alphabetical List of General and Staff Officers from Kentucky, Appointed and Commissioned by the President.**

Anderson, Robert, Brig.-Gen., May 15, 1861; Bvt. Maj.-Gen., Feb. 9, 1865.
Adams, Geo. M.. Capt. and Com. Sub., Aug. 17, 1861; resigned Dec. 23, 1862.
Alexander, Jas. B., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 23, 1861; since vacated.
Allen, Chas. J. F., Maj. and Paymaster, July 16, 1862; honorably mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.
Ambrose, M. J. W., Hospital Chap., Sept. 28, 1863; expired by constitutional limitation.
Adams, Geo. M., Maj. and Paymaster, May 28, 1864; resigned May 19, 1865.
Artsman, Gus., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Sept. 13, 1864.
Boyle, Jeremiah T., Brig.-Gen., Nov. 9, 1861; resigned Jan. 26, 1864.
Bradford, J. T., Maj. and Surg., Apr. 4, 1862; discharged Feb. 19, 1863.
Burbridge, Stephen G., Brig.-Gen., June 9, 1862; brevetted Maj.-Gen. July 4, 1864; resigned Dec. 1, 1865.
Buford, Louis M., Maj. and Aid-de-Camp, Mar. 11, 1863; resigned Dec. 17, 1864.
Boyd, Joseph F., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Mar. 4, 1863; brevetted Brig.-Gen.; honorably mustered out March 13, 1866.
Bramlette, Thomas E., Brig.-Gen., Apr. 24, 1863; declined accepting.
Badger, Norman, Hospital Chap., June 30, 1864; honorably mustered out Sept. 23, 1865.
Butler, John S., Capt. and Ass't Adj.-Gen., Dec. 5, 1863; honorably mustered out June 14, 1865.
Brooks, D. A., Capt. and Com. Sub. May 18, 1864; declined accepting.
Bruch, Samuel, Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Aug. 8, 1862; died March 31, 1865, at Memphis, Tenn.
Boone, J. Rowan, Bvt.-Col., Mar. 13, 1865; was Lieut.-Col. Twenty-eighth Kentucky Veteran Infantry.
Crittenden, Thomas L., Maj.-Gen., July 17, 1862; was Brig.-Gen. from Sept. 27, 1861, to July 17, 1862; resigned Dec. 13, 1864.
Clay, Henry, Capt. and Ass't Adj.-Gen., Oct. 15, 1861; died June 5, 1862, at Louisville, Ky.
Clay, Cassius M., Maj.-Gen., Apr. 11, 1862; resigned Mar. 11, 1863.
Cloak, Burkitt, Maj. and Surg.; June 9, 1862; brevetted Lieut.-Col; honorably mustered out Nov. 22, 1865.
Curtis, Albert A., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Nov. 26, 1862; resigned Apr. 21, 1864.
Cramer, Michael J., Hospital Chap., June 30, 1864; honorably mustered out June 29, 1865.
Croxton, John T., Brig.-Gen., July 30, 1864; brevetted Maj.-Gen; resigned Dec. 26, 1865.
Clark, James T., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., Dec. 2, 1863; honorably mustered out Mar. 13, 1866.
Campbell, John B., Capt. and Ass't Q. M., May 7, 1864; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out June 20, 1866.
Chevalier, Arthur H., Capt. and Com. Sub., May 18, 1864; honorably mustered out Feb. 2, 1866.
Cook, Milton J., Capt. and Com. Sub., Feb. 21, 1865; honorably mustered out June 15, 1865.
Dobyns, Geo. H., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Feb. 29, 1864; honorably mustered out Jan. 8, 1866.
Dunlap, H. C., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., Mar. 13, 1865; was Col. Third Kentucky Infantry.
Edwards, Z. C., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Sept. 18, 1861.
Ernest, Wm. D., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Nov. 26, 1862; dismissed March 25, 1865.
Fry, John, Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 31, 1861; brevetted Maj. Mar. 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Feb. 2, 1866.
Fry, Speed S., Brig.-Gen., Mar. 21, 1862; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.
Fullerton, Wm. G., Maj. and Paymaster, Nov. 26, 1862; resigned April 1, 1865.
Goldsmith, M., Maj. and Surg., Oct. 30, 1861; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Jan. 18, 1866.
Garrard, Theophilus T., Brig.-Gen., Nov. 29, 1862; honorably mustered out Apr. 4, 1864.
Goodloe, Wm. C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., June 1, 1863; resigned Jan. 31, 1864.
Gordon, Wm. A., Asst. Surg., Nov. 25, 1864; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Nov. 22, 1865.
Huber, J. F., Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 25, 1861; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Oct. 12, 1865.
Hatchitt, James G., Maj. and Surg., Apr. 4, 1862; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Dec. 8, 1865.
Hopkins, Orlando J., Capt. and Com. Sub., July 17, 1862; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out May 31, 1866.
Hall, Gustavus A., Military Storekeeper, July 21, 1862.
Hobson, Edward H., Brig.-Gen., Nov. 29, 1862; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.
Hoffman, Joel E., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., July 21, 1863; resigned May 19, 1864.
Hayes, Job. J., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 4, 1863; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out July 15, 1865.
Hawthorn, Leroy R., Capt. and Com. Sub., Apr. 7, 1864; honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866.
Henry, Thos. H., Asst. Surg., June 30, 1864.
Hunter, Hiram A., Hospital Chaplain, Sept. 28, 1864; honorably mustered out Oct. 12, 1865.
Holloway, Geo. A., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., ————; resigned Dec. 27, 1864.
Hollingsworth, C. P., Bvt. Capt., March 13, 1865.
Holloway, William, Maj. and Paymaster, Feb. 19, 1863; honorably mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.
Jones, Stephen E., Capt. and Aide-de-Camp, July 9, 1862; resigned Mar. 13, 1865.
Jackson, James S., Brig.-Gen., July 16, 1862; killed Oct. 8, 1862, at battle of Perryville, Ky.
Johnson, J. H., Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 22, 1862; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Dec. 8, 1865.

*From the report of the Adjutant-General of Kentucky, from 1861-65.

Johnson, Richard W., Brig.-Gen., Oct. 11, 1861; brevetted Maj.-Gen. Dec. 16, 1864; honorably mustered out Jan. 15, 1866.
Keenon, John G., Maj. and Surg., Oct. 9, 1861; died Aug. 12, 1864, at Memphis, Tenn.
Keefer, H. G., Asst. Surg., June 30, 1864; brevetted Maj. Mar. 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Jan. 27, 1866.
Kniffin, G. C., Capt. and Com. Sub., Aug. 20, 1861; Lieut.-Col. and Chief C. S. Twenty-first Army Corps, Jan. 20, 1861; honorably mustered out July 19, 1865.
Letcher, Saml. M., Bvt. Col., July 25, 1865; was Major of Twelfth Kentucky Infantry.
Long, Eli, Brig.-Gen., Aug. 18, 1864; brevetted Maj.-Gen. Mar. 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Jan. 15, 1866.
Mackenzie, J. M., Capt. and Com. Sub., Oct. 31, 1864; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Aug. 31, 1865.
McMillan, Thos., Asst. Surg., Aug. 19, 1862; brevetted Maj. Mar. 13, 1865.
McDowell, H. C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Nov. 19, 1861; resigned Aug. 27, 1862.
McDowell, Wm. P., Maj. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen , Mar. 11, 1863; resigned Dec. 9, 1863.
McKenzie, Alex., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Jan. 27, 1865; honorably mustered out Aug. 15, 1865.
Murray, Eli H., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., Mar. 25, 1865; was Col. Third Kentucky Veteran Cavalry.
Monroe, Geo. W., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., Mar. 13, 1865; was Col. Seventh Kentucky Veteran Infantry.
Milward, H. K., Bvt. Col., Mar. 13, 1865; was Lieut.-Col. Eighteenth Kentucky Veteran Infantry.
Nelson, Wm., Maj.-Gen., July 7, 1862; was Brig.-Gen. from Sept. 16, 1861; died Sept. 29, 1862, at Louisville, Ky.
Neal, Wm. L., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 18, 1864; honorably mustered out July 28, 1865.
Nelson, Abial W., Asst. Surgeon, Dec. 13, 1864.
Oldershaw, Percival P., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Aug. 26, 1862; resigned Nov. 6, 1863.
Piatt, Benjamin M., Maj. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., May 16, 1862; honorably mustered out Nov. 22, 1865.
Peay, J. Speed, Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., July 15, 1862; resigned May 2, 1863.
Paul, Augustus C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., June 1, 1863; appointed Second Lieut. Twelfth U. S. Infantry, May 11, 1866.
Purnell, Thomas F., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 8, 1863; honorably mustered out March 20, 1866.
Rousseau, Lovell H., Maj.-Gen., Oct. 8, 1862; was Brig.-Gen. from Oct. 1, 1861; resigned Nov. 30, 1865.
Speed, Philip, Maj. and Paymaster, Sept, 11, 1861; resigned Dec. 23, 1862.
Starling, Lyne, Maj. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Aug. 13, 1862; was Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen. from Oct. 10, 1861; resigned Jan. 20, 1864.
Sinton, T. R., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 23, 1861; resigned Oct. 10, 1862.
Spillman, G. F., Capt. and Com. Sub., May 12, 1862; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out July 19, 1865.
Smith, Green Clay, Brig.-Gen., June 11, 1862; resigned Dec. 1, 1863.
Semple, Alexander C., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Sept. 29, 1862; resigned March 18, 1864.
Shackleford, James M., Brig.-Gen., Jan. 2, 1863; resigned Jan. 18, 1864.
Speed, John. Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., March 11, 1863; vacated by appointment as additional Paymaster March 22, 1865.
Smith, Rodney, Maj. and Paymaster, Feb. 23, 1864.
Sanders, Wm. P., Brig.-Gen., Oct. 18, 1863; died Nov. 19, 1863, of wounds received in action at Knoxville, Tenn.
Starks, Wm. M., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 18, 1864; canceled.
Speed, John, Maj. and Paymaster, March 22, 1865; resigned May 19, 1865.
Speer, Alexander M., Asst. Surgeon, Feb. 19, 1863; brevetted Maj.; honorably mustered out Oct. 7, 1865.
Stout, Alexander M., Bvt. Brig.-Gen., March 13, 1865; was Col. Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry.
Terrell, Wm. G., Maj. and Paymaster, Aug, 31, 1861; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Dec. 1, 1865.
Thustin, L. T., Maj. and Paymaster, Sept. 11, 1861; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
Terrell, C. M., Maj. and Paymaster, June 30, 1862.
Terry, Josiah M., Capt. and Com. Sub., Nov. 26, 1862.
Tevis, Joshua, Capt. and Com. Sub., Nov. 26, 1862; canceled.
Tarbell, Doctor, Capt. and Com. Sub., Nov. 26, 1862; honorably mustered out July 27, 1865.
Threlkeld, Wm., Maj. and Surgeon, July 9, 1863; was Asst. Surg. from April 23, 1863; brevetted Lieut.-Col.; honorably mustered out Aug. 25, 1865.
Talbott, Wm. K., Hospital Chaplain, April 22, 1863; honorably mustered out July 15, 1865.
Tureman, James F., Maj. and Paymaster, April 21, 1864; died Oct. 28, 1864, at Cincinnati, Ohio.
Thorp, James C., Asst. Surg., Nov. 25, 1864; resigned April 17, 1865.
Ward, Wm. T., Brig.-Gen., Sept. 18, 1861; brevetted Maj.-Gen. Feb. 24, 1865; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.
Williams, J. D., Capt. and Com. Sub., Sept. 18, 1861; honorably mustered out Jan. 3, 1866.
Waggener, Robert J., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., Oct. 8, 1861; killed in action May 28, 1864, near Dallas, Ga.
Webster, George P., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., May 12, 1862.
Wolfley, Wm. J., Maj. and Surgeon, May 18, 1864; was Asst. Surgeon from April 16, 1862; brevetted Lieut.-Col. June 1, 1865; honorably mustered out July 18, 1865.
Webster, R. C., Capt. and Asst. Q. M., Sept. 30, 1861.
Whitaker, Walter C., Brig.-Gen., June 25, 1863; brevetted Maj.-Gen. March 13, 1865; honorably mustered out Aug. 24, 1865.
Williams, B. D., Capt. and A. D. C., March 11, 1863; honorably mustered out Nov. 11, 1865.
Wright, John A., Capt. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen., May 18, 1864; honorably mustered out Feb. 21, 1866.
Woodson, Wm. C., Maj. and Paymaster, May 28, 1864; honorably mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.
Watkins, Louis D., Brig.-Gen., Sept. 25, 1865; was Bvt. Brig.-Gen. from June 24, 1864; honorably mustered out April 30, 1866.
Wolcott, Francis E., Maj. and Judge Advocate, Dec. 17, 1864; for the Army of the Ohio.
Wood, Thomas J., Maj.-Gen., Jan. 27, 1865; was Brig.-Gen. from Oct. 11, 1861; appointed Bvt. Brig.-Gen., U. S. A., March 13, 1865.
Young, Berry S., Maj. and Paymaster, April 21, 1864; resigned Feb. 24, 1865.

INFANTRY—FIRST REGIMENT.

James V. Guthrie, colonel; resigned Dec. 21, 1861.

David A. Enyart, colonel; lieutenant-colonel, from muster-in to January 22, 1862.

Bart G. Leiper, lieutenant-colonel; major from muster-in to Jan. 22, 1862.

Frank P. Cahill, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Nov. 6, 1862; resigned Aug. 17, 1863.

Alva R. Hadlock, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Sept. 1, 1863.

James W. Mitchell, major; captain Company G; promoted major Sept. 1, 1863.

James W. Conine, adjutant; transferred to Company E, Sept. 1, 1861, as 1st lieutenant.

Courtland W. King, adjutant; promoted adjutant from sergeant major Sept. 1, 1861.

John A. Wright, adjutant; appointed from civil life Jan. 22, 1862.

Franklin W. Fee, regimental quartermaster.

Samuel G. Menzies, surgeon.

William L. White, assistant surgeon; resigned Jan. 22, 1862.

John Dickerson, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward Jan. 22, 1862.

COMPANY A.

Joseph T. Wheeler, captain; Samuel L. Christie-captain; Charles F. Groves, captain; John Jack, son, 1st lieutenant; Legrand LaBoiteaux, 1st lieutenant; Theodore Harrol, 2d lieutenant; Byron R. Underhill, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Alva R. Hadlock, captain; John B. Wagener, captain; Thomas K. Fraser, 1st lieutenant; David Hammond, 1st lieutenant; George W. Henson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Ralph Hunt, captain; Frank W. Fee, 1st lieutenant; John A. Snediker, 1st lieutenant; John F. Lamme, 2d lieutenant; John B. Guthrie, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

David Y. Johns, captain; Samuel Barr, Jr., captain; David J. Jones, captain; Patrick J. Brown, 1st lieutenant; James Farran, 2d lieutenant; John D. Kautz, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E

was detached as Artillery early in 1861.

COMPANY F.

Jesse J. Stepleton, captain; David M. Dryden, captain; Thomas Cox, Jr., captain; Albert H. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Joseph B. Sockwell, 1st lieutenant; James G. Lawrence, 2d lieutenant; Joseph M. Leiper, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

James W. Mitchell, captain; Edward S. Atkinson, captain; John W. Gorin, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Leiper, 1st lieutenant; George Hunter, 1st lieutenant; John C. Hyland, 1st lieutenant; Gilbert Ely, 2d lieutenant; James C. Cozine, 2d lieutenant; Samuel M. Starling, 2d lieutenant; H. W. Benton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Frank Cahill, captain; James T. Williamson, captain; John F. Lamme, captain; Samuel L. Christie, 1st lieutenant; C. F. W. Tahrenhorst, 1st lieutenant; William H. Lyons, 2d lieutenant; Louis H. Hocke, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Thomas Cox, Jr., captain; Andrew J. Hagan, captain; Courtland W. King, 1st lieutenant; William R. McChesney, 1st lieutenant; William James McKee, 1st lieutenant; Leonidas L. Tittle, 2d lieutenant; James Farran, 2d lientenant.

COMPANY K.

John Becker, captain; Jacob Theis, 1st lieutenant; Samuel B. Lowenstein, 1st lieutenant; George Homung, 1st lieutenant; Frederick Wolf, 2d lieutenant; Alexander Tilley, 2d lieutenant.

This regiment was organized at Camp Clay, Ohio, in June, 1861, under Col. James V. Guthrie, and was mustered into the United States service on the 4th day of June, 1861, by Maj. S. Burbank, 1st United States Infantry. After organization it was ordered to the Department of West Virginia, where it performed much valuable service in the early engagements of the war.

INFANTRY—SECOND REGIMENT.

William E. Woodruff, colonel; taken prisoner at battle of Scury Creek, Va., July 17, 1861.

Thomas D. Sedgewick, colonel; promoted from major to colonel, Jan. 25, 1862.

George W. Neff, lieutenant-colonel; taken prisoner July 17, 1861, at battle of Scury Creek, Va.

Warner Spencer, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Jan. 25, 1862.

John R. Hurd, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Jan. 13, 1863.

Oliver L. Baldwin, major; promoted to colonel Fifth Kentucky Cavalry Jan. 1, 1864.

Fernando Cook, major; promoted from captain, Company E, to major March 9, 1864.

Henry Wimedell, adjutant; assigned to Company A as 1st lieutenant Jan. 1, 1864.

Thomas N. Davis, adjutant; appointed adjutant Jan. 1, 1864.

Gilbert H. Clemens, regimental quartermaster; appointed regimental quartermaster June 12, 1861.

Joseph M. Blundell, regimental quartermaster; appointed regimental quartermaster Sept. 16, 1861.

James W. Poe, regimental quartermaster; appointed regimental quartermaster April 13, 1863.

John F. White, surgeon; resigned Jan. 20, 1862.

David J. Griffiths, surgeon; appointed surgeon Feb. 6, 1862.

Stephen P. Bonner, ass't surgeon; resigned Feb. 12, 1862.

Lawrence Russell, ass't surgeon; resigned May 7, 1862.

James E. Cox, ass't surgeon; resigned Dec. 6, 1863.

William L. Reed, ass't surgeon; promoted from hospital steward to ass't surgeon Dec. 12, 1862.

Frederick Rectanus, ass't surgeon; appointed ass't surgeon March 2, 1864.

COMPANY A.

Alfred J. M. Browne, captain; Henry B. Martin, captain; Joseph M. Blundell, 1st lieutenant; Thomas N. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Henry Wimedell, 1st lieutenant; George Taylor, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Thomas D. Sedgewick, captain; George Austin, captain; Oliver L. Baldwin, captain; Seth W. Tuley, captain; Archibald McLellan, 1st lieutenant; William Brannin, 1st lieutenant; William P. Bell, 1st lieutenant; George R. McFadden, 1st lieutenant; Gideon V. Vandyke, 2d lieutenant; Sidmund Huber, 2d lieutenant; Orlando C. Bryant, 2d lieutenant

COMPANY C.

John H. Spellmeyer, captain; Anthony Lauman, captain; Francis Miller, 1st lieutenant; William

Pettibone, 1st lieutenant; James E. Stewart, 2d lieutenant; William Miller, 2d lieutenant; John H. Albers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Warner Spencer, captain; Joseph W. Miller, captain; Lemach Duvall. captain; William B. Folger, 1st lieutenant; Calvin W. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Daniel W. Finch, 2d lieutenant; John Milton Blair, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Flamen Ball, captain; George W. Dasher, captain; Ferdinand Cook, captain; Charles W. Karr, captain; Frederick E. Roelofson, 1st lieutenant; Seth W. Tuley, 1st lieutenant; Edward B. Kirman, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John R. Hurd, captain; Jacob H. Smith, captain; J. M. Blair, captain; Jesse C. Hurd, 1st lieutenant; Cyrenus J. Coe, 1st lieutenant; James A. Miller, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

James M. Bodine, captain; John D. Parkhurst, captain; David McK. Ong, 1st lieutenant; Joseph C. Bontecon, 1st lieutenant; Hiram D. Bodine, 1st lieutenant; William Bell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

James E. Stacy, captain; John H. Archdeacon, captain; William H. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; George W. Dasher, 1st lieutenant; John D. Parkhurst, 1st lieutenant; William R. McChesney, 2d lieutenant; Delos Alden, 2d lieutenant; Thomas J. Elliott, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Joseph Whittlesey, captain; Henry Gross, captain; Jesse C. Hurd, captain; Atherton Thayer, 1st lieutenant; George Potter, 1st lieutenant; Herman Alms, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John F. Wisnewski, captain; Louis Steubing, captain; George Beinert, 1st lieutenant; Theodore Leiser, 1st lieutenant; Herman Horst, 2d lieutenant; Oscar Mitchel, 2d lieutenant.

The Second Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized at Camp Clay, Ohio, under Col. William E. Woodruff, and was mustered into the United States service on the 13th day of June, 1861, by Maj. Burbank, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—THIRD REGIMENT.

Thomas E. Bramlette, colonel; resigned July 13, 1862, at Decherd, Tenn.

William T. Scott, colonel; promoted colonel July 13, 1862.

Samuel McKee, colonel; promoted colonel Dec. 7, 1862.

William H. Spencer, colonel, promoted colonel Dec. 7, 1862.

Henry C. Dunlap, colonel; promoted from captain, Company A.

Daniel R. Collier, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Dec. 7, 1862.

William A. Bullitt, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel April 19, 1863.

Charles H. Buford, major; resigned May 2d, 1862.

John Brennan, major; wounded at Kenesaw, Ga., June 27, 1864.

Garvin D. Hunt, adjutant; died Nov. 30, 1863, of wounds received at Mission Ridge.

Henry Porter, adjutant; promoted from 1st lieutenant, Company C, April 5, 1864.

Benj. F. Wayne, regimental quartermaster; resigned May 1, 1862.

Thomas M. Selby, Jr., regimental quartermaster; resigned Sept. 15, 1862.

Richard J. West, regimental quartermaster; promoted from private 5th Kentucky Infantry.

Hector Owens, surgeon; resigned Jan. 22, 1863.

Joseph Foreman, surgeon; resigned Sept. 9, 1863.

John B. Burns, surgeon.

James G. Turk, asst. surgeon; resigned Aug. 5, 1862.

Samuel K. Rhorer, asst. surgeon; promoted from hospital steward.

James R. Scott, asst. surgeon.

Richard H. Gray, chaplain; resigned April 13, 1862, at Shiloh, Tenn.

Jacob Cooper, chaplain; resigned Sept. 30, 1863, at Nashville, Tenn.

COMPANY A.

Samuel McKee, captain; Henry C. Dunlap, captain; Benjamin F. Powell, captain; Wm. T. Epperson, 1st lieutenant; Alban D. Bradshaw, 1st lieutenant; Joseph Russell, 1st lieutenant; Abram P. Brown, 2d lieutenant; Norman R. Christie, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Augustine Dunn, captain; Daniel R. Collier, captain; William J. Hogan, captain; William H. Barnett, captain; Uriah T. Merritt, 1st lieutenant; Peter Haldeman, 1st lieutenant; Morton Scott, 2d lieutenant; Samuel Newton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

D. H. Denton, captain; Lucien H. Ralston, captain; John L. Logan, captain; Henry Porter, 1st lieutenant; Sidney F. Collins, 1st lieutenant; Tyrey Turpin, 2d lieutenant; Monroe Floyd, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Barnett, 2d lieutenant; John W. Warren, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John C. Bolin, captain; John L. Gilmore, captain; Reuben B. Dunbar, 1st lieutenant; Mathew Cullen, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Barnett, 1st lieutenant; Christopher C. Gossett, 2d lieutenant; Robert Gilmore, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

James A. Rosseau, captain; Austin M. Burbank, captain; James M. Bristow, captain; George R. Price, 1st lieutenant; William B. Skaggs, 1st lieutenant; Christopher T. Grinstead, 1st lieutenant; McHaley Yates, 1st lieutenant; James D. Salmons, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Harbert King, captain; John Brennan, captain; Joseph J. Carson, captain; James M. Gooch, captain; Albert F. Hoarine, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Severence, 1st lieutenant; Samuel D. Powel, 1st lieutenant; James H. Bridgewater, 2d lieutenant; Nathaniel D. Wilmot, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Isham Bolin, captain; Wm. T. Jackman, captain; John W. Tuttle, captain; Benjamin J. Bolin, 1st lieutenant, James L. Hardin, 1st lieutenant; John Akers, 1st lieutenant; John C. Bolin, 2d lieutenant; James T. Bramlette, 2d lieutenant; Barnett C. Young, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Henry S. Taylor, captain; William H. Hudson, captain; John W. Tuttle, 1st lieutenant; James M. Bristow, 1st lieutenant; Harrison B. Carter, 1st lieutenant; William L. Bramlette, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Milton Frazer, captain; John S. S. Maret, captain; Norman R. Christie, captain; John L. Gilmore, 1st lieutenant; Joseph J. Carson, 1st lieutenant; William D. Murrah, 1st lieutenant; George W. Roberts, 2d lieutenant; Solon D. Moore, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

James T. W. Barnett, captain; John Roberts, captain; George W. Roberts, captain; Wm. R. Buford, 1st lieutenant; George McClure, 1st lieutenant; John H. Black, 2d lieutenant; Robert L. Tracy, 2d lieutenant; Spencer B. Hughes, 2d lieutenant.

The Third Regiment, Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, under Col. Thomas E. Bramlette, and mustered into the United States service on the 8th day of October, 1861, by Gen. George H. Thomas. The regiment was one of the first to respond to the call of the government for troops to guard munitions of war to the Unionists of east Tennessee.

INFANTRY—FOURTH REGIMENT.

Speed S. Fry, colonel; promoted to brigadier-general March 21, 1862.

John T. Croxton, colonel; promoted brigadier-general Aug. 16, 1864.

Robert M. Kelly, colonel; promoted colonel Aug. 25, 1864.

P. Burgess Hunt, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel March 23, 1862.

Josephus H. Tompkins, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Aug. 25, 1864.

Joshua W. Jacobs, major; promoted major June 7, 1865.

William Goodloe, adjutant; resigned Nov. 6, 1862.

Charles V. Ray, adjutant; transferred as 1st lieutenant to Company H, Sept. 29, 1864.

Charles T. Schable, adjutant; promoted adjutant Sept. 29, 1864.

Michael B. Hope, regimental quartermaster; transferred to Company B, Aug. 16, 1863.

Minor C. Humston, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Aug. 15, 1863.

James R. White, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Dec. 19, 1864.

Stephen L. Burdett, surgeon.

Mathew H. Young, surgeon; promoted surgeon Oct. 24, 1864.

Harrison Phillips, asst. surgeon.

John W. Jacobs, chaplain; died at Lebanon, Ky., Jan. 20, 1862.

John R. Eades, chaplain; resigned June 4, 1863.

COMPANY A.

Wellington Harlan, captain; William W. Sanders, captain; Joshua W. Jacobs, captain; James H. Linney, 1st lieutenant; Charles T. Schable, 1st lieutenant; Sidney M. Wiehl, 2d lieutenant; Thomas P. Young, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Peter J. Hiatt, captain; James A. Vaughan, captain; Emory R. Harrington, captain; Lewis C. Lancaster, captain; Mason C. Miller, 1st lieutenant; G. D. Hunt, 1st lieutenant; Michael B. Hope, 1st lieutenant; James M. Hall, 2d lieutenant; Henry B. Stanwood, 2d lieutenant; James M. Duke, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John L. Williams, captain; Luther Jenkins, captain; Robert T. Williams, 1st lieutenant; Granville C. West, 1st lieutenant; George F. Rowland, 1st lieutenant; John W. Lewis, 2d lieutenant; Edward M. Anderson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

James J. Hudnall, captain; Jno. A. Roberts, captain; Nicholas M. Kelley, 1st lieutenant; Charles V. Ray, 1st lieutenant; Geo. H. Patten, 1st lieutenant; Charles T. Swope, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Geo. M. Jackson, captain; Nathaniel L. Turner, captain; James A. Moores, captain; Isaac N. Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; Archibald Moores, 1st lieutenant; James A. Moores, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

W. F. Hoch, captain; Josephus H. Tompkins, captain; Robert F. Long, captain; Merrill Hicks, 1st lieutenant; John M. Burton, 2d lieutenant; John T. Merrimee, 2d lieutenant; Luther Jenkins, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Richard L. Myers, captain; James H. West, captain; Robt. D. Cook, 1st lieutenant; Allen S. Whetstone, 1st lieutenant; Lindsey C. Duncan, 1st lieutenant; William F. Hoch, 2d lieutenant; James C. Broughton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Sylvester Rockwell, captain; Milton Graham, captain; Mathew H. Jenkins, captain; Henry P. Merrill, captain; Henry Teney, 1st lieutenant; Robert F. Long, 1st lieutenant; Charles V. Ray, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Hardin, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

James B. Brewer, captain; Wm. B. Riggs, captain; Charles T. Swoope, captain; Sidney B. Jones, 1st lieutenant; James McDermott, 1st lieutenant; Elliott Kelley, 1st lieutenant; Samuel A. Spencer, 2d lieutenant; Harvey W. Secrest, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Robt. M. Kelly, captain; James M. Givens, captain; Alfred S. Stewart, captain; Burwell S. Tucker, 1st lieutenant; Samuel S. Rich, 1st lieutenant; Robt. F. Long, 2d lieutenant; Charles T. Schable, 2d lieutenant.

The Fourth Regiment of Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., under Col. Speed S. Fry, mustered into the United States service on October 9, 1861, by Brig.-Gen. George H. Thomas, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—FIFTH REGIMENT.

Lovell H. Rousseau, colonel; promoted to brigadier-general Oct. 5, 1861.

Harvey M. Buckley, colonel; promoted colonel Oct. 5, 1861.

William W. Berry, colonel; promoted colonel Feb. 9, 1863.

John L. Treanor, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Feb 23, 1863.

Charles L. Thomasson, major; killed at battle of Chickamauga Sept. 19, 1863.

Henry C. Dunlap, adjutant; resigned to accept commission as captain in 3d Kentucky Infantry.

Edward W. Johnstone, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Dec. 22, 1862.

Thomas C. Pomroy, regimental quartermaster; resigned June 17, 1862.

John M. Moore, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Sept. 10, 1862.

John Matthews, surgeon; resigned Feb. 1, 1862.

Enos S. Swain, surgeon: promoted from assistant surgeon to surgeon Oct. 1, 1862.

William E. Gilpin, assistant surgeon; resigned Nov. 23, 1861.

Samuel J. F. Miller, assistant surgeon; promoted to assistant surgeon May 1, 1862.

James H. Bristow, Chaplain.

COMPANY A.

William Mangan, captain; Thomas Foreman, captain; James F. Cullen, captain; John M. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Henry Cassen, 1st lieutenant; John Finley, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Lafayette P. Lovett, captain; John P. Hurley, 1st lieutenant; Horatio C. McCorkhill, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. McManen, 2d lieutenant; David Jones, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Asaph H. Speed, captain; Christopher Leonard, captain; Richard Jones, 1st lieutenant; John Leaf, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John L. Treanor, captain; William W. Rowland, captain; Theodore F. Cummings, 1st lieutenant; Joseph E. Miller, 1st lieutenant; John Baker, 1st lieutenant; Milton W. Curry, 2d lieutenant; James H. Baty, 2d lieutenant; John Ryan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

August Schweitzer, captain; Stephen Lindenfelser, captain; Jno. C. Scheible, 1st lieutenant; Adolph Rentlinger, 2d lieutenant; Frank Dessell, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. H. Ayars, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John E. Vansant, captain; John Lucas, captain; William H. Powell, 1st lieutenant; William Batman, 1st lieutenant; John Martz, 2d lieutenant; Terrance F. Burns, 2d lieutenant; Thomas M. Hite, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John M. Huston, captain; Joseph E. Miller, captain; Wm. H. Powell, captain; David Q. Rousseau, 1st lieutenant; John W. Huston, 1st lieutenant; Charles Anderson, 1st lieutenant; Theodore E. Elliott, 2d lieutenant; David Thomas, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Charles L. Thomasson, captain; Norman B. Moninger, captain; George A. Albert, 1st lieutenant; Edmund B. Randolph, 2d lieutenant; Edward W. Johnson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Alexander B. Ferguson, captain; Upton Wilson, captain; William H. H. Ayars, captain; Charles J. Cook, 1st lieutenant; A. Sidney Smith, 1st lieutenant; Wilson J. Green, 2d lieutenant; Henry R. Willett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John D. Brent, captain; John P. Hurley, captain; Michael Zoller, captain; Geo. W. Richardson, 1st lieutenant; John D. Sheppard, 1st lieutenant; Morgan Piper, 1st lieutenant; George W. Wyatt, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the summer of 1861 under Lovell H. Rousseau, as colonel, and was mustered into the United States service on the 9th day of September, 1861, at Camp Joe Holt, Ind., by W. H. Sidell, major Fifteenth United States Infantry, and mustering officer.

At the alarm of an invasion of Kentucky by Buckner, this gallant command was thrown out in defense of Louisville by General, then Col. Rousseau, and held them in check until re-enforcements arrived from Ohio and Indiana, and forever refuted the idea of a State standing in a neutral position when the integrity or unity of the nation was assailed.

INFANTRY—SIXTH REGIMENT.

Walter C. Whitaker, colonel; promoted brigadier-general June 30, 1863.

George T. Shackelford, colonel; promoted to colonel July 27, 1863; wounded at battle of Chickamauga.

George T. Cotton, lieutenant-colonel; killed at battle of Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.

Richard C. Dawkins, lieutentant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 25, 1864.

William N. Hailman, major; appointed Dec, 10, 1861; honorably discharged March 14, 1862.

Alfred Martin, major; promoted major March 28, 1862.

Richard T. Whitaker, major; appointed major March 12, 1863; resigned May 11, 1864.

Ferdinand Evans, adjutant; promoted; resigned Nov, 15, 1862.

William H. Middleton, adjutant; appointed from civil life; died of disease March 1, 1863.

William Jones, adjutant; promoted to captain Company A May 22, 1864.

Lewis M. Perry, adjutant; promoted adjutant June 7, 1864.

Michael Billings, quartermaster; appointed Dec. 10, 1861; resigned March 10, 1862.

Harvey R. Wolfe, quartermaster; appointed from private Company H, March 28, 1862.

Joseph S. Drane, surgeon; appointed Dec. 12, 1861.

Abner B. Coons, asst. surgeon; appointed Dec. 10, 1861; died of disease March 4, 1862.

Edmund S. Long, asst. surgeon; appointed May 15, 1862, from civil life.

James J. Johnston, chaplain; appointed from civil life Aug. 15, 1862; resigned Sept. 24, 1863.

COMPANY A.

Alfred Martin, captain; John McGraw, captain; William Jones, captain; Richard Rockingham, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Bates, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Richard Lee, captain; Richard C. Dawkins, captain; Joseph H. Dawkins, captain; Lundsford D. Carrington, 1st lieutenant; Martin L. Boner, 1st lieutenant; John L. Lee, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Eubanks, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Joseph J. Hauphoff, captain; Charles S. Todd, captain; Henry C. Schmidt, captain; German Dettweiler, 1st lieutenant; Thomas R. Danks, 1st lieutenant; Gustavus Bohn, 2d lieutenant; Frederiek V. Lockman, 2d lieutentant.

COMPANY D.

Elisha Hedden, captain; Bluford N. Sampson, 1st lieutenant; Harrison Choate, 1st lieutenant; James W. Briscoe, 1st lieutenant; James H. Howard, 2d lieutenant; James H. McCampbell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Bernhard Hund, captain; William Frank, captain; John Sensbach, 1st lieutenant; Lorenzo Ammon, 1st lieutenant; Anton Hund, 2d lieutenant; Valentine Melcher, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

William S. Long, captain; Robert H. Armstrong, captain; John P. Mason, 1st lieutenant; William B. Dunlap, 2d lieutenant; Charles Clark, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Peter Emge, captain; Peter Marker, captain; Gottfried Rentschler, captain; George Marker, 1st lieutenant; Henry Canning, 2d lieutenant; Nicholas Sehr, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Isaac N. Johnston, captain; John L. Chilton, 1st lieutenant; Harrison Roberts, 2d lieutenant; Richard T. Whitaker, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

August Stein, captain; Friedrich Nierhoff, captain; Deitrich Hesselbein, captain; William Frank, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Henry C. McLeod, captain; Daniel W. Owens, captain; Thomas W. Robertson; 1st lieutenant; Thomas C. Campbell, 2d lieutenant; William W. Furr, 2d lieutenant.

The Sixth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Sigel, Jefferson County, Ky., in December, 1861, under Col. Walter C. Whitaker, and was mustered into the United States service on the 24th December, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States Mustering Officer.

INFANTRY—SEVENTH REGIMENT.

T. T. Garrard, colonel; promoted to brigadier-general Nov. 24, 1862.

Reuben May, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel 8th Kentucky Infantry May 12, 1863.

J. W. Ridgell, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Jan. 23, 1863.

John Lucas, lieutenant-colonel; appointed lieutenant-colonel Apr. 23, 1863; resigned Jan. 30, 1864.

T. J. Daniel, lieutenant-colonel; appointed lieutenant-colonel May 9, 1864; resigned Sept. 24, 1864.

I. N. Cardwell, major; resigned Feb. 15, 1863.

H. W. Adams, major; promoted to major Feb. 16, 1863; resigned Aug. 5, 1863.

E. B. Treadway, major; promoted major Jan. 1, 1864; resigned Sept. 24, 1864.

Henry Brennan, adjutant; promoted to captain in 20th Infantry Nov. 1, 1862.

J. C. Culton, adjutant; promoted adjutant July 4, 1864.

J. C. Horton, quartermaster; resigned March 27, 1862.

W. W. Watkins, quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster March 27, 1862.

W. H. Jackson, quartermaster; promoted from quarter-master sergeant Jan. 1, 1863.

William Berry, surgeon; resigned Apr. 30, 1864.

A. B. Conant, surgeon; promoted surgeon from assistant surgeon May 10, 1864.

Henry Tammage, assistant surgeon; resigned Apr. 13, 1862.

C. L. C. Herndon, assistant surgeon; promoted assistant surgeon May 10, 1864.

T. S. Paul, chaplain; appointed chaplain Aug. 15, 1863.

COMPANY A.

Elisha B. Treadway, captain; James M. Beatty, captain; William J. Smallwood, 1st lieutenant; George W. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; Jesse H. Cole, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Daniel, 2d lieutenant; Thomas J. Greer, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

John Lucas, captain; Daniel G. Williams, captain; Larkin A. Byron, 1st lieutenant; Henderson Eversole, 1st lieutenant; James W. Smith, 2d lieutenant; Benjamin L. Allen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

James H. McNeill, captain; Levi Pennington, captain; David Stillings, captain; Alex. H. Stephens, captain; Melville Phelps, 1st lieutenant; William R. Robinson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

A. H. Clark, captain; Thomas H. Wilson, captain; Henry J. Clark, captain; Andrew Hurd, 1st lieutenant; Hampton Flanery, 1st lieutenant; James N. Culton, 1st lieutenant; G. Isaacs, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

E. W. Murphy, captain; Beverly P. White, captain; John T. Bates, 1st lieutenant; John B. Stivers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

William Sears, captain; Larkin A. Byron, captain; William J. Eaton, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Buchanan, 1st lieutenant; George W. Harman, 1st lieutenant; Simeon J. Brummitt, 1st lieutenant; John Q. Early, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Granville L. Maret, captain; Martin V. Sutton, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Sutton, 2d lieutenant; Mathias C. Roach, 2d lieutenant; John W. Burch, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

George M. Adams, captain; Adam Reeder, captain; Joseph H. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Stephen T. S. Cook, 1st lieutenant; James H. Tinsley, 2d lieutenant; Lawson Reeder, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

William A. Dozier, captain; Peter Hinkle, captain; Gale S. Dowis, captain; Stephen Dowis, 1st lieutenant; Isaac Deane, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Frisbee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Philos Stratton, captain; Thomas P. Caldwell, captain; S. H. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; Joseph F. Baugh, 1st lieutenant; Elhanon M. Botkin, 2d lieutenant; Jesse C. Speak, 2d lieutenant.

The Seventh Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., under Col. T. T. Garrard, and mustered into the United States service on the 22d day of September, 1861, by Brig. Gen. George H. Thomas. As soon as organized it was ordered to Wild Cat, Ky., to repel the invasion of Gen. Zollicoffer, and participated in an engagement with the enemy at that point, which was the first general engagement fought on Kentucky soil. In this battle the Seventh won distinction for the gallant manner in which it repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy.

INFANTRY—EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Sidney M. Barnes, colonel; resigned Jan. 11, 1864.

Reuben May, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to colonel 7th Kentucky Infantry May 8, 1863.

James D. Mayhew, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain, Company A, May 8, 1863.

Green B. Broaddus, major; resigned April 26, 1863.

John S. Clark, major; promoted from adjutant April 27, 1863.

Thomas E. Park, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major April 28, 1863.

Joseph H. Gardner, quartermaster; resigned Nov. 20, 1861.

Thompson Burnham, Jr., quartermaster; resigned March 15, 1863.

James M. Kindred, quartermaster; promoted from quartermaster-sergeant May 28, 1863.

John R. Pirtle, surgeon; resigned Dec. 23, 1862.

John Mills, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon Dec. 24, 1862.

William Robinson, assistant surgeon; dismissed Aug. 4, 1863.

C. H. Morton, assistant surgeon; resigned Dec. 2, 1862.
Timothy S. Paul, chaplain.
James W. Kindred, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

James D. Mayhew, captain; Wm. H. Catching, captain; Jacob P. Phipps, 1st lieutenant; James A. McCullah, 2d lieutenant; John S. Tye, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Ansil D. Powell, captain; Jordan Neal, 1st lieutenant; Joseph Blackwell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John Wilson, captain; W. W. Park, 1st lieutenant; C. M. Park, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Robert B. Jamison, captain; John P. Gum, captain; Henry C. Thomas, captain; Wm. G. Smallwood, captain; Thomas H. Carson, 1st lieutenant; James W. Stewart, 1st lieutenant; Bowles H. Sale, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Murrell, 2d lieutenant; Joseph McGuire, 2d lieutenant; John S. Tye, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Robert B. Hickman, captain; Coleman D. Benton, captain; Perry A. Nickell, 1st lieutenant; George W. Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; John M. Puckett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John B. Banton, captain; Barton S. Dixon, captain; Christopher C. Jackson, 1st lieutenant; James Harkleroad, 1st lieutenant; Nimrod C. Jones, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Landon C. Minter, captain; Chas. L. Burleigh, captain; Newton J. Hughes, 1st lieutenant; W. Scott Spencer, 2d lieutenant; Caleb S. Hughes, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Rhodes Winburn, captain; Thos. J. Wright, captain; Wade B. Cox, 1st lieutenant; James R. Williams, 1st lieutenant; Geo. W. Lewis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

William McDaniel, captain; Brown Martin, captain; Wiley J. Crook, 1st lieutenant; Nathan Elliott, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Amis, 2d lieutenant; Jesse McDaniel, 2d lieutenant; George C. Watson, 2d lieutenant.

NOTE.—Company K was consolidated with Company D, by order of the War Department.

The Eighth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Estill Springs, Ky., under Col. S. M. Barnes, and was mustered into the United States service on the 15th day of January, 1862, at Lebanon, Ky., by Capt. C. C. Gilbert, First United States Infantry. This regiment was raised chiefly in the mountain counties of Kentucky, and was composed of men who were distinguished for their unflinching bravery and patriotism.

INFANTRY—NINTH REGIMENT.

Benjamin C. Grider, colonel; resigned Feb. 3, 1863.
George H. Cram, colonel; promoted to colonel March 10, 1863.
Allen J. Roark, lieutenant-colonel; died Apr. 17, 1862, at Nashville, Tenn.
John H. Grider, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel March 18, 1863.
Chesley D. Bailey, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant colonel May 18, 1863.
William J. Henson, major; resigned Apr. 17, 1862.
William Starling, major; promoted major from captain, Company C, May 18, 1863.
John H. Shepherd, adjutant; wounded and captured at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
Benjamin S. Coffey, regimental quartermaster; resigned June 9, 1862.
Francis M. Cummings, regimental quartermaster; resigned Feb. 17, 1863.
Frank White, regimental quartermaster; appointed from 59th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, March 2, 1863.
James R. Duncan, surgeon; resigned Jan. 11, 1862.
Thomas R. W. Jeffray, surgeon.
John A. Lindsay, assistant surgeon.
John Chamberlain, assistant surgeon; resigned April 16, 1863.
James C. Rush, chaplain; resigned Nov. 7, 1862.

COMPANY A.

John R. Wheat, captain; Henry F. Leggitt, captain; Francis M. Stone, 1st lieutenant; John W. Lucas, 1st lieutenant; Rufus Somerby, 1st lieutenant; William H. Pitkin, 1st lieutenant; R. R. W. Gillenwaters, 1st lieutenant; Dr. H. Roark, 2d lieutenant; Andrew J. Pipkin, 2d lieutenant; William T. Barton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

William T. Bryan, captain; Silas Clark, captain; Warner Underwood, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin M. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Turner Hestand, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Woodcock, 1st lieutenant; Anderson Smith, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Gilbert M. Mulligan, captain; William Starling, captain; Theodore F. Heeter, captain; Jesse Howell, 1st lieutenant; Charles R. Tate, 1st lieutenant; Ancil B. Mayhew, 1st lieutenant; Toliver Moore, 2d lieutenant; David W. Pope, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Lafayette Harling, captain; Wiley A. Whitley, 1st lieutenant; Algernon S. Leggitt, 1st lieutenant; James Goad, 1st lieutenant; William H. Morrow, 1st lieutenant; William M. Gregory, 2d lieutenant; Pleasant Chitwood, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Archibald S. Chenoweth, captain; Toliver Moore, captain; Moses L. Norvell, 1st lieutenant; Isaac N. Chenoweth, 1st lieutenant; John P. Grinstead, 1st lieutenant; Jasper N. Butram, 1st lieutenant; Samuel C. Stout, 2d lieutenant; Daniel J. Stout, 2d lieutenant; David Witty, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Henry C. Martin, captain; John M. Vetter, captain; Riley A. Read, captain; Robert T. Patton, 1st lieutenant; William Moore, 2d lieutenant; Fred. F. Carpenter, 2d lieutenant; Emery H. Read, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Isaac Dickerson, captain; Demetrius B. Coyle, captain; Jas. M. Simmons, captain; Henry W. Mayes, 1st lieutenant; Henry W. Jenkins, 1st lieutenant; Thos. W. Batdorf, 1st lieutenant; Charles A. McCue, 2d lieutenant; Elijah A. Purcell, 2d lieutenant; Chas. J. Coyle, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

George H. Cram, captain; Samuel A. Lodge, captain; Wellington J. Cram, captain; John P. Grinstead, captain; John W. Combs, 1st lieutenant; Chesly D. Bailey, 1st lieutenant; Smith Pipkins, 1st lieutenant, William O. Boyle, 1st lieutenant; William D. Page, 2d lieutenant; Turner Bartley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Jonathan W. Roark, captain; Chesley D. Bailey, captain; John H. Wheat, captain; James Rhody, 1st lieutenant; Dewitt C. Downing, 1st lieutenant; John B. Austin, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Townsend, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Wm. F. Austin, captain; Rufus Somerby, captain; Boyle O. Rodes, captain; Demetrius B. Coyle, 1st lieutenant; George Faulkner, 1st lieutenant; James Lane, 2d lieutenant; James M. Simmons, 2d lieutenant; Maj. B. McDuffee, 2d lieutenant.

The Ninth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Columbia, Ky., under Col. Benjamin C. Grider, and was mustered into the United States service at Camp Boyle, Adair Co., Ky., on the 26th day of Nov., 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, Fifteenth United States Infantry, mustering officer.

INFANTRY—TENTH REGIMENT.

John M. Harlan, colonel; resigned March 6, 1863.

William H. Hays, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel, March 11, 1863.

Gabriel C. Wharton, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel March 11, 1863.

Henry G. Davidson, major; promoted from captain, Company A, to major March 11, 1863.

William J. Lisle, adjutant; was adjutant to March 11, 1863.

Austin P. McGuire, adjutant; promoted to 1st lieutenant and adjutant March 11, 1863.

Samuel Matlock, quartermaster; on detached service March 6, 1863, to Nov. 21, 1864.

William Atkisson, surgeon; died April 14, 1862.

James G. Hatchitt, surgeon; promoted brigade surgeon June 26, 1862.

Jabez Perkins, surgeon; Nov. 18, 1863, commissioned as surgeon United States Volunteers.

Charles H. Stocking, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon to surgeon April 4, 1864.

Thomas M. Knott, asst. surgeon; died April 5, 1862.

Charles Hardesty, asst. surgeon; appointed assistant surgeon April 5, 1862.

Richard C. Nash, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Henry G. Davidson, captain; William J. Lisle, captain; Charles W. McKay, captain; James Reynolds, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Warren, 1st lieutenant; John Estes, 2d lieutenant; Austin P. McGuire, 2d lieutenant; Richard Grace, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

John T. Milburn, captain; Robert S. Short, 1st lieutenant; William F. O'Bryan, 1st lieutenant; James M. Davenport, 2d lieutenant; John T. McCauley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Edward Hilpp, captain; William L. Musson, 1st lieutenant; James E. Sallee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

George W. Riley, captain; William Hupp, 1st lieutenant; James J. Mills, 1st ieutenant; Stephen N. Dorsey, 2d lieutenant; Edward Y. Penick, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Seth P. Bevill, captain; Andrew Thompson, captain; Clem. Funk, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Franklin S. Hill, captain; Charles W. McKay, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin R. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Joseph T. Adcock, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

William R. Hunter, captain; James M. Davenport, captain; James M. Fiddler, 1st lieutenant; Charles E. Spalding, 1st lieutenant; Edward O. Blemford, 1st lieutenant; Edward C. Ferrill, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Buford R. Pendleton, captain; William T. Shively, captain; Henry W. Barry, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Dunn, 1st lieutenant; William F. Beglow, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Israel B. Webster, captain; William E. Kelley, 1st lieutenant; John H. Myers 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

William Tweddle, captain; Henry Waller, captain; John H. Denton, captain; James R. Watts, 1st lieutenant.

The Tenth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized at Lebanon, Ky., under Col. John M. Harlan, and mustered into the United States service Nov. 21, 1861, by Maj. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Pierce B. Hawkins, colonel.

S. P. Love, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel June 26, 1863.

Erasmus L. Mottley, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel June 26, 1863.

Woodford M. Houchin, major; promoted from captain, Company E, to major Feb. 1, 1864.

Eugene F. Kinnaird, major.

John T. Kinnaird, adjutant.

J. H. Reno, quartermaster.

Vincent S. Hay, quartermaster.

Joseph Kerby, quartermaster; promoted from private Company G.

John F. Kimbley, surgeon.

James T. Higgins, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward.

Samuel Simpson, assistant surgeon.

Porter H. Calvert, chaplain; promoted from private, Company K, to chaplain Sept. 25, 1863.

Lewis P. Arnold, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Eugene F. Kinnaird, captain; James M. Elms, captain; John G. Daniels, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Cherry, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Edward R. Weir, captain; William F. Ward, captain; James W. Patteson, 1st lieutenant; Hudson Brown, 2d lieutenant; Templeton P. Martin, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John B. Tyler, captain; Curren G. Neel, captain; John B. Graves, captain; James M. Tyler, 1st lieutenant; William B. Neel, 1st lieutenant; Jesse C. Atkinson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Newman M. Peay, captain; Charles W. Hanway, captain; John J. Washer, captain; Daniel M. Stahl, captain; George Fortner, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Woodford M. Houchin, captain; Noah Morris, captain; Seldon R. Sanders, 1st lieutenant; Francis Houchin, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Joseph S. Willis, captain; David Poole, captain; Boyd Mercer, 1st lieutenant; James R. Wise, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Bobbett, 1st lieutenant; William J. Long, 1st lieutenant; Preston P. Doughty, 2d lieutenant; Columbus Neel, 2d lieutenant; Fred G. Price, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Elijah C. Phelps, captain; Oliver P. Johnson, captain; William R. Willis, captain; William Smith, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Isaac R. Sketo, captain; Jesse K. Freeman, captain; Addison Turner, 1st lieutenant; Joseph D. Youtz, 1st lieutenant; Jesse S. Hill, 2d lieutenant; John C. Ham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Joseph Fox, captain; James R. Wise, captain; Jonathan Simmons, captain; Thomas Bobbett, 1st lieutenant; David Pool, 1st lieutenant; Robert T. Kennedy, 1st lieutenant; William H. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Boyd Mercer, 1st lieutenant; Preston P. Doughty, 2d lieutenant; William J. Long, 2d lieutenant; Columbus Neel, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Martin Jefferson Roark, captain; Columbus H. Martin, captain; Wash. C. Shannon, captain; James L. Roark, 1st lieutenant; Green B. Eades, 2d lieutenant.

The Eleventh Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. P. B. Hawkins, and was mustered into the United States service by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—TWELFTH REGIMENT.

William A. Hoskins, colonel.

Laurence H. Rosseau, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain of Company C to lieutenant-colonel August 11, 1862; commissioned colonel April 21, 1864, but never mustered as such; transferred to 12th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Montgomery Howard, lieutenant-colonel.

William M. Worsham, major.

Joseph M. Owens, major; promoted from captain, Company B, July 15, 1862.

John M. Hail, adjutant.

James F. McKee, adjutant.

Ephraim F. Hay, adjutant.

G. K. Noland, regimental quartermaster.

Snowden P. Worsham, regimental quartermaster; transferred to the 12th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Edward Richardson, surgeon.

Wm. H. Mullins, surgeon; promoted from assistant surgeon June 6, 1862; transferred to 12th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Americus V. Winfrey, assistant surgeon.

W. Morgan Pollitt, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward of the 16th Kentucky Infantry April 9, 1863.

Lewis Parker, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Cornelius C. Ham, captain; Ephraim F. Hays, 1st lieutenant; John W. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; Tho. Speed, 1st lieutenant; Saml. F. Tomlinson, 2d lieutenant; L. C. Waddle, 2d lieutenant; Nathaniel B. Dobbs, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Joseph M. Owens, captain; John Travis, captain; Wm. R. Smith, 1st lieutenant; John W. Vanderpool, 2d lieutenant; Jasper H. Johnson, 2d lieutenant; James T. W. Barnett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Laurence H. Rosseau, captain; Wm. J. Henson, captain; Wm. C. Crozier, captain; Israel C. Winfrey, 1st lieutenant; Robert H. Mullins, 1st lieutenant; Moses Higgenbottom, 2d lieutenant; Jno. R. McClure, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Martin Van Buren Duvall, captain; John H. Brown, captain; Reuben Hurt, 1st lieutenant; Joseph Hurt, 1st lieutenant; Lewis W. Duvall, 2d lieutenant; James Duvall, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Davison, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Andrew J. Veatch, captain; Geo. W. Hill, captain; Alzy C. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Granville C. Brassfield, 1st lieutenant; Milton A. Sivey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Wm. A. Collier, captain; William Williams, captain; Green C. Freeman, 1st lieutenant; Benj. Martin, 2d lieutenant; Wm. C. Crozier, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Wm. P. Payne, captain; Samuel M. Letcher, captain; Wm. W. Bradley, 1st lieutenant; Fountain J. Wolford, 1st lieutenant; Lewis Irvine, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Elisha Simpson, captain; James L. Burch, captain; Peter J. Hiatt, captain; Jno. L. Warden, captain; E. G. Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Ballow, 2d lieutenant; Snowden P. Worsham, 2d lieutenant; Chas. Orman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

John Johnson, captain; John R. McClure, captain; Nathan Jacobs, 1st lieutenant; Snowden P. Worsham, 1st lieutenant; Jno. B. Francis, 1st lieutenant; David Gray, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Joseph Ballow, captain; Thomas J. Mercer, 1st lieutenant; Watson Ballow, 1st lieutenant; Francis R. Winfrey, 1st lieutenant; Edward Dolen, 2d lieutenant.

The Twelfth Kentucky Infantry was organized in October, 1861, at Camp Clio, Pulaski County, Ky., under Col. W. A. Hoskins, and was mustered into the United States service on the 30th of January, 1862, by Capt. J. M. Kellogg, mustering officer.

INFANTRY—THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

Edward H. Hobson, colonel.

William E. Hobson, colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Feb. 15, 1863, to colonel March 13, 1863.

John B. Carlisle, lieutenant-colonel.

Benjamin P. Estes, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 15, 1863.

John P. Duncan, major; promoted to major March 25, 1863.

Wm. W. Woodruff, adjutant.

John S. Butler, adjutant; promoted to captain and asst. adjutant-general Dec. 5, 1863.

George W. Flowers, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Aug. 15, 1864.

Wm. B. Craddock, regimental quartermaster.

Gann M. Smith, regimental quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster March 12, 1862.

Charles D. Moore, surgeon.

Isaac G. Ingram, asst. surgeon.

Edward S. Cooper, asst. surgeon.

Flavu J. Taylor, asst. surgeon; promoted to asst. surgeon Jan. 10, 1863.

Isaac W. Emmerson, chaplain.
Wm. C. Johnston, chaplain.
John R. Barbee, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

David T. Towles, captain; George W. Thompson, captain; Newbury G. Forbis, 1st lieutenant; Berry M. Webb, 2d lieutenant; William L. Despain, 2d lieutenant; Abraham Chapline, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Thos. T. Alexander, captain; Harrison Q. Hughes, captain; Oliver B. Patterson, captain; Nathan G. Butler, 1st lieutenant; William J. Atkins, 1st lieutenant; James R. Hindman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Rodophil E. Jeter, captain; Benjamin V. Banks, captain; Christopher C. Christie, 1st lieutenant; Samuel H. Murrell, 2d lieutenant; Charles M. Sallee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Benjamin P. Estes, captain; William W. Woodruff, captain; William P. Oldham, 1st lieutenant; John R. Price, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Hall, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Thomas O. Moore, captain; James W. Woodward, captain; Samuel Bottom, captain; Nathaniel F. Twyman, captain; Edward P. Allen, 1st lieutenant; Elisha B. Gardner, 1st lieutenant; Richard Henderson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John P. Duncan, captain; Champness D. Butler, captain; John H. Hazard, captain; Robert H. Turner, 1st lieutenant; Luther Morris, 1st lieutenant; Holland Jones, 2d lieutenant; Samuel A. Jones, 2d lieutenant; William T. Martin, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Isaac R. H. Caldwell, captain; Samuel W. Moore, captain; Elija F. Tucker, captain; Isaac T. Hizer, 1st lieutenant; Samuel J. Cabbell, 1st lieutenant; Jacob D. Bradford, 1st lieutenant; Thomas A. Low, 2d lieutenant; Tucker W. Sullivan, 2d lieutenant; William H. Stearman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Edward W. Graham, captain; Wallace Victor, captain; James R. Hindman, captain; Elijah J. Graham, 1st lieutenant; George W. Flowers; 1st lieutenant; Jesse Despain, 1st lieutenant; James H. Hagan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Charles Stewart, captain; Giles A. Gallup, captain; William H. Stratton, captain; James M. Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Peter S. Rush, captain; Patrick G. Fisher, captain; Albert N. Jett, captain; Wm. L. Lee, 1st lieutenant; Joel S. Veluzat, 1st lieutenant; Charles McCracken, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Camp Hobson, Kentucky, under Col. Edward H. Hobson, and was mustered in December 30, 1861, by Capt. S. M. Kellogg, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Laban T. Moore, colonel.
John C. Cochran, colonel.
George W. Gallup, colonel; promoted to colonel Jan. 13, 1863.
Joseph R. Brown, lieutenant-colonel.
Orlando Brown, Jr., lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutanant-colonel Jan. 13, 1863.
Rhys M. Thomas, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Sept. 29, 1864.
Wm. B. Burke, major.
Drury J. Burchett, major; promoted to major Sept. 29, 1864.
John F. Babbitt, adjutant.
Edward J. Roberts, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major March 1, 1862.
James D. Foster, regimental quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster June 3, 1862.
S. J. Yates, surgeon.
Akin C. Miller, surgeon.
Strother J. Yates, surgeon.
Franklin M. Meacham, assistant surgeon.
Samuel D. Richards, assistant surgeon.
Benj. A. Stubbins, assistant surgeon.
Cyrus L. Mobley, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward Dec. 15, 1862.
A. J. McMillan, chaplain.
Robert B. Herron, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

James C. Whitten, captain; Rhys M. Thomas, captain; William C. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Henry B. Brodess, 1st lieutenant; John M. Lowthere, 2d lieutenant; George W. Hopkins, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Walter O. Woods, captain; James H. Davidson, captain; George W. Green, captain; Chilton A. Osburn, 1st lieutenant; James W. Chafin, 1st lieutenant; Ralph W. Wolbrook, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

David A. Mims, captain; Oliver M. Frasher, captain; William Killgore, 1st lieutenant; David H. McGhee, 1st lieutenant; Geo.. B. Patton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Thomas McKinster, captain; Charles A. Wood, captain; John C. Henderson, 1st lieutenant; Henry A. Borders, 1st lieutenant; Russell T. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; Samuel T. Moore, 2d lieutenant; Bluford F. Hale, 2d lieutenant; John S. Thompson, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Hill, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Archibald Means, captain; Dwight A. Leffingwell, captain; William Price, 1st lieutenant; James T. Womack, 1st lieutenant; Jacob M. Poage, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Solomon Davis, captain; David L. Worthington, captain; John Cochran, Jr., captain; Patrick O. Hawes, captain; Henry G. Gardner, captain; Dwight A. Leffingwell, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Stewart, 1st lieutenant; James H. Sperry, 1st lieutenant; John Murphy, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Gallup, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John C. Collins, captain; Oliver D. Botner, captain; Daniel H. Brown, 1st lieutenant; George H. Roberts, 2d lieutenant; Lawrence P. Davenport, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Isaac Hollingsworth, captain; John F. Babbitt, captain; Wm. H. Bartram, Captain; Geo. R. B. Chapman, 1st lieutenant; Geo. F. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Burgess, 2d lieutenant; James H. Carey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

John Powers, captain; Wiley C. Patrick, captain; John M. Atkinson, captain; Henry G. Gardner, 1st lieutenant; Mason H. Power, 1st lieuten

ant; Richard M. Elam, 2d lieutenant; Andrew B. Fitch, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John M. Smith, captain; Drury J. Burchett, captain; Tho. D. Marcum, captain; Andrew J. Fox, 1st lieutenant; James W. Shannon, 2d lieutenant.

The Fourteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in October, 1861, at Louisa, Ky., under Col. Laban T. Moore, and mustered into the United States service December 10, 1861, by Lt. C. B. Throckmorton, Fourth United States Artillery, mustering officer.

INFANTRY—FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Curran Pope, colonel; died Nov. 5, 1862, of wounds received at battle of Chaplin Hills Oct. 8, 1862.

James B. Forman, colonel; killed at battle of Stone River, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862.

Marion C. Taylor, colonel; promoted from captain, Company A, to colonel Jan. 1, 1863.

George P. Jouett, lieutenant-colonel; killed at battle of Chaplin Hills Oct. 8, 1862.

Joseph R. Snider, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain, Company B, Oct. 9, 1862.

Noah Cartwright, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel July 13, 1863.

William G. Halpin, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Jan. 26, 1864.

William P. Campbell, major; killed in battle of Chaplin Hills, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.

Henry F. Kalfus major; promoted major Oct. 9, 1862.

James S. Allen, major; promoted to major March 1, 1864.

Ahimaaz H. Chambers, major; promoted to major April 11, 1864.

William P. McDowell, adjutant; major in adjutant-general's department.

David N. Sharp, adjutant; promoted to adjutant April 15, 1863.

John W. Clarke, regimental quartermaster; resigned Feb. 10, 1863.

Woodford Hall, regimental quartermaster; promoted to 1st lieutenant and quartermaster March 15,1863.

Luther P. Weatherby, surgeon; resigned July 16, 1862.

Richard F. Logan, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon July 16, 1862.

Edward H. Dunn, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon Nov. 28, 1862.

Eli D. Whitaker, asst. surgeon.

Ezra Woodruff, asst. surgeon.

Jeremiah J. Talbott, chaplain; resigned Nov. 18, 1863.

William C. Atmore, chaplain. resigned Aug. 7, 1862.

Samuel T. Poinier, chaplain; resigned April 5, 1863.

COMPANY A.

Marion C. Taylor, captain; John S. Churchill, captain; James A. T. McGrath, 1st lieutenant; Coleman S. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; Henry M. Lyle, 1st lieutenant: Joseph W. Lyle, 1st lieutenant; Francis A. Winlock, 2d lieutenant; Joseph L. Atherton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Joseph R. Snider, captain; Wm. H. Harrison, captain; Abraham Rothchild, captain; Benjamin H. Howser, 1st lieutenant; James W. Gray, 1st lieutenant; Richard Foster, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

William T. McClure, captain; James B. Forman, captain; Ahimaaz H. Chambers, captain; Henry Wilson, captain; L. Frank Todd, 1st lieutenant; Ezekiel S. Forman, 1st lieutenant; Joseph L. McClure, 2d lieutenant; Robert H. Roberts, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Henry F. Kalfus, captain; John B. McDowell, captain; John L. Foster, captain; John V. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; William H. Brooks, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Noah Cartwright, captain; Charles L. Easum, captain; John B. Wood, 1st lieutenant; Richard F. Shafar, 1st lieutenant; Harrison Hikes, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Aaron S. Bayne, captain; John C. Carroll, captain; William V. Wolfe, 1st lieutenant; Judson Bayne, 1st lieutenant; James P. Carroll, 1st lieutenant; William H. Booker, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John Spalding, captain; John B. Wood, captain; John D. Lenahan, 1st lieutenant, Frank D. Gerrety, 1st lieutenant; John Gormly, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Joshua P. Prather, captain; Richard H. M. Crupper, captain; Joseph L. Atherton, captain; William H. Thomas, 1st lieutenant; Jefferson Dickerson, 1st lieutenant; Edward Clemmons, 1st lieutenant; Edward S. Runnell, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

George T. Limberg, captain; James S. Allen, captain; E. Irvine McDowell, captain; Joseph Weyman, 1st lieutenant; John H. Crockett, 1st lieutenant; Frederick D. Walker, 2d lieutenant; Louis Constans, 2d lieutenant; William Giesman, 2d lieutenant; John M. McGrath, 2d lieutenant; Henry Koch, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

William G. Halpin, captain; Daniel O'Leary, captain; George Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Nelson C. Boyd, 1st lieutenant; Peter Kaps, 1st lieutenant.

The Fifteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall of 1861, at Camp Pope, near New Haven, Ky., under Col. Curran Pope, and was mustered into the United States service on the 14th day of December, 1861, at Camp Pope, by Capt. C. C. Gilbert, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

Charles A. Marshall, colonel; resigned May 1, 1862.

James W. Craddock, colonel; died June 2, 1863.

James W. Gault, colonel; promoted to colonel June 3, 1863.

Joseph Doniphan, lieutenant-colonel; resigned March 13, 1862.

Joseph B. Harris, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel March 15, 1862.

Tho. E. Burns, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel June 3, 1863.

Jno. S. White, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from 1st lieutenant, Company A.

James P. Harbeson, major; promoted from captain, Company H, to major, July 20, 1862.

Ralph Robinson Maltby, adjutant; resigned July 29, 1862.

Joseph Dudley, adjutant; promoted to adjutant July 29, 1862.

Chas. A. Love, adjutant; promoted to adjutant July 14, 1864.

Samuel B. Patterson, quartermaster; dismissed March 25, 1863.

Wiley T. Poynter, quartermaster.

James A. Andrews, quartermaster; promoted from quartermaster sergeant.

Simon M. Cartmell, surgeon.

Frederick M. Taylor, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon to surgeon Dec. 4, 1864.

William C. R. Harrison, asst. surgeon; resigned Jan. 9, 1862.

Lewis J. Jones, asst. surgeon; transferred to 16th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

John S. Bayless, chaplain; transferred to 16th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

COMPANY A.

James W. Gault, captain; Jno. S. White, captain; Samuel D. Pumpelly, captain; Geo. M. DeGarmo, 1st lieutenant; Marcus A. D. L. Allen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Job F. Lewman, captain; Luther F. Warder, captain; Jno. W. Knight, captain; John S. Hammer, captain; Oliver B. Doyle, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Jacob Miller, captain; John W. Wallace, 1st lieutenant; Joseph C. Hiser, 1st lieutenant; James Lawrie, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Thomas N. Wiley, captain; Theodore C. Bratton, captain; Henry C. Weaver, 1st lieutenant; Richard C. Nugent, 2d lieutenant; James B. Shane, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Abraham Murphy, captain; Joseph B. Morris, 1st lieutenant; Tho. C. Dickey, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel S. Wood, 2d lieutenant; Martin V. Markley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Embassy F. King, captain; Tho. E. Burns, captain; Nathaniel S. Wood, captain; Henry L. Gillis, 1st lieutenant; Wm. E. Ellis, 1st lieutenant; Leonidas A. King, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thomas A. Curran, captain; David L. Wells, captain; Jno. E. Wells, captain; Thos. H. Manning, 1st lieutenant; John T. Gault, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Galbraith, 2d lieutenant; Chas. A. Love, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

James P. Harbeson, captain; Henry D. Palmer, captain; Geo. H. Taylor, captain; Thomas E. Burns, 1st lieutenant; Tho. J. Wood, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Carr B. White, captain; Morris C. Hutchins, captain; Thaddeus P. Bullock, 1st lieutenant; Otho W. Estell, 1st lieutenant; Salathiel Brown, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

James A. Lee, Jr., captain; John M. Freeman, 1st lieutenant; Lewis M. Clarke, 2d lieutenant; John C. Sanders, 2d lieutenant.

The Sixteenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Camp Lee, near Maysville, Ky., under Col. Charles A. Marshall, and was mustered into the United States service on the 27th day of January, 1862, by Lieut. George H. Burns, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

James M. Shackelford, colonel; resigned March 23, 1862, as colonel 25th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

John H. McHenry, Jr., colonel; organized 17th Regiment.

Alexander M. Stout, colonel; promoted colonel Jan. 27, 1863; was wounded severely at Shiloh.

Benj. H. Bristow, lieutenant-colonel; resigned April 15, 1862, as lieutenant-colonel 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Robert Vaughan, lieutenant-colonel; wounded Sept. 20, 1863, at Chickamauga, Ga.

William B. Wall, major; resigned April 15, 1862, as major 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Isaac Calhoon, major; promoted major Dec. 31, 1861.

David M. Claggett, major; was captain Company C, 25th Kentucky Volunteers, to April 13, 1862.

John P. Ritter, adjutant; resigned April 16, 1862, as adjutant 25th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

Edmund L. Starling, adjutant; resigned April 16, 1862, as adjutant 17th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

George W. Gist, adjutant; promoted captain Company D, April 23, 1863.

John M. Williams, adjutant; promoted adjutant June 15, 1863; died Aug. 9, 1863.

George Deering, adjutant; promoted adjutant Oct. 14, 1863.

Benjamin T. Perkins, regimental quartermaster; resigned April 16, 1862.

Richeson W. Allen, regimental quartermaster; resigned July 3, 1862.

John T. Jackson, regimental quartermaster; resigned March 11, 1863.

Richard C. Gill, regimental quartermaster.

Burkett Cloak, surgeon; resigned April 16, 1862, as surgeon 25th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry.

Warren J. Burgess, surgeon.

Addison P. Shackelford, asst. surgeon; resigned March 4, 1862, as asst. surgeon 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Albert D. Cosby, asst. surgeon; resigned Dec. 13, 1862.

George W. Warmoth, asst. surgeon; resigned April 16, 1862, as asst. surgeon 25th Kentucky Volunteers.

Stuart Hubbard, asst. surgeon.

Jno. W. Compton, asst. surgeon; resigned March 24, 1863.

George W. Kinsoloing, chaplain; resigned April 3, 1862.

COMPANY A.

Preston Morton, captain; William Keith, captain; Samuel K. Cox, captain; Thomas R. Brown, 1st lieutenant; John D. Millman, 1st lieutenant; Isaac Ferry, 1st lieutenant; Wm. J. White, 1st lieutenant; James B. Harrison, 2d lieutenant; John W. Howard, 2d lieutenant; John H. Frost, 2d lieutenant; Wm. J. Littell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

William H. Davison, captain; William W. Briggs, captain; Isaac Ferry, captain; Barney M. Harwood, 1st lieutenant; Avery Byers, 2d lieutenant; Alexander B. Sandefur, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Isaac Calhoon, captain; Robert L. Beckham, captain; David Duncan, captain; Finis H. Little, 1st lieutenant; William J. Lendrum, 1st lieutenant; Linus Fuller, 1st lieutenant; Marcus D. Bandy, 2d lieutenant; Barney M. Harwood, 2d lieutenant; Robert J. Allen, 2d lieutenant; Curtis A. Brasher, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

James Hudson, captain; David M. Claggett, captain; Elisha B. Edwards, captain; Frank H.

Bristow, captain; George W. Gist, captain; Jesse W. Griffin, 1st lieutenant; Richard F. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; Edward S. Campbell, 1st lieutenant; Robert M. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Aaron S. Hicks, 1st lieutenant; Walter Evans, 2d lieutenant; Seymore H. Perkins, 2d lieutenant; Jno. D. Millman, 2d lieutenant; Isaac Ferry, 2d lieutenant; James M. Rogers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Wesley Garey, captain; Thomas W. Campbell, captain; James W. Anthony, captain; Wm. J. Lendrum, captain; John H. Frost, captain; Perry Campbell, 1st lieutenant; Albert R. Shackelford, 1st lieutenant; George L. Sullivan, 1st lieutenant; Wm. S. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Samuel K. Cox, 1st lieutenant; Boanerges V. Tyler, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Peyton, 2d lieutenant; Benjamin T. Hobbs, 2d lieutenant; James M. Wilson, 2d lieutenant; Charles Bratcher, 2d lieutenant; Campbell H. Johnson, 2d lieutenant; Michael Mulvey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Henry S. Barnett, captain; Ion Nall, captain; William T. King, 1st lieutenant; Jefferson H. Jennings, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Alverson, 1st lieutenant; John G. Ferguson, 2d lieutenant; Oscar D. Kress, 2d lieutenant; Thomas D. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Benjamin T. Underwood, captain; Hugh C. Cooper, captain; Thomas J. Kirby, captain; John V. Boyd, captain; Samuel T. Fruit, captain; William Ashby, 1st lieutenant; Rich. W. Williams, 1st lieutenant; John H. Frost, 1st lieutenant; Alexander B. Sandefur, 1st lieutenant; Thomas B. Boyd, 2d lieutenant; Isaac Condett, 2d lieutenant; Albert E. Brown, 2d lieutenant; David Cartright, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Meglemery, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

George A. Little, captain; Robt. M. Davis, captain; Richard F. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; William S. Dillahay, 1st lieutenant; Henry M. West, 1st lieutenant; Garton C. Pruett, 2d lieutenant; H. Clay Marlow, 2d lieutenant; George C. Merritt, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Robert Vaughan, captain; Thomas R. Brown, captain; Silas Heston, 1st lieutenant; H. Clay Marlow, 1st lieutenant; Jefferson H. Jennings, 2d lieutenant; Boanerges V. Tyler, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

James H. Holloway, captain; Putnam B. Trible, captain; Robert C. Sturgis, captain; George C. Merritt, captain; Newton M. Miller, 1st lieutenant; Pius Clarke, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Mitchell, 1st lieutenant; Samuel W. Pruett, 1st lieutenant; John J. Holloway, 2d lieutenant; William A. Fitts, 2d lieutenant; Aaron S. Hicks, 2d lieutenant; Thomas J. Alverson, 2d lieutenant; Noah C. Dean, 2d lieutenant.

The Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. John H. McHenry, Jr., and was mustered into the United States service on the 4th day of January, 1862, at Calhoon, Ky., by Capt. John E. Edwards, Third United States Artillery, mustering officer.

INFANTRY—EIGHTEENTH REGIMENT.

William A. Warner, colonel; wounded at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.

John J. Landrum, lieutenant-colonel; wounded at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.

H. K. Milward, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned colonel Dec. 19, 1863, but never mustered.

Fred'k G. Bracht, major; resigned Jan. 14, 1863.

Abram G. Wileman, major; killed by guerrillas Oct. 5, 1863, in Pendleton County, Ky.

John W. Robbins, major; commissioned lieutenant-colonel Dec. 19, 1863, but never mustered.

John J. Hall, major; promoted from 2d lieutenant, Company H, to 1st lieutenant, August 2, 1862; to captain August 30, 1862; to major November 10, 1864; transferred to 18th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Alvin B. Clark, adjutant; promoted adjutant Jan. 15, 1863.

John W. Hamilton, adjutant; transferred to 18th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

James T. Clark, regimental quartermaster; promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster Dec. 15, 1863.

John Moss, regimental quartermaster; transferred to field and staff as regimental quartermaster Dec. 25, 1863.

Joseph Fithian, surgeon; resigned March 30, 1865.

J. C. Elliott, ass't surgeon; surgeon of the 100th United States Colored Infantry.

Asa Drury, chaplain; resigned Oct. 4, 1863.

L. D. Parker, chaplain; transferred to 18th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

COMPANY A.

Mathew Mullins, captain; John W. Robbins, captain; J. M. Wilson, captain; James T. Applegate, 1st lieutenant; H. F. Monroe, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Wm. C. Johnson, captain; Chas. S. Williams, captain; Jas. T. Chrisman, 1st lieutenant; Wm. McPherson, 1st lieutenant; Saml. J. Kuhn, 1st lieutenant; John W. Puthuff, 2d lieutenant; Junius B. Bracht, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Wm. R. Fisk, captain; Wm. C. Reeder, captain; Andrew B. Clark, 1st lieutenant; Hiram M. Bryson, 1st lieutenant; James D. Oldham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Abram G. Wileman, captain; J. L. Dougherty, captain; William McPherson, captain; Henry F. Monroe, captain; Saml. S. Patterson, 1st lieutenant; James A. Simpson, 1st lieutenant; L. H. Sanders, 1st lieutenant; James H. Johns, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

David E. Pugsley, captain; James C. Bacon, captain; Henry P. Ritchey, captain; Weeden C. Sleet, 1st lieutenant; Silas Howe, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Regan, 1st lieutenant; John C. Richards, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Wm. H. Littlejohn, captain; Jas. F. Miller, captain; John M. Poston, captain; Augustus G. Hatry, 1st lieutenant; John R. Miller, 1st lieutenant; John W. Washburn, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Hiram W. Egelston, captain; Benj. T. Riggs, captain; David Boys, 1st lieutenant; Kemp G. Carter, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Wm. M. Oden, captain; Orrin M. Lewis, captain; John J. Hall, captain; Jos. C. Pritchard, captain; John W. Grose, 1st lieutenant; Alfred S. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; James E. Bell, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Sam'l G. Rogers, captain; John W. Grose, captain; Joseph M. Shaw, captain; James Dunlap, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Dayton, 1st lieutenant; David H. Goyen, 1st lieutenant; Thos. Clements, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Wm. W. Culbertson, captain; John B. Heltemus, captain; John Moss, 1st lieutenant; A. B. Clark, 1st lieutenant; Junius B. Bracht, 1st lieutenant; Wm. A. Ridenour, 2d lieutenant.

The Eighteenth Kentucky Infantry was recruited during the winter of 1861-62, and was mustered into the United States service on the 8th day of February, 1862. During its organization, and until August 20, 1862, the command was on duty guarding the Covington & Lexington R. R., with its headquarters at Falmouth, Ky., until April 16, 1862, and then at Lexington, Ky. On the 16th day of June, 1862, a detachment of the regiment, under command of Lieut.-Col. Landram, participated in the defense of Cynthiana, Ky., against Gen. John H. Morgan, where it sustained a loss of two killed.

INFANTRY—NINETEENTH REGIMENT.

William J. Landrum, colonel.

John Cowan, lieutenant-colonel.

John R. Duncan, major; resigned Feb. 14, 1863.

Morgan V. Evans, major; killed in battle of Vicksburg, Miss., May 22, 1863.

Josiah J. Mann, major; promoted from captain, Co. F, to major May 23, 1863.

Richard L. Cochran, adjutant; resigned Feb. 14, 1863.

George C. Rue, adjutant; promoted to adjutant April 2, 1863.

George H. McKinney, regimental quartermaster.

James B. Sparks, surgeon; resigned Jan. 21, 1863.

William K. Sadler, surgeon; killed Dec. 2, 1864, at Baton Rouge, La.

Pleasant W. Logan, asst. surgeon; resigned July 15, 1862.

James F. Peyton, asst. surgeon; promoted to assistant surgeon Nov. 20, 1862.

Anthony H. Semlire, asst. surgeon; resigned June 30, 1864.

William N. Forbes, asst. surgeon; resigned July 19, 1864.

James Matthews, chaplain; resigned Aug. 25, 1864.

COMPANY A.

William B. Kelly, captain; William H. Cundiff, captain; Ansel L. Wood, 1st lieutenant; Reid Leslie McMurtry, 1st lieutenant; Vincent L. Lester, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Aaron Blakeman, captain; John J. Goodnight, captain; Henry L. Whitehouse, captain; Abraham Whitenack, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

James O. Norris, captain; William H. Bolar, captain; John Landrum, 1st lieutenant; Elihu H. Moles, 2d lieutenant; George W. Graham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Alexander E. Adams, captain; Henry C. Hogg, captain; Edwin F. Hogg, 1st lieutenant; Elijah C. Baker, 1st lieutenant; John D. Mitchell, 2d lieutenant; Zachariah Morgan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Hanibal Downey, captain; John Barnett, captain; Willis O. Egerton, 1st lieutenant; John Walls, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Talbot, 1st lieutenant; Luther Hale, 2d lieutenant; Squire Pinkston, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Josiah J. Mann, captain; Harbert K. Forbis, captain; George Rose, 1st lieutenant; William D. James, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Merideth G. Richardson, captain; Joshua W. Hansford, captain; Lincoln A. Hamblin, captain; Thomas A. Warren, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Cundiff, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Morgan V. Evans, captain; Alexander Logan, captain; Thomas A. Elkin, 1st lieutenant; Stephen W. Hedger, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Henry Hicks, captain; William T. Cummins, captain; William G. Bowen, 1st lieutenant; George H. Vandevere, 1st lieutenant; Harrison S. Poulter, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

William F. McKinny, captain; Isaac Singleton, 1st lieutenant; James F. Peyton, 1st lieutenant; Eberle Wilson, 1st lieutenant; George C. Rue, 2d lieutenant; James J. McKinney, 2d lieutenant.

The Nineteenth Kentucky Infantry was recruited and organized at Harrodsburg, Ky., in the fall of 1861 by Col. William J. Landrum and Lieut.-Col. John Cowan, and was mustered into the United States service on the 2d day of January, 1862, by Capt. H. C. Bankhead, United States mustering officer. From Harrodsburg the regiment marched to Somerset, Ky., in January, 1862, and was engaged for some time in destroying the intrenchments of Gen. Zollicoffer, and collecting property captured at the battle of Mill Spring.

INFANTRY—TWENTIETH REGIMENT.

Sanders D. Bruce, colonel; resigned June 24, 1864.

Charles S. Hanson, lieutenant-colonel; transferred to 37th Kentucky Mounted Infantry as colonel Dec. 31, 1863.

Thomas B. Waller, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned colonel Oct. 5, 1864, but never mustered as such.

Benjamin F. Buckner, major; resigned April 17, 1863.

Frank E. Wolcott, major; commissioned lieutenant-colonel October 14, 1864, but never mustered as such.

John Brennan, adjutant; transferred to 3d Kentucky Infantry as Captain Company F, Sept. 29, 1862.

James A. McCampbell, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Sept. 29, 1862.

James W. Swing, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Oct. 13, 1864.

Alonzo Jackson, quartermaster; died Jan. 15, 1863, at Claysville, Ky.

Abner Crane, quartermaster; promoted to quartermaster Oct. 10, 1863.

John C. Welch, surgeon.

W. H. Curran, assistant surgeon; resigned Aug. 2, 1862.

Prior N. Norton, assistant surgeon; promoted from hospital steward to assistant surgeon Aug. 2, 1862.

Daniel W. Axline, chaplain; resigned Nov. 6, 1862.

COMPANY A.

James W. Craddock, captain; Henry S. Parrish, captain; Daniel T. Buckner, captain; Benjamin M. Chiles, 1st lieutenant; William A. Attersall, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Abram G. Smith, captain; Adam W. Trebein, captain; Lawson Gray, 1st lieutenant; John Glenn, 1st lieutenant; Leonidas Denny, 1st lieutenant; Joseph N. Reid, 1st lieutenant; James R. B. Cole, 1st lieutenant; William N. Rice, 2d lieutenant; Elijah Yates, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Clinton J. True, captain; Francis E. Wolcott, captain; Lucius A. Bachus, captain; Benjamin R. Waller, 1st lieutenant; Cassander Hall, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Theodore B. Rushing, captain; James C. Morris, captain; Wm. C. Musselman, captain; Samuel Corum, 1st lieutenant; Hugh M. Hiatt, 1st lieutenant; John W. Hale, 1st lieutenant; James R. B. Cole, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Robert F. Haynes, captain; Franklin Gipson, captain; Henry C. Brennan, captain; Walter M. Asher, 1st lieutenant; James C. Guess, 1st lieutenant; Saunders A. Crowell, 2d lieutenant; Robert B. McNary, 2d lieutenant; James D. Young, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

William B. Dunn, captain; William C. Musselman, 1st lieutenant; John C. Northcutt, 1st lieutenant; James C. Morris, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thomas B. Waller, captain: John P. Gapen, captain; Thomas J. Gregory, 1st lieutenant; Francis C. Sternberg, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin R. Waller, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Thomas M. Duvall, captain; John Glenn, captain; John R. Flemming, 1st lieutenant; Franklin S. Loyd, 1st lieutenant; Orlean B. Herring, 2d lieutenant; Wickliffe Cooper, 2d lieutenant; Bartholomew J. Scott, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Cornelius McLeod, captain; Henry Kimbrough, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Oots, 1st lieutenant; Winder Kinney, 1st lieutenant; Robert Becket, 2d lieutenant; Joseph M. Wilson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Andrew McCampbell, captain; Charles R. West, captain; George W. Baker, 1st lieutenant; Benj. F. Thornbrough, 1st lieutenant; Allen A. Burton, 1st lieutenant; S. Thompson Corn, 2d lieutenant; Jas. A. McCampbell, 2d lieutenant; Samuel M. Anderson, 2d lieutenant.

The Twentieth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall and winter of 1861, by Col. Sanders D. Bruce, and was mustered into the United States service on the 6th day of January, 1862, at Smithland, Ky., by Lieut.-Col. Chetlain, United States mustering officer. Soon after organization, it was ordered to Louisville, Ky., and from there to Bardstown, Ky., where it was assigned to a brigade commanded by Col. Bruce and marched to Nashville, Tenn.

INFANTRY—TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

Ethelbert L. Dudley, colonel; died February 20, 1862.

Saml. W. Price, colonel; transferred to 21st Kentucky Veteran Infantry; wounded at Kenesaw Mountain.

Basil A. Wheat, lieutenant-colonel; resigned October 26, 1862.

James C. Evans, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel October 27, 1862.

Wm. W. Dowden, major; wounded at Stone River, January 1, 1863; resigned April 19, 1863.

Jesse E. Hoskins, major; promoted from captain, Company G, to major April 20, 1863.

M. Scott Dudley, adjutant; resigned May 16, 1863.

Chas. F. Spillman, adjutant; promoted from private of Company E to adjutant June 14, 1863.

John T. Gunn, adjutant; promoted from 1st lieutenant Company E to adjutant Feb. 28, 1864.

Albert H. Bohannon, adjutant; promoted adjutant Nov. 21, 1864; transferred to 21st Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Samuel P. Taylor, regimental quartermaster; resigned Nov. 14, 1862.

Thomas Iles, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster March 1, 1863.

Claiborne J. Walton, surgeon.

Jas. O. Wheat, asst. surgeon; resigned Feb. 12, 1862.

T. C. Fitzhugh, asst. surgeon; resigned Jan. 8, 1865.

Wm. L. Morrison, chaplain; resigned March 15, 1862.

Thos. M. Gunn, chaplain, never mustered.

M. H. B. Burkett, chaplain; acted as such from Sept. 4, 1863, until July 30, 1864.

COMPANY A.

Wm. W. Dowden, captain; Wm. R. Milward, captain; Edward Knoble, 1st lieutenant; John D. Carpenter, 2d lieutenant; Wm. D. Vanpelt, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

James P. Sandidge, captain; Jonathan Williams, 1st lieutenant; John H. Hayes, 1st lieutenant; James L. Sublett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Matt. M. Clay, captain; Sam'l R. Sharrard, captain; Edmund B. Davidson, captain; John B. Buckner, 1st lieutenant; Lucien W. Dunnington, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

David Russell, captain; Henry F. Temple, captain; George T. Stagg, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel C. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Logan, 2d lieutenant; Wm. F. Ware, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Williamson Irvin, captain; James Dudley, captain; Dudley M. Craig, captain; William Bright, captain; John T. Gunn, 1st lieutenant; Charles F. Spillman, 1st lieutenant; Job S. Bailey, 1st lieutenant; Jackson W. Reynolds, 2d lieutenant; Hugh Lonney, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Zachariah S. Taylor, captain; John G. Evans, captain; Jasper F. Morton, captain; Robert L. Bullock, 1st lieutenant; William Spencer, 1st lieutenant; Thos. P. Dudley, Jr., 2d lieutenant; John H. Bevell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Jesse E. Hoskins, captain; John D. Nash, captain; Sebastian Stone, 1st lieutenant; Hugh A. Hedger, 1st lieutenant; George Y. O'Neal, 1st lieutenant; Jeremiah R. Dean, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Wm. C. Edwards, captain; Jno. R. Jameson, captain; George W. Twyman, captain; William Prewitt, 1st lieutenant; Michael B. Gratz, 1st lieutenant; William Ritter, 1st lieutenant; Benj. Fansler, 1st lieutenant; Holman F. Hardy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Newton M. Hutchens, captain; George T. Stagg, captain; Langston P. Bryant, 1st lieutenant; Thos. M. Gunn, 1st lieutenant; Wm. A. Bryant, 2d lieutenant; George S. Nunn, 2d lieutenant; Newton Scearce, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Memory J. Thompson, captain; Thomas A. Conyer, 1st lieutenant; Daniel R. Gray, 1st lieutenant;

Joseph A. Fagg, 2d lieutenant; Herbert G. W. Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-first Kentucky Infantry was formed by the consolidation of the troops recruited by E. L. Dudley and B. A. Wheat, and was mustered into the United States service at Camp Ward, Ky., Dec. 30, 1861.

INFANTRY—TWENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

Daniel W. Lindsey, colonel; resigned Oct. 14, 1863.

George W. Monroe, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel to colonel Oct. 15, 1863.

William J. Worthington, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Oct. 15, 1863.

Wesley Cook, major; resigned Oct. 20, 1862.

John Hughes, major; promoted to major Oct. 15, 1863.

Orlando Brown, Jr., adjutant; promoted to major 14th Ky. Vol. Inf. April 15, 1862.

Joseph W. Roberts, adjutant; promoted adjutant April 15, 1862.

Francis C. Robb, adjutant; promoted to adjutant June 21, 1863.

E. F. Dulin, quartermaster; resigned Jan. 10, 1862.

John Paul Jones, quartermaster; resigned June 5, 1862.

James F. Tureman, quartermaster; resigned March 24, 1863.

Shadrack L. Mitchell, quartermaster; promoted to quartermaster March 25, 1863.

James W. Barbee, quartermaster; promoted to quartermaster Dec. 14, 1863.

Benj. F. Stevenson, surgeon; resigned Feb. 16, 1864.

Henry Manfred, surgeon; promoted to surgeon Feb. 16, 1864.

William R Davidson, assistant surgeon; transferred to 7th Ky. Vet. Vol. Inf.

Samuel S. Sumner, chaplain; resigned March 15, 1864.

COMPANY A.

John Hughes, captain; Arthur J. Harrington, 1st lieutenant; James W. Barbee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

William J. Worthington, captain; John L. Godman, captain; Henry E. Evans, 1st lieutenant; Daniel W. Steele, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John F. Lacy, captain; Francis C. Robb, 1st lieutenant; Robert Montgomery, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

James W. Scott, captain; James G. Milligan, captain; James W. Barbee, 1st lieutenant; John A. Gilbert, 2d lieutenant; James A. Watson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Lewis P. Ellis, captain; Alexander Bruce, captain; David C. Thoroman, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Scott, 2d lieutenant; William B. Hegan, 2d lieutenant; Jabez Truett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Daniel Garrard, Jr., captain; Williamson W. Bacon, captain; James Morton, 1st lieutenant; William H. Sneed, 2d lieutenant; Richard J. Frayne, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John Paul Jones, captain; William B. Hegan, captain; Evan D. Thomas, captain; Jacob Swigert, Jr., captain; Charles L. Nevius, 1st lieutenant; Harry B. Litteral, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Edwin Cook, captain; John T. Gathright, captain; Stephen Nethercutt, captain; Thomas P. Harper, 1st lieutenant; John Everman, Sr., 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Jordon Nethercutt, captain; Frank A. Estep, captain; William K. Gray, captain; Jeremiah Noland, 1st lieutenant; Charles G. Shanks, 1st lieutenant; William Nethercutt, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Louis Schweizer, captain; Charles Gutig, captain; Gustav Wehrle, 1st lieutenant.

The Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Swigert, Greenup County, Ky., on the 12th day of December, 1861, under D. W. Lindsey, as colonel; George W. Monroe, lieutenant-colonel; and Wesley Cook, major, by which officers the regiment was principally recruited.

INFANTRY—TWENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Marcellus Mundy, colonel; resigned Dec. 31, 1863.

John P. Jackson, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Nov. 24, 1862.

James C. Foy, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel April 18, 1863.

Geo. W. Northup, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel July 27, 1864.

Thomas H. Hamrick, major; resigned Feb. 26, 1863.

William Boden, major; promoted to major Aug. 8, 1864.

Wm. H. Mundy, adjutant; resigned Jan. 17, 1864.

Jephson P. Puke, adjutant; promoted adjutant from 1st lieutenant, Company K.

Wm. N. Air, regimental quartermaster; dismissed the service June 20, 1862.

Leroy R. Hawthorn, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster June 20, 1862.

Alvin Tarvin, regimental quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster; July 28, 1864.

Arnold Strothotte, surgeon; resigned Nov. 28, 1862.

Alonzo M. Morrison, surgeon; promoted to surgeon Nov. 28, 1862.

Benj. F. Stevenson, asst. surgeon; promoted surgeon of 22d Kentucky Infantry Jan. 10, 1862.

Wm. L. Hashbrook, asst. surgeon; promoted to asst. surgeon Nov. 28, 1862.

Wm. H. Black, chaplain; transferred to 23d Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

COMPANY A.

James C. Foy, captain; William A. Seiter, captain; Asaph A. Quigley, captain; Joseph Greene, 1st lieutenant; Joseph C. Hoffman, 1st lieutenant; John B. Korman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

George W. Northup, captain; Thomas W. Hardiman, captain; Levi S. Peters, captain; Claudius Tifft, 1st lieutenant; Henry G. Shiner, 1st lieutenant; William Hudson, 2d lieutenant; Robert Townsend, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

William G. Holden, captain; William Hudson, captain; Ryland Willett, 1st lieutenant; John Squiers, 1st lieutenant; Eldridge G. Holden, 2d lieutenant. Asaph A. Quigley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Henry Speier, captain; William Boden, captain; Charles Theis, 1st lieutenant; Reuben Hamer, 1st lieutenant; Thos. M. Barton, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Spencer, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

William P. Egan, captain; John Barnes, captain; William A. Morgan, 1st lieutenant; Thomas S. Lukens, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Charles R. Cotton, captain; Benjamin A. Thompson, captain; Frank Jukes, captain; Alvin O. Pattee, 1st lieutenant; Patrick S. Reeves, 1st lieutenant; Jephson P. Duke, 2d lieutenant: Jacob S. Fox, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thomas J. Williams, captain; Thomas W. Hardiman, 1st lieutenant; Martin T. Hennessy, 1st lieutenant; James Barker, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Lewis Voight, captain; Claudius Tifft, captain; William A. Seiter, 1st lieutenant; Frank A. Black, 1st lieutenant; Henry G. Shiner, 2d lieutenant; Martin T. Hennessy, 2d lieutenant; William H. Whitney, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Augustus C. Paul, captain; Frank A. Black, captain; Henry G. Shiner, captain; Douglas Pritchard, 1st lieutenant; Green Clay Goodloe, 1st lieutenant; Alonzo W. Tarvin, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Joseph W. Cottingham, captain; Kavanaugh O. Bullock, captain; Ephraim P. Mavity, captain; Jephson P. Duke, 1st lieutenant; William H. Tyree, 2d lieutenant; Wm. A. Morgan, 2d lieutenant; John Atkinson, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-third Kentucky Infantry was organized in December, 1861, at Camp King, Ky., by Col. Marcellus Mundy, and was mustered into the United States service by Maj. Jno. R. Edie, 15th United States Infantry.

INFANTRY—TWENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Lewis B. Grigsby, colonel; resigned July 16, 1863.

John S. Hurt, colonel; promoted colonel July 17, 1863.

Lafayette North, lieutenant colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel October 24, 1863.

William H. Smith, major; resigned March 4, 1863.

James H. Turner, adjutant; resigned Aug. 30, 1862.

John A. Joyce, adjutant; discharged on account of wounds received in action June 27, 1864.

Cornelius E. Mastin, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Nov. 4, 1864.

David S. Trumbo, quartermaster.

James Sympson, surgeon.

William L. White, asst. surgeon; resigned March 27, 1862.

Marcus E. Poynter, asst. surgeon; resigned Jan. 1, 1863.

W. H. T. Moss, asst. surgeon.

Joseph Gardner, asst. surgeon; wounded in action Aug. 5, 1864.

COMPANY A.

Hector H. Scoville, captain; Wiley Jones, 1st lieutenant; William B. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Daniel O. Morin, 2d lieutenant; George W. Freeman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

James Carey, captain; Washington J. McIntire, 1st lieutenant; John Henry, 2d lieutenant; Daniel F. Winchester, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Green V. Hall, captain; Joseph L. Judy, 1st lieutenant; John Kinney, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Bush, 1st lieutenant; Stephen G. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; James McChristy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

George R. Barber, captain; Mathias T. S. Lee, 1st lieutenant; Lander Barber, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Lafayette North, captain; John M. Gill, 1st lieutenant; Wilkins Warren, 2d lieutenant; Jesse P. Nelson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

James A. Hawkins, captain; James Blue, captain; Thomas J. Bush, captain; John N. McIntire, captain; William H. Norris, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Likes, 1st lieutenant; Cornelius E. Martin, 1st lieutenant; Dillion White, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Peter T. Hedges, captain; John J. Sewell, 1st lieutenant; John C. Padgett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Edmund Jones, captain; Robert G. Potter, captain; Reuben Langford, captain; James H. Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Ewell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Roy D. Davidson, captain; Fountain Goodpaster, captain; William G. Howard, 1st lieutenant; John A. Joyce, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Wilson, 2d lieutenant; Julius C. Miller, 2d lieutenant; Benjamin P. DeSilve, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John J. Evans, captain; James M. Anderson, captain; James Caughlin, 1st lieutenant; T. D. Moss, 2d lieutenant; David G. Howell, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-fourth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall and winter of 1861 under Col. Lewis B. Grigsby, and was mustered into the United States service on the 31st of December, 1861, at Lexington, Ky., by Capt. Bankhead, United States mustering officer.

The Twenty-fifth Kentucky Infantry was consolidated with the Seventeenth Kentucky Infantry April 13, 1862.

INFANTRTY—TWENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

Stephen G. Burbridge, colonel; promoted brigadier-general June 12, 1862.

Cicero Maxwell, colonel; promoted to colonel June 12, 1862.

Thos. B. Fairleigh, colonel; promoted to colonel Jan. 3, 1865.

James F. Lauck, lieutenant-colonel; was lieutenant-colonel of 33d Kentucky Infantry.

John L. Davidson, major; killed in action at Shiloh, Tenn., April 10, 1862.

Jos. L. Frost, major; promoted from adjutant to major April 10, 1862.

Ignatius Mattingly, major; promoted from captain Company C to major June 12, 1862.

Cyrus J. Wilson, major; resigned May 14, 1864.

Francis M. Page, major; promoted from captain of Company E to Major Nov. 15, 1864.

A. J. Wells, adjutant; promoted to adjutant April 10, 1862.

James A. Dawson, adjutant; was adjutant of 33d Kentucky Infantry.

Richard Vance, adjutant; promoted adjutant Jan. 1, 1863.

John H. Morton, regimental quartermaster; discharged April 1, 1864, by reason of consolidation of 33d with 26th Kentucky Infantry.

Robert W. Compton, regimental quartermaster;

was regimental quartermaster of 33d Kentucky Infantry.

Densil P. Walling, regimental quartermaster; was adjutant of 33d Kentucky Infantry from May 4, 1863, to consolidation.

Jonathan Baily, surgeon; resigned April 10, 1862.

James M. Baily, surgeon; promoted from ass't surgeon to surgeon April 10, 1862.

L. Bennett, ass't surgeon; promoted to surgeon of 8th Kentucky Cavalry June 10, 1863.

James Walshe, ass't surgeon; discharged April 1, 1864, by reason of consolidation.

E. O. Brown, ass't surgeon; honorably discharged May 10, 1865, per order of War Department.

W. H. Jett, ass't surgeon; was ass't surgeon of 33d Kentucky Infantry prior to consolidation.

Wm. M. Grubbs, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

John W. Belt, captain; Rowland E. Hackett, captain; Wm. W. Ranney, 1st lieutenant; Stephen Woodward, 1st lieutenant; Tho. B. Bayne, 1st lieutenant; Richard Shockley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Gabriel Netter, captain; D. H. Butler, captain; Robert Earnest, captain; Woodford M. Taylor, captain; Abram B. Stanley, captain; John T. Higdon, 1st lieutenant; James M. Holland, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Gillstrap, 1st lieutenant; Jeremiah O'Brien, 2d lieutenant; Richard Vance, 2d lieutenant; John C. West, 2d lieutenant; Seth Rupard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Ignatius Mattingly, captain; Henry Smallhouse, captain; James W. Overstreet, captain; Joseph Fisher, 1st lieutenant; John A. Hendrix, 2d lieutenant; Wm. T. Hansford, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Albert N. Keigwin, captain; Fred Guy, captain; James McConnell, 1st lieutenant; Joseph B. Harris, 1st lieutenant; Andrew J. Wells, 2d lieutenant; Thos. J. Mershon, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Francis M. Page, captain; Wm. C. Burgher, 1st lieutenant; Jeremiah Redfearn, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Morgan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Michael T. Hall, captain; Wm. M. Claypool, 1st lieutenant; David W. Thomas, 1st lieutenant; Samuel H. Haden, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thos. B. Fairleigh, captain; James H. Ashcraft, captain; Samuel D. Brown, 1st lieutenant; George T. Elder, 2d lieutenant; Reuben C. Powell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Lafayette S. Beck, captain; Thomas G. Laird, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Sherrall, 2d lieutenant; Pleasant P. Collier, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Wm. Knight, Jr., captain; James M. Adams, captain; John M. Wilkins, 1st lieutenant; Densil P. Walling, 2d lieutenant; Wm. K. Walters, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Cyrus J. Wilson, captain; Wm. F. Gorin, captain; Jacob M. Sallee, 1st lieutenant; William L. Macey, 2d lieutenant.

The Twenty-sixth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. S. G. Burbridge, n the fall of 1861, and mustered into the United States service March, 1862, at Nashville, Tenn., by H. C. Bankhead, captain 5th United States Infantry, mustering officer.

INFANTRY—TWENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Charles D. Pennebaker, colonel; resigned April 10, 1864.

John H. Ward, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned colonel April 14, 1864, but never mustered as such.

James Carlile, major; died Feb. 25, 1862.

Samuel J. Coyne, major; promoted major April 15, 1862.

Alexander Magruder, major; promoted from adjutant to major Feb. 6, 1863.

Daniel B. Waggener, adjutant; promoted to adjutant Jan. 21, 1862; resigned May 1, 1862.

James B. Speed, adjutant.

Thomas R. McBeath, quartermaster; promoted to regimental quartermaster Jan. 21, 1862.

Robert L. Heston, surgeon.

Thomas Sanders, asst. surgeon; resigned March 29, 1863.

Robert Dinwiddie, asst. surgeon.

Robert G. Gardner, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Anderson Gray, captain; William W. Brady, captain; Thomas R. McBeath, 1st lieutenant; Benj. W. Cleaver, 1st lieutenant; Robert V. Sands, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B

Lucian K. Cox, captain; Thomas S. Hiner, captain; Alanson M. Pulliam, captain; Aaron Norton, 1st lieutenant; Obediah Bassham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Andrew J. Bailey, captain; John W. McWharter, 1st lieutenant; James W. Defevers, 1st lieutenant; Edmund R. Goode, 2d lieutenant; James A. Figgett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Samuel J. Coyne, captain; George Hammers, captain; Peterson Roff, 1st lieutenant; John W. S. Smith, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

John R. Robinson, captain; John R. Fisher, captain; Thomas T. Fisher, captain; Benjamin A. Rice, 1st lieutenant; Robert D. Willian, 1st lieutenant; Daniel B. Waggener, 2d lieutenant; Alexander Shiveley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Henry B. Grant, captain; John H. Adams, 1st lieutenant; Riley Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Daniel B. Goode, 1st lieutenant; John W. Taylor, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Harvey W. Sutton, captain; James Giffin, captain; William Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Didway, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Albert B. Ragsdale, captain; Beckwith Bealmear, captain; John W. Jennings, 1st lieutenant; George W. Williams, 2d lieutenant; Basil B. Summers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

William H. Hervey, captain; Benjamin F. Pumphrey, captain; E. W. Frank, captain; Samuel H. Haynes, 1st lieutenant, William B. White; 2d lieutenant; Joseph S. Higdon, 2d lieutenant.

Company K never organized.

The Twenty-seventh Kentucky Infantry organized at Grayson Springs, Ky., under Col. C.

D. Pennebaker, was mustered into the United States service (627 strong) on the 21st of March, 1862, by Major W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

INFANTRY—TWENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

William P. Boone, colonel; resigned June 28, 1864.

J. Rowan Boone, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Dec. 18, 1863.

Absalom Y. Johnson, major; commissioned lieutenant-colonel, to take rank from Nov. 6, 1861.

John Gault, Jr., major; resigned March 30, 1864.

George W. Barth, major; promoted from captain, Company C, to major March 30, 1864.

Edward Winkler, adjutant; was 1st lieutenant Company B; promoted adjutant Dec. 18, 1863.

Theodore B. Hays, regimental quartermaster; promoted to captain Company C, April 30, 1864.

Albert M. Healy, regimental quartermaster; transferred to field and staff as regimental quartermaster.

Alfred W. Hynes, surgeon; resigned October 28, 1864.

James A. Post, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon to surgeon Dec. 22, 1864.

Joseph Habermeal, asst. surgeon; resigned Nov. 23, 1862.

William V. Marquis, asst. surgeon; resigned September 17, 1864.

Charles H. Stocking, asst. surgeon; transferred to 28th Kentucky Veteran Infantry.

Hiram A. Hunter, chaplain; resigned March 1, 1864.

COMPANY A.

William E. Benson, captain; Paul Byerly, captain; John W. Hogue, 1st lieutenant; Martin Enright, 1st lieutenant; John A. Weatherford, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Jas. H. White, captain; Thos. J. Randolph, captain; Jno. W. Tydings, 1st lieutenant; Edward Winkler, 1st lieutenant; Wm. T. Applegate, 2d lieutenant; Nathan B. Skinner, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Geo. W. Barth, captain; Theodore B. Hays, captain; Robert W. Catlin, 1st lieutenant; Joseph F. Hawley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Henry J. O'Neill, captain; John Martin, captain; Henry Monohan, 1st lieutenant; Patrick O'Malia, 1st lieutenant; Anthony Hartman, 2d lieutenant; James B. True, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Franklin M. Hughes, captain; George W. Conaway, captain; Wm. C. Irvine, captain; Andrew B. Norwood, captain; Granville J. Sinkhorn, 1st lieutenant; Joseph H. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

James R. Noble, captain; Wm. C. McDowell, captain; Wm. G. Shane, 1st lieutenant; Henry Hooker, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John W. Wilson, captain; Frederick Brooks, captain; James E. Loyal, captain; Albert M. Healy, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

John W. Tydings, captain; Robert Cairns, captain; Daniel C. Collins, captain; Nathaniel Wolfe, Jr., 1st lieutenant; William R. Cox, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Geo. W. Conoway, captain; John Schmidt, captain; Charles Obst, 1st lieutenant; Frederick Buckner, 1st lieutenant; Anthony P. Hefner, 1st lieutenant; Wm. T. Morrow, 1st lieutenant; William Troxler, 2d lieutenant; Isaac Everett, Jr., 2d lieutenant.

Company K never organized.

The Twenty-eighth Kentucky Infantry was organized in the fall of 1861 at New Haven, Ky., under Col. Wm. P. Boone, and was mustered into the United States service October 8, 1861, at New Haven, Ky., by Capt. C. C. Gilbert, 1st United States Infantry, mustering officer.

INFANTRY—THIRTIETH REGIMENT.

Francis N. Alexander, colonel; promoted colonel 30th Kentucky Infantry, April 19, 1864.

Wm. B. Craddock, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel March 31, 1864.

Thomas Mahoney, major; wounded in action at Cynthiana, Ky., June 10, 1864.

Thomas J. Hardin, adjutant; detailed as A. A. Ins. Gen. of 4th Brig., 1st Div. Mil. Dep't of Ky., April 28, 1864.

George T. Finnell, regimental quartermaster; detailed as brigade quartermaster of 2d Brig., 1st Div., Mil. Dep't of Ky., November 5, 1864.

Wm. H. Gardner, surgeon; captured at Saltville, Va., October 3, 1864.

Columbus A. Cox, asst. surgeon.

COMPANY A.

Milton P. Hodges, captain; Wm. B. Craddock, 1st lieutenant; Ambrose L. King, 1st lieutenant; Berrie C. Craddock, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Robert J. Dyas, captain; John T. Ford, 1st lieutenant; James Ranton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Fleming Bates, captain; Joseph Miller, 1st lieutenant; Jenkins J. Vickery, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

James S. Burk, captain; Gains L. Burk, 1st lieutenant; William Burk, 1st lieutenant; William H. Gregory, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

William P. Bacon, captain; George W. Young, 1st lieutenant; Jesse A. Suter, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John B. Brownlee, captain; John W. S. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Andrew H. Brownlee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Wiley Searcy, captain; James L. Curtsinger, 1st lieutenant; James S. Searcy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Leander J. Stephenson, captain; John W. S. Brooks, 1st lieutenant; Ephraim B. Guffey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Gains L. Burk, captain; Calvin Bell, 1st lieutenant; James Phipps, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Richard Reynolds, captain; Nathan Buchanan, 1st lieutenant; George A. Muse, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirtieth Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized under the 20,000 call, and was mustered into the United States service for one year. Companies A, B, E and F were mustered in at Frankfort, Ky., February 19, 1864, and Company G March 29, 1864, by Capt. Charles H. Fletcher, 1st United States Infantry.

INFANTRY—THIRTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

Thos. Z. Morrow, lieutenant-colonel.
John A. Morrison, major.
Wm. J. Hume, adjutant.
R. H. Kinney, adjutant.
J. C. Sayers, regimental quartermaster,
Wm. Woodcock, regimental quartermaster.
John Carnes, regimental quartermaster.
John J. Matthews, surgeon.
Wm. F. Scott, surgeon.
Benj. F. Davidson, assistant surgeon.

COMPANY A.

Robert J. Dyas, captain; Isaac N. Slade, 1st lieutenant; George W. Drinkard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Ben. T. Nix, captain; John W. Zinn, 1st lieutenant; Thomas E. Rhodes, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Harrison M. Hurt, captain; Rolly W. Chapman, 1st lieutenant; William D. Lowe, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Parish G. Buster, captain; Benjamin D. Owens, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Northrup, 1st lieutenant; James L. Francis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

William B. White, captain; Cyrenius W. Smith, 1st lieutenant; William Patrick, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Bourne G. Tate, captain; Speed S. Farris, 1st lieutenant; Thomas S. Hamilton, 1st lieutenant; John M. Neal, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Alexander C. Surber, captain; Nelson S. Gooch, 1st lieutenant; James M. Nunnelly, 2d lieutenant; Edwin Sadler, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Robert B. Taylor, captain; Wm. K. Gray, 1st lieutenant; Thos. J. Hutchinson, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-second Kentucky Infantry was organized from various detachments, and mustered into service with Thos. Z. Morrow, colonel, on the 15th day of April, 1863, at Camp Burnside, Ky.

INFANTRY—THIRTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Henry Dent, colonel; was lieutenant-colonel from Sept. 23, 1861, to Oct. 2, 1862; then colonel.

Selby Harney, colonel; was major from March 10, 1862, to February 6,1863; then lieutenant-colonel to June 2, 1863; then colonel.

William Y. Dillard, colonel; was major to June 2, 1863; then lieutenant-colonel to Dec. 24, 1863; then colonel.

Lewis H. Ferrell, lieutenant-colonel; was captain of Company D to Oct. 2, 1862; then lieutenant-colonel.

Milton T. Callahan, major; was captain of Company I to June 2, 1863; then major.

Joseph B. Watkins, major; was captain of Company F to January 4, 1865; then major.

Charles A. Gruber, adjutant; promoted to captain of Company A Feb. 7, 1863.

Edward G. Parmele, adjutant; dismissed April 4, 1865.

David A. Harvey, regimental quartermaster; resigned Oct. 23, 1863.

Christopher B. Tharp, regimental quartermaster; was private to Nov., 1862; then regimental quartermaster sergeant to Dec. 1, 1863; then regimental quartermaster.

George W. Ronald, surgeon; resigned April 12, 1863.

Henry Tammadge, surgeon; was assistant surgeon from Nov. 12, 1862, to April 13, 1863; then surgeon.

Hugh Ryan, assistant surgeon; commissioned surgeon April 13, 1863, but declined accepting.

Joseph Foreman, assistant surgeon.

COMPANY A.

William Y. Dillard, captain; Charles A. Gruber, captain; John C. Slater, 1st lieutenant; Jacob S. Pearce, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Francis M. Looney, captain; Rodolph H. Whitmer, captain; Thomas M. Alexander, 1st lieutenant; Joseph W. Adams, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

William H. Fagan, captain; Simeon S. Leatherman, captain; Jas. M. Leatherman, 1st lieutenant;

COMPANY D.

Lewis H. Ferrell, captain; James P. Tapp, captain; Joel M. Coward, captain; Alfred V. D. Abbett, captain; George W. Coward, 1st lieutenant; Alfred M. Hoagland, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

John O. Daly, captain; Thomas H. Tindell, captain; Eugene O. Daly, captain; John B. Smith, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Jos. B. Watkins, captain; Wm. F. Stars, captain; John Wood, 1st lieutenant; Jas. W. Fowler, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Christopher C. Hare, captain; Henry Watson, 1st lieutenant; James R. Farmer, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Francis A. McHarry, captain; Henry Sutton, captain; Alpha R. Sharp, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin D. Strange, 1st lieutenant; John M. Williams, 2d lieutenant; John O. Beard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Milton T. Callahan, captain; Joseph Pickering, captain; James M. Callahan, captain; R. M. Mosby, captain; John M. Richardson, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Eli P. Farmer, captain; James Boultinghouse, captain; William Duberry, captain; John Armstrong, 1st lieutenant; Foster A. Wheeler, 1st lieutenant.

The Thirty-fourth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Louisville, Ky., Sept. 26, 1861, under Lieut-Col. Henry Dent, and was then designated as the "First Battalion Louisville Provost Guards." On the 2d of Oct., 1862, the Provost Guard ceased, and the organization of the 34th Kentucky Infantry commenced.

INFANTRY—THIRTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

Edmund A. Starling, colonel.
Edward R. Weir, Jr., lieutenant-colonel.
Frank H. Bristow, major.
Theodore W. Wing, adjutant.
Finnis H. Little, quartermaster.
Albert D. Cosby, surgeon.
William B. Stage, assistant surgeon.
Benjamin Letcher, assistant surgeon.
William O. Smith, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Robert Brodie, captain; David C. Goad, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Y. Hampton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Hendrick D. Baker, captain; Ransom C. Hayslip, 1st lieutenant; Alfred Harrell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Volney Baker, captain; Wesley Cole, 1st lieutenant; John L. Bennett, 1st lieutenant; John H. Vertrees, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Charles W. D. Prange, captain; George W. Moseley, 1st lieutenant; James T. Goode, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Edward Campbell, captain; Thomas J. Trice, 1st lieutenant; Charles D. King, 1st lieutenant; Tyberius M. Anthony, 2d lieutenant; Charles F. Post, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Hutson Brown, captain; Edwin M. Randolph, 1st lieutenant; James H. Martin, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Hartford M. Meredith, captain; Golson Phelps, 1st lieutenant; James R. McGrew, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Avery Byers, captain; Anderson R. Byers, 1st lieutenant; John R. Reno, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

John Alsop, captain; William A. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Robert L. Samuel, 1st lieutenant; Moses Long, 2d lieutenant; Samuel W. Trible, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

William A. Sasseen, captain; Nathan H. Graves, 1st lieutenant; Richard F. Crawford, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-fifth Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized September 26, 1863, at Owensboro, Ky., under Col. E. A. Starling, and was mustered into the United States service October 2, 1863, by Capt. Knight, United States mustering officer. This regiment was recruited under the most difficult circumstances, the State, at that time being overrun with guerrillas, making it exceedingly hazardous for officers to recruit and retain their men in camp. From Owensboro it marched to Henderson, on the 10th of October; and from thence to Hopkinsville, Ky. During the latter part of the year 1863 it was constantly on the march, guarding the country between the Green and Cumberland Rivers, which was infested with many predatory bands of guerrillas. The arduous duties performed by this regiment, during its early existence, did not afford much time for drill; still, through the indefatigable exertions of its officers, it arrived at a point of excellence in drill and discipline which was the admiration of all who were connected with the regiment and the division to which it was attached.

During the month of August, 1864, this regiment, with others, under command of Gen. E. H. Hobson, marched from Elizabethtown in pursuit of the rebel Gen. Adam Johnson, who held possession of the country between the Green and Cumberland Rivers. After a long and tedious march, with various skirmishes, they succeeded in driving him out of Kentucky into Tennessee in the direction of Cadiz. It then returned, *via* Hopkinsville, to Lexington, and, on the 15th of September, moved in Gen. Burbridge's command in the first expedition on Saltville, Va. It returned to Lexington on the 5th of November, and from there was ordered to Louisville, Ky., where it was mustered out December 29, 1864. It participated in the battle of Saltville, Va., and in numerous skirmishes with guerrillas, in various portions of Kentucky.

INFANTRY—THIRTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Charles S. Hanson, colonel.
Benj. Spaulding, lieutenant-colonel.
Samuel Martin, major.
Caswell B. Watts, adjutant.
William O. Watts, regimental quartermaster.
James M. Mattingly, regimental quartermaster.
James R. Duncan, surgeon.
Richard W. Hazelwood, asst. surgeon.
Ira Henderson, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Isaac A. Chinowth, captain; Oscar H. M. Heusted, 1st lieutenant; William H. Low, 2d lieutenant; Alonzo H. Chism, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Jonathan W. Roark, captain; Anderson W. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Ira A. Holland, 2d lieutenant; James W. King, 1st sergeant.

COMPANY C.

George P. Stone, captain; Charles A. McCue, 1st lieutenant; William J. Stone, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

James A. Middleton, captain; John W. Kerrick, 1st lieutenant; Charles McBeath, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Wilkins, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

William O. Watts, captain; Robert Purdy, 1st lieutenant; David A. Ray, 2d lieutenant; John R. Watts, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

James H. White, captain. James H. Spalding, 1st lieutenant; Wayne Furgason, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

James L. Strange, captain; Abraham A. Spears, 1st lieutenant; Joseph D. Borden, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Zacheus S. Stroube, captain; Beale Hale, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Youtsey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

James W. Read, captain; Archibald C. Wade, 1st lieutenant; Thomas B. Youtsey, 1st lieutenant; Silas E. Duckworth, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Joseph J. Borrell, captain; Thomas M. Morris, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-seventh Kentucky Volunteer Infantry was organized under Col. Chas. S. Hanson, in the summer of 1863, and Companies A, B and C were mustered into the United States service at Glasgow, Ky., September 17, 1863. Companies D, E, F and G were mustered in October 24, 1863, at Glasgow, Ky. Capt. Stroube's Company, originally raised for the Fifty-first Kentucky Infantry, was mustered in September 4, 1863, at Covington, Ky., and consolidated with the Thirty-seventh, forming Company H. Companies I and K were mustered in at Glasgow, Ky., Dec. 21 and 22, 1863. Charles S. Hanson was mustered in as colonel Dec. 29, 1863, and commanded the regiment until the battle of Saltville, Va., on the 2d day of Oct., 1864, when he was severely wounded, and made prisoner of war. It was composed of the best material, and though a one-year regiment, bore as honorable a part in the war as many three years' regiments, and was engaged in the battles occurring in the locality in which it served, though the records of the regiment only show it to have been engaged in the battles of Glasgow, Ky.; Jackson County, Tenn.; Saltville, Va.; and Mt. Sterling,

Ky. The regiment was mustered out Dec. 29, 1864, at Louisville, Ky., the re-enlisted men being transferred to the Fifty-fifth Kentucky Infantry, and the Fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry.

INFANTRY—THIRTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

John Dils, Jr., colonel.
David A. Mims, colonel.
Stephen M. Ferguson, lieutenant-colonel.
John B. Auxier, major.
Martin Thornbury, major.
Levi J. Hampton, adjutant.
John F. Stewart, adjutant.
Robert S. Huey, adjutant.
Martin Fulkerson, quartermaster.
Lindsey Layne, quartermaster.
James H. Hereford, surgeon.
Wm. E. Phillips, surgeon.
James N. Draper, ass't surgeon.
James H. Phillips, ass't surgeon.
Marcus L. King, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

John B. Auxier, captain; David V. Auxier, captain; Henry R. Brown, captain; Isaac Goble, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Burchett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

William Ford, captain; Jacob S. Eberman, captain; Ellington Kilgore, 1st lieutenant; John Breeding, 1st lieutenant; John F. Stewart, 2d lieutenant; Andrew J. Adkins, 2d lieutenant; John Harkens, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Thomas J. Sowards, captain; Andrew J. Sowards, 1st lieutenant; James W. Allison, 1st lieutenant; Jacob Helvey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Martin Thornbury, captain; Isaac E. Gray, captain; Alfred C. Hailey, 1st lieutenant; Hughy Plymale, 1st lieutenant; Walter Thornbury, 2d lieutenant; William Waddington, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Lewis Sowards, captain; Alfred C. Hailey, captain; Dillard Parsons, 1st lieutenant; James M. Sowards, 1st lieutenant; William T. Berry, 1st lieutenant; Paris L. Reed, 2d lieutenant; Shadle R. Pauley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Hezekiah Webb, captain; George J. Allen, 1st lieutenant; Augustus E. Kendrick, 1st lieutenant; Calvin Preston, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Allen P. Haws, captain; John B. Vanhoose, 1st lieutenant; James M. Rice, 1st lieutenant; Addison Miller, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

William King, captain; Richard D. Coleman, 1st lieutenant; James M. Thornbury, 1st lieutenant; James H. Stump, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Joseph M. Kirk, captain; Benjamin A. Rodgers, captain; William Hagerman, 1st lieutenant; John D. Reinhart, 1st lieutenant; Charles Helton, 2d lieutenant; Simeon L. Payne, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Harrison Ford, captain; Nathaniel Collins, captain; Joseph D. Powers, 1st lieutenant, Samuel Keel, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirty-ninth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Peach Orchard, Ky., under Col. John Dils, and was mustered into the United States service February 16, 1863, by Capt. W. B. Royall, United States mustering officer. This command was raised entirely in the Sandy Valley and the counties adjoining, and, being thoroughly acquainted with the country, was stationed in that section of the State for its protection against the frequent incursions of rebels from Virginia. In April, 1863, the regiment had a fight near Pikeville, Ky., and captured Col. French and his command, and in June engaged the enemy again at Pond Creek, some thirty miles from Pikeville. The regiment being divided, a portion of it proceeded with other troops to Gladeville, Va., and succeeded in capturing Col. Condil and his command, who were brought back as prisoners of war. Through the constant and vigilant service of this regiment, the eastern portion of Kentucky remained uninterrupted from any invasion of the rebels for many months.

The regiment participated in many battles and skirmishes, in which loss was sustained, among which the following are mentioned, viz.: Pond Creek, Pike Co., Ky., May 16, 1864; boat fight in Johnson County, December 4, 1862; Beaver Creek, Floyd County, June 27, 1863; Marrowbone, Pike County, September 22, 1863; Clark's Neck, Lawrence County, August 27, 1863; Paintsville, Johnson County, April 13, 1864; Half Mount, Magoffin County, April 14, 1864; Mount Sterling, Ky., June 9, 1864, Cynthiana, Ky., June 12, 1864; Saltville, Va., October 2, 1864. It was mustered out September 15, 1865, at Louisville, Ky.

INFANTRY—FORTIETH REGIMENT.

Clinton J. True, colonel.
Mathew Mullins, lieutenant-colonel.
Thomas H. Mannen, major.
Fred'k H. Bierbower, major.
Edward C. Barlow, adjutant.
James B. True, adjutant.
A. L. Burke, quartermaster.
John C. Ball, quartermaster.
George W. Littlejohn, quartermaster.
Joseph G. Roberts, surgeon.
William B. Bland, surgeon.
James H. Phillips, asst. surgeon.
Oscar E. Holloway, asst. surgeon.
James A. Snead, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Frederick H. Bierbower, captain; Charles R. Curtis, captain; Charles Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Alex. W. Lawwill, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Simon Rice, captain; Edward C. Barlow, captain John S. Reed, 1st lieutenant; Noah Johnson, 2d lieutenant; Raphael J. Tomlinson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

James B. Nipp, captain; Robert D. Adams, 1st lieutenant; Warren H. Devore, 1st lieutenant; Robert C. Snead, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John McGuire, captain; Elias P. Davis, captain; Middleton McGuire, 1st lieutenant; Alexander Johnson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Harrison B. Literal, captain; George W. Littlejohn, 1st lieutenant; John Foster, 1st lieutenant; James Garvin, 2d lieutenant; John M. Tyree, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

James H. Johns, captain; William E. Arnold, 1st lieutenant; Zachariah H. Mullins, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thomas R. Rorer, captain; Christ'er C. McGinety, 1st lieutenant; Isaac A. Whitaker, 2d lieutenant; Lloyd McGill, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Greenberry Reid, captain; Cornelius B. Pettet, 1st lieutenant; John W. Evans, 2d lieutenant; William S. Waugh, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Isaac Kelly, captain; Thomas H. Larimore, 1st lieutenant; Mark Wallace, 1st lieutenant; Marshal W. Stubblefield, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Stephen H. Young, captain; William Frisby, 1st lieutenant; Henry E. Evans; 1st lieutenant; James McGuire, 2d lieutenant; John W. Frazer, 2d lieutenant.

The Fortieth Kentucky Infantry was recruited under the 20,000 call, by Col. C. J. True, and was mustered in at Grayson, Carter Co., Ky,, in September, 1863. Being raised for twelve months' service, and during a time when the State was overrun with guerillas, and all troops were ordered into active service immediately after, and sometimes before they were thoroughly organized, it had no time for drill and discipline. Being mounted, it was constantly employed in defending different portions of eastern Kentucky, and rendered good service. It was with Gen. Burbridge in his expedition against Saltville, Virginia, and participated in all the battles in Kentucky during the frequent raids of Morgan. It was mustered out at Catlettsburg, Ky., December 30, 1864.

INFANTRY—FORTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

John Mason Brown, colonel.
Lewis M. Clark, lieutenant-colonel.
Nathan A. Brown, major.
John C. Henderson, major.
James Seaton, adjutant.
John C. Ball, quartermaster.
Harman Conley, quartermaster.
Samuel Maguire, surgeon.
William E. Scobey, asst. surgeon.
Joseph L. Rowland, asst. surgeon.
Elisha Thacker, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Joseph W. Cottingham, captain; Daniel Hendrickson, 1st lieutenant; Pleasant M. Stricklett, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Benjamin R. Haley, captain; William B. Shockley, captain; James H. Loh, 1st lieutenant; John W. Thornton, 1st lieutenant; William A. Haley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

George W. Brown, captain; Frank Mott, captain; Edwin S. Turner, 1st lieutenant; David W. German, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

W. S. Adams, captain; J. J. Matney, 1st lieutenant; William P. Cooper, 1st lieutenant; Calvin F. Vaughn, 2d lieutenant; George F. Ratliff, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Thomas Damron, captain; Daniel H. Walker, 1st lieutenant; Jasper Hatten, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Thomas Russell, captain; Richard Williamson, 1st lieutenant; Mordecai McClure, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

William B. Jones, captain; William B. Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Erastus M. Gates, 2d lieutenant; Coburn D. Outten, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Jackson J. Matney, captain; Calvin F. Vaughn, 1st lieutenant; Horace January, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

James H. O'Brien, captain; Robert H. Wilson, 1st lieutenant; Milton J. Smith, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Jacob L. Ross, captain; Edward W. Brown, 1st lieutenant; John Thompson, 2d lieutenant.

The Forty-fifth Regiment Kentucky Mounted Infantry Volunteers was at first designed as a battalion for local service on the Virginia front and in the eastern counties of Kentucky. The recruiting and organization of the command was intrusted to Maj. Lewis M. Clark, formerly lieutenant Sixteenth Kentucky Infantry, and captain Tenth Kentucky Cavalry. For some months in the summer of 1863 the recruits of four companies were employed as above indicated; but it was determined to increase the command to a regiment and muster it into the United States service. Although the requisite number of recruits were rapidly collected, and the regiment put on active duty in October, 1863, and the organization effected at Ashland, Ky., the formal muster-in of the two companies was unavoidably delayed until the beginning of the following January, when Col. John Mason Brown was assigned to the command, and Maj. L. M. Clark promoted to lieutenant-colonel. In May it rendezvoused at Lexington, Ky., and under the immediate command of Lieut.-Col. Clark (Col. Brown commanding brigade) was attached to Hobson's Cavalry Division, and marched to the Virginia line, near Pound Gap. It led the pursuit after Morgan in June, 1864, and was the leading regiment of an assaulting column at the battle of Mt. Sterling, 9th June, 1864. It participated in the battle of Cynthiana June 12, 1864, in which Morgan's force was finally destroyed, having up to that engagement been continuously on duty for twenty-six days and nights, with no halt of as much as four hours.

During the months of July and August, 1864, a part of the regiment, under Lieut.-Col. Clark, was detailed by Gen. Burbridge to pursue guerrillas and scattered Confederate troops in Owen, Trimble, and the adjacent counties of Kentucky. In October, 1864, the Forty-fifth Kentucky formed part of Burbridge's command in the unsuccessful attack on Saltville, Va., and covered the retreat thence. In November and December, 1864, it was in Stoneman's column, at the capture of Bristol, east Tennessee, Marion, Abingdon, and Saltville, Va., and participated in all the engagements of that campaign.

Besides a great number of skirmishes of greater or less note, the Forty-fifth Kentucky took part in the engagements of Mt. Sterling, Cynthiana, Marion, Bristol, Laurel Gap, and Saltville. From its constant duty in most inclement weather the regiment suffered even more seriously than from the bullets of the enemy, and a large proportion of the men were mustered out much injured by frostbites.

INFANTRY—FORTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Andrew H. Clark, colonel.
Alfred C. Wilson, lieutenant-colonel.
Thos. H. Barnes, major.
George A. Hanaford, adjutant.
Peter D. Scholl, quartermaster.
John M. Daniel, surgeon.
Wilson H. Glass, assistant surgeon.
Geo. Sumner, assistant surgeon.
Mordecai J. W. Ambrose, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

John Penington, captain; Godfrey Isaacs, 1st lieutenant; Andrew Isaacs, 2d lieutenant; Isaac S. Jones, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Jackson Roberts, captain; David V. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Herd, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John C. Wilson, captain; Wm. J. Morris, 1st lieutenant; William Baker, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

David W. Clark, captain; Edward Clark, 1st lieutenant; Edward Chestnut, 1st lieutenant; Daniel G. Allen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Henry J. Clark, captain; Hiram Metcalf, 1st lieutenant; Henry Smith, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Henry Skidmore, captain; Nathan Noe, 1st lieutenant; Acles Winn, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thomas J. Engle, captain; Joseph Herd, captain; Robert M. Green, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Gabbard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Benj. F. Blankenship, captain; George W. Morgan, 1st lieutenant; Wm. G. Dixon, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Simon Cockrill, captain; James P. Smallwood, 1st lieutenant; Hiram Rogers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John McQueen, captain; John McCracken, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Mosley, 2d lieutenant.

This regiment, raised under the call for 20,000 men, was recruited chiefly from the mountain counties of the State, and the greater portion of the men were mustered in at Irvine, Ky., October 5, 1863, and at Camp Nelson, Ky., December, 1863, and January, 1864.. The officers of this regiment failed to furnish any data from which to make up a statement of its operations, marches, etc., which is to be regretted, as it was due to the gallant men of this command that their record should be as complete as possible. It did most excellent service in the central and eastern portions of the State. Company I, commanded by Capt. Cockrill, after being mounted, scouted the country thoroughly, sending terror to the hearts of guerrillas and all lawless bands.

INFANTRY—FORTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Hartwell T. Burge, colonel.
William W. Hester, lieutenant-colonel.
William H. Hoyt, major.
John W. Lockhead, adjutant.
William Shuler, adjutant.
James M. Courtney, quartermaster.
William Randolph, surgeon,
R. R. Bush, asst. surgeon.
John D. Mott, asst. surgeon.
John W. Ricks, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Fountain P. Hawkins, captain; John M. Gregory, 1st lieutenant; Jasper N. Scott, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Hugh M. Hiett, captain; William H. Rushing, 1st lieutenant; John T. Rushing, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John J. Wright, captain; John F. Lay, 1st lieutenant; Willis S. McNeely, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Hiram J. Belt, captain; John Tyer, 1st lieutenant; Logan Belt, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Richard F. Minner, captain; William Hoyt, 1st lieutenant; William J. Small, 1st lieutenant; William J. Wilson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Charles E. VanPelt, captain; William B. Rogers, 1st lieutenant; Charles Adams, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John W. Bush, captain; William B. Wallington, 1st lieutenant; John R. Sedberry, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

James M. Wilson, captain; George L. Lovier, 1st lieutenant; William S. Lovier, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Joseph Mitchell, captain; William Porter, captain; Turney G. Driskill, 1st lieutenant; Louis C. Chatham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Samuel Jarrett, captain; Jeremiah S. Garner, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Lynch, 2d lieutenant.

The Forty-Eighth Kentucky Volunteers was enlisted principally from the counties of Trigg, Lyon, Livingston, Crittenden, Union, Christian, Caldwell, Muhlenburgh, Breckinridge and Grayson, and was organized and mustered into service at Princeton, Ky., by Charles H. Fletcher, captain Thirteenth United States Infantry, on the 26th day of October, 1863, for the period of one year, with Hartwell T. Burge, of Louisville, as colonel.

This regiment was raised for especial service in Kentucky to serve as a mounted force to aid in preventing raids, and to clear the State of guerrillas. Immediately upon muster it was assigned to First Brigade, Second Division, Department of Kentucky, and remained on duty at Princeton until the 1st of December, 1863, when it was ordered and marched to Russellville, Ky. Here it was ordered in detail on December 5, viz.: Companies A, D, I and K to Bowling Green, with Col. Burge as post commandant; companies B, F, G and H remaining at Russellville, with Lieut.-Col. Hester as post commandant. It remained on duty at these stations until April 6, 1864, when, by direction of Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Burbridge, it was removed, with exception of one company, and distributed along the line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, garrisoning that line from Cave City to Louisville, headquarters at Munfordsville, with Col. Burge as post commandant, and Lieut.-Col. Hester in command of regiment and supervision of the railway line guarded by his force.

INFANTRY—FORTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

John G. Eve, colonel.
Philos Stratton, lieutenant-colonel.
James H. Davidson, major.
James H. Tinsley, adjutant.
George Smith, quartermaster.
Walter M. Prentice, surgeon.
Henry C. Miller, surgeon.
William B. Swisher, ass't surgeon.
Hugh W. Hogan, ass't surgeon.
Ebenezer Ingram, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Stephen Golden, captain; Hugh H. York, 1st lieutenant; Moses F. Ingram, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Francis Catron, captain; Henry L. Vinsant, 1st lieutenant; John P. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Wm. T. Bryant, captain; Marion Bryant, 1st lieutenant; John W. Siler, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John M. Cook, captain; Wm. Carson, 1st lieutenant; Henry S. Branaman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

James G. Howard, captain; Benj. F. Howard, captain; James C. Howard, 1st lieutenant; John W. Forrester, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John A. Ward, captain; Augustus B. Culton, 1st lieutenant; William G. Bingham, 1st lieutenant; Thomas S. Ward, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Lee Leforce, captain; Isaac J. Black, 1st lieutenant; John A. Hayden, 1st lieutenant; Francis A. Creekmore, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Isaac J. Black, captain; Jesse Mattingly, 1st lieutenant; Wm. B. Eve, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Isaac L. Hardgrove, captain; Joshua S. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; Hardin Simpson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John Goodin, captain; Henry Blendowski, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Ingram, 2d lieutenant.

The Forty-ninth Kentucky Infantry was organized at Camp Nelson, Ky., under Col. John G. Eve. This regiment was originally recruited for the cavalry service, but prior to muster in, viz., on December 14, 1863, the various detachments were consolidated into ten companies, and the officers were duly commissioned from that date. All the companies and detachments were mustered into the United States service on the 19th day of September, 1863, except two, one of which was mustered in October 7, 1863, and the other November 3, 1863.

INFANTRY—FIFTY-SECOND REGIMENT.

John H. Grider, colonel.
Samuel F. Johnson, lieutenant-colonel.
John B. Tyler, major.
Wm. H. Murrell, adjutant.
Wm. H. Johnson, quartermaster.
James H. Lile, quartermaster.
George W. Wyer, surgeon.
Robert D. Hawthorn, asst. surgeon.
Henry H. Alter, asst. surgeon.
George Mitchell, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Samuel J. Richards, captain; Wm. H. Walker, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Huntsman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

John D. Gilliam, captain; George D. Read, 1st lieutenant; James A. Carter, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Jno. M. Billingsley, captain; Tho. W. Mitchell, 1st lieutenant; Isaac T. Lee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

George W. Hoy, captain; Wm. M. Beson, 1st lieutenant; Jno. W. Arnett, 2d lieutenant; William Jackson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Henry C. Watkins, captain; John W. Underhill, 1st lieutenant; James M. Atwood, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John B. Tyler, captain; William P. King, captain; Jasper Forrest, 1st lieutenant; James A. Caldwell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Edward Hartie, captain; Hugh L. Scott, 1st lieutenant; James H. Lile, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Francis Houchin, captain; S. W. Willis, 1st lieutenant; Daniel C. Parrish, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

James M. Childress, captain; Lewis P. Arnold, 1st lieutenant; Alexander Dockery, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Lewis Buckner, captain; Romulus N. Taylor, 1st lieutenant; Richard W. Hayes, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifty-second Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized under the authority of an act of Congress, dated February 7, 1863, authorizing the governor to raise 20,000 troops for the better defense of Kentucky. Companies A, B, C and E were mustered in at Scottsville, Ky., October 16, 1863, and Company D on the 17th of October. Company F was mustered in November 12, 1863, and Company G December 21, 1863, at Franklin, Ky. Companies H, I and K were mustered in March 3, 1864, at Franklin, Ky.

This regiment was raised for twelve months' service, and, under provisions of the act, was to be employed within the limits of the State of Kentucky in repelling invasions, suppressing insurrection, and guarding and protecting the public property. For the purpose of enabling it to cope more readily with the guerrillas that infested the State, it was mounted and stationed in the lower and central portions of the State, and rendered efficient aid to the government in protecting its line of communication with the army at the front. In the many fights and skirmishes in which it engaged, the bearing of both officers and men sustained the gallant record so bravely won by all Kentucky troops during the Rebellion. It was mustered out at Bowling Green, Ky., in January and March, 1865.

INFANTRY—FIFTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

Clinton J. True, colonel.
W. C. Johnson, lieutenant-colonel.
James G. Francis, major.
Frank D. Tunis, adjutant.
S. J. Housh, quartermaster.
William B. Bland, surgeon.
Henry C. Miller, asst. surgeon.
James M. Montmollin, asst. surgeon.

COMPANY A.

John A. Thompson, captain; James F. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; John Mullens, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Henry F. Falls, captain; John J. Creighton, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Robinson, 2d lieutenant; Ferdinand Burch, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Henry Hagerty, captain; Richard S. Robson, 1st lieutenant; Chas. T. Chambers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Benj. T. Nix, captain; James T. Chrisman, 1st lieutenant; Alfred Bickers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

James G. Francis, captain; Albert C. Breith, captain; Jno. W. West, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Crout, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

J. H. Lennin, captain; Alfred T. Morin, 1st lieutenant; Adam Weaver, 1st lieutenant; J. Hazard Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Robert H. Wilson, captain; Jesse J. Dennis, 1st lieutenant; Ed'n N. Vallandingham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

James W. Read, captain; David Berry, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Hukel, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

James H. Carey, captain; John W. Thornton, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Ball, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Samuel A. Crawford, captain; Riley Richards, 1st lieutenant; Charles W. Russell, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifty-third Kentucky Infantry was organized at Paris, Ky., in the winter of 1864 and spring of 1865, and the exigencies of the service demanding all the available forces about that time, this regiment was called on to perform arduous duty which retarded its speedy organization. Being mounted, it was constantly employed in scouting the counties in the central portion of the State and along the Kentucky Central Railroad. In the second expedition of Gen. Burbridge against Saltville, Va., this regiment suffered much from the excessive cold, and the long and fatiguing marches. It participated in many skirmishes and in the battles of Clinch River, Marion and Saltville, Va., in all of which it performed its duty to the entire satisfation of the commanding general. It was mustered out at Louisville, Ky., September 15, 1865.

INFANTRY—FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

Harvey M. Buckley, colonel.
John G. Rogers, lieutenant-colonel.
John D. Russell, major.
Edward Mitchell, adjutant.
Thomas J. Owens, quartermaster.
Lewis B. Brasher, quartermaster.
Frederick C. Leber, surgeon.
James H. McMahon, assistant surgeon.
Thomas B. Hunt, assistant sugeon.

COMPANY A.

Greenup Nickell, captain; George W. Herron, 1st lieutenant; Benj. C. Lockwood, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Robert H. Young, captain; Mastin Campbell, 1st lieutenant; Robert A. Hancock, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Dexter B. Gray, captain; James W. Stewart, 1st lieutenant; Robert W. Sanders, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

L. D. Brown, captain; W. T. Moore, 1st lieutenant; John Searcy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

William Carroll, captain; George T. Buckley, captain; John W. Ridgway, 1st lieutenant; Posey Buckley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Robert D. Barr, captain; John Moran, 1st lieutenant; Benj. F. Meadows, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Emzy W. Easley, captain; Nelson Parish, 1st lieutenant; Lewis W. Sewell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

David E. Roberts, Jr., captain; Joseph G. Cooper, 1st lieutenant; Archibald L. Scudder, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Robert P. Crupper, captain; John N. Shane, 1st lieutenant; Dudley O. Bravard, 2d lieutenant.

Company I was never organized.

The Fifty-fourth Kentucky Mounted Infantry was organized at New Castle, Ky., in September, 1864, under special authority from the War Department. The difficulties attending the recruiting and organization of this regiment were great, owing to the frequent raids by guerrillas, and the constant presence of predatory bands in the vicinity of its camp. It was mounted and performed duty in various portions of Kentucky, and by the energy displayed by its officers soon dispelled the guerrillas from the section of country in which it was stationed. On the second Saltville expedition the Fifty-fourth lost many men by exposure to the extreme cold weather. It participated in the battles of Clinch River, Marion and Saltville, Va., beside various skirmishes and minor engagements. It was mustered out at Louisville, Ky., September 1, 1865.

INFANTRY—FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

Weden O'Neal, colonel.
Tho. J. Williams, lieutenant-colonel.
Silas Howe, major.
John E. Calvert, adjutant.
Robert C. Snead, adjutant.
Geo. L. Huey, quartermaster.
Benj. F. Slaughter, surgeon.
E. R. Palmer, assistant surgeon.
John R. Reasoner, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

James M. Riddell, captain; Wm. E. Arnold, captain; Wm. S. Butts, 1st lieutenant; Washington Craven, 1st lieutenant; George B. Clore, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

John C. Richards, captain; Gary Longfellow, 1st lieutenant; George W. Story, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

James P. Robinson, captain; Calvin Griffin, 1st lieutenant; Nehemiah Spradling, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John E. Calvert, captain; Wm. H. Drinkard, 1st lieutenant; Dennis W. Haley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Charles McBeath, captain; James H. White, 1st lieutenant; Geo. W. White, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Thos. W. Hardiman, captain; Thomas J. McHatton, 1st lieutenant; Cincinnatus Murphy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Peter S. Jones, captain; George M. Harper, 1st lieutenant; John N. Buchanan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

George Welker, captain; Gottleib Jennerich, 1st lieutenant; John C. Bishop, 2d lieutenant; Robert C. Snead, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Alex. W. Lawwill, captain; James S. Hise, 1st lieutenant; Frank Blanchard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Wm. E. Gillaspie, captain; Jonathan R. Ward, 1st lieutenant; Jacob P. Phipps, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifty-fifth Kentucky Infantry was raised under special authority from the War Department, and was organized at Covington, Ky., in November, 1864. It was mounted, and performed duty in the counties bordering on the Kentucky Central Railroad, until ordered on the Saltville expedition under Gen. Burbridge. On this expedition it performed good and efficient service, and was favorably mentioned by the commanding general, among other troops of his division, for gallant bearing in face of the enemy. After the return from Virginia the regiment was by detail posted in various counties to protect the citizens from the depredations of guerrillas, upon which duty it remained until mustered out at Louisville, Ky., September 19, 1865.

PATTERSON'S COMPANY OF MECHANICS AND ENGINEERS.

William F. Patterson, captain; Andrew Patterson, 2d lieutenant.

Patterson's company of Mechanics and Engineers was organized at Somerset, Ky., under Capt. W. F. Patterson, and mustered into the United States service by Charles S. Medary, lieutenant, United States mustering officer, and has marched as follows:

This company, as enlisted, was employed in the construction of defenses for Camp Hoskins, Ky., then under command of Col. Hoskins, up to the 2d of December, 1861, when Brig.-Gen. Shoepff assumed command, and continued the work of defense in the vicinity of Somerset, Ky., until the battle of Mill Springs, on the 19th of January, 1862. On the 16th of January this company, together with seven companies from the command, were employed in the repair of the road from Somerset to Stanford, Ky. On the 8th of February the seven companies were relieved, and the work continued by this company under orders of Gen. Thomas. On the 12th of April it was ordered to report to headquarters Seventh Division, Army of Ohio, Cumberland Ford, Ky., by Gen. George W. Morgan, where it arrived on the 20th, repairing roads on the way. From the 25th of April to May 1 engaged, with large detailed force added, in the repair of the road for supplies. From the 1st of May this company constructed roads and bridges forty miles for a flank movement upon Cumberland Gap, through Cumberland Mountains, which was accomplished successfully on the 18th of June. From this date a new detail was added of 230 men, and engaged in the construction of building roads, etc., up to the 18th of September, when all was destroyed by order of Gen. Morgan, together with nine siege guns. Marched with the advance of Morgan's division to the Ohio River, and accompanied it to Memphis, where, in December, it embarked with the division for an attack upon Vicksburg. From the 26th to the 1st of January, 1863, this company was constantly engaged, night and day, in preparing earthworks, and on the 28th was greatly exposed in an effort to throw a pontoon bridge across Chickasaw Bayou under a destructive fire from the enemy. Sergt. Welsh, in charge of the party, relinquished the effort only when the boats were so damaged as to be useless. On the 1st of January, 1863, embarked on transports for Arkansas Post, arriving on the 10th. After the battle and surrender the demolition of the fort and siege guns was assigned to this company, with a large detail from the command.

From this time until the date of its return to Kentucky, November 23, 1864, the company was constantly on duty, adding to the courage and discipline of true soldiers the skill and intelligence of competent engineers and mechanics.

CAVALRY—FIRST REGIMENT.

Frank Wolford, colonel; entered service at organization.

Silas Adams, colonel; promoted colonel June 16, 1864.

John W. Letcher, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Nov. 28, 1862.

Francis N. Helveti, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel June 16, 1864.

John A. Brents, major; resigned July 2, 1862.

William A. Coffee, major; resigned Oct., 1863.

William N. Owens, major; promoted major July 31, 1862.

Thomas Rowland, major; wounded at Dutton Hill, Ky.

Alverson T. Keen, major; promoted major July 16, 1864.

Fountain T. Fox, major; promoted to major June 27, 1864.

George W. Drye, major; wounded at Rockford, Tenn., Nov. 14, 1862.

Francis M. Wolford, adjutant; promoted captain Company A Nov. 14.

William D. Carpenter, adjutant; wounded in siege of Knoxville, Tenn.

Matthew H. Blackford, regimental quartermaster.

Elijah Cox, regimental commissary subsistence; promoted regimental commissary subsistence June 3, 1863.

John A. Brady, surgeon; resigned Dec. 26, 1862.

Hawkins Brown, surgeon; promoted surgeon Dec. 26, 1862.

James C. Riffe, assistant surgeon; resigned June 11, 1862.

Andrew A. Campbell, assistant surgeon.

Albert G. Huffman, assistant surgeon; resigned June 9, 1864.

Wm. H. Honnell, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

George W. Sweeney, captain; Silas G. Adams, captain; Francis M. Wolford, captain; James Humphrey, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Watson, 2d lieutenant; William Adams, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

William Rains, captain; George W. Drye, captain; Samuel Belden, captain; Wm. B. Carter, 1st lieutenant; Stephen H. Coppage, 1st lieutenant; Vincent Peyton, 1st lieutenant; Stephen G. Averitt, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John A. Brents, captain; Jno. A. Morrison, captain; Wm. Perkins, captain; Dulany R. Carr, captain; James E. Chilton, 1st lieutenant; Wm. C. Roots, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

George Coppage, captain; Samuel H. Boone, captain; Daniel A. Kelley, captain; Richard H. Vandyke, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Thornton, 1st lieutenant; Warren Lamme, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Boston Dillion, captain; Franklin W. Dillion, captain: John Kimbrell, 1st lieutenant; William P. Ballard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Jarrard W. Jenkins, captain; Robert C. Blain, captain; George C. Jenkins, 1st lieutenant; Oliver M. Dodson, 1st lieutenant; Wm. B. Kelley, 2d lieutenant; Richard E. Huffman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Thornton K. Hackley, captain; Irvine Burton, captain; Wm. D. Carpenter, 1st lieutenant; Henry S. Robson, 2d lieutenant; Daniel Murphy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

F. N. Alexander, captain; James G. Dick, captain; Chas. W. Huffaker, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Duncan, 1st lieutenant; Wm. M. Hadley, 2d lieutenant; Abraham Grubb, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

John Smith, captain; Alexander Smith, captain; James L. Pankey, captain; James M. Mayes, 1st lieutenant; Buford Scott, 1st lieutenant; Thomas J. Graves, 1st lieutenant; Alexander Thompson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY J.

M. H. Owsley, captain; Jesse M. Carter, captain; Anderson T. Keen, captain; John T. McLain, captain, Alexander C. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Meredith Martin, 2d lieutenant; Sandusky Braton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Nelson B. Burris, captain; Thomas Rowland, captain; Philip Roberts, captain; Tilford N. Bruner, 1st lieutenant; Jno. F. N. Hill, 1st lieutenant; F. T. Fox, 1st lieutenant; A. J. Alexander, 1st lieutenant; Stephen Sully, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

Wm. N. Owens, captain; John B. Fishback, captain; Joe D. Beatie, captain; Robert M. Griffin, 1st lieutenant; Matthew H. Blackford, 1st lieutenant; Benj. H. Milton, 2d lieutenant; Wm. A. Lockett, 2d lieutenant; Geo. K. Speed, 2d lieutenant; Granville J. Vaught, 2d lieutenant.

CAVALRY—SECOND REGIMENT.

Buckner Board, colonel; resigned Dec. 25, 1862.

Thomas P. Nicholas, colonel; promoted colonel Dec. 26, 1862.

Thos. B. Cochoran, lieutenant-colonel; resigned Nov. 24, 1862.

Elijah S. Watts, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Nov. 25, 1862.

W. H. Eifort, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel June 22, 1864; killed in action.

Owen Starr, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Oct. 18, 1864.

Henry E. Collins, major; promoted major Dec. 26, 1862; resigned June 2, 1864.

Jesse J. Craddock, major; promoted major Nov. 25, 1862; resigned Jan. 26, 1864.

Joseph T. Foreman, major; promoted to major May 1, 1865.

R. M. Gilmore, major; promoted major May 12, 1865.

Wm. H. Lower, major; promoted to major July 10, 1865.

John M. Hewitt, adjutant.

Geo. W. Griffith, adjutant; promoted captain Company A, April 30, 1864.

Garrard S. Morgan, adjutant.

Elias Thomasson, regimental quartermaster.

William G. Rogers, regimental quartermaster.

Edward B. Ayres, regimental commissary; resigned Dec. 29, 1864.

John F. Finley, surgeon.

David J. Griffith, assistant surgeon; resigned Feb. 6, 1862.

Robert Stewart, assistant surgeon; resigned June 18, 1863.

J. H. Layman, assistant surgeon.

George J. Reed, chaplain; resigned Oct. 17, 1862.

COMPANY A.

Elijah S. Watts, captain; John D. Wickliffe, captain; George W. Griffith, captain; George A. Hosmer, 1st lieutenant; Edward B. Curran, 1st lieutenant; Robert E. Pogue, 2d lieutenant; William Bradney, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Henry E. Collins, captain; William Arthur, captain; William Higgins, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Soward, 1st lieutenant; Henry C. Carr, 2d lieutenant; Charles J. Norton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Henry G. Thomas, captain; Owen Starr, captain; James A. Warder, captain; William H. Lower, captain; Wm. H. Eifort, 1st lieutenant; Bird P. Brooks, 1st lieutenant; Lewis H. Little, 1st lieutenant; George A. Hosmer, 2d lieutenant; William G. Jenkins, 2d lieutenant; Edward B. Curran, 2d lieutenant: Wm. A. McCammon, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Jesse J. Craddock, captain; Charles D. Armstrong, captain; John E. Stillwell, 1st lieutenant; Bird P. Brooks, 2d lieutenant; John L. Bomar, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Oliver T. Booth, captain: Owen Starr, 1st lieutenant; Robt. E. Pogue, 1st lieutenant; John Calder, 1st lieutenant; Richard W. Davis, 2d lieutenant; Wm. C. Adams, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Edward J. Mitchell, captain; Charles A. Zachary, captain; James M. Patterson, 1st lieutenant; Wm. T. Jenkins, 1st lieutenant; Wm. Bradney, 1st lieutenant; Sylvanus C. Runyon, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Miller R. McCulloch, captain; Harvey S. Parke, captain; John Baker, captain; Cornelius Nall, 1st lieutenant; Sanford H. Thurman, 1st lieutenant; Granville J. Hastings, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Tho. C. Wiley, captain; Wm. H. Eifort, captain; Samuel Lyon, captain; Wm. T. Hoblitzell, 1st lieutenant: Augustus T. Gulitz, 1st lieutenant; Geo. S. Coyle, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Augustus C. Van Dyke, captain; Wm. T. Hoblitzell, captain; Lovell H. Thrixton, captain; Oscar O. Gregg, 1st lieutenant; George W. L. Batman, 1st lieutenant; John L. Bomar, 1st lieutenant; Chas. Corum, 2d lieutenant; Wm. H. Lower, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

J. Griswold, 1st lieutenant; Stephen E. Jones, 1st lieutenant; Lovell H. Thrixton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

Monroe Bateman, captain; Jos. T. Foreman, captain; Jas. A. Warder, 1st lieutenant; Thomas H. Soward, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

Robert M. Gillmore, captain.

The Second Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Camp Joe Holt, under Col. Buckner Board, mustered into the United States service on the 9th day of September, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—THIRD REGIMENT.

James S. Jackson, colonel; promoted brigadier-general of Volunteers Aug. 13, 1862.

Eli H. Murray, colonel; commissioned and entered service as major Nov. 26, 1861; promoted colonel Aug. 13, 1862.

Alvin C. Gillen, lieutenant-colonel; promoted colonel of —— Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers.

James M. Holmes, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Aug. 13, 1862; resigned May 27, 1863.

Robert H. King, lieutenant-colonel; promoted to lieutenant-colonel May 27, 1863.

Green Clay, major; resigned Jan. 11, 1862.

W. S. D. Megowan, major; resigned Dec. 17, 1862.

Aaron C. Shacklett, major; promoted major Aug. 13, 1862.

Lewis H. Wolfley, major; promoted major Dec. 18, 1862.

Geo. F. White, major; promoted major April 13, 1863.

John W. Breathitt, major; promoted major May 27, 1863.

Zachary L. Taylor, adjutant; resigned April 16, 1862.

Jesse S. Gray, adjutant.

John Feland, regimental quartermaster.

A. J. Gillett, regimental quartermaster; promoted from 2d lieutenant Company G, June 20, 1862.

Jos. F. Anderson, regimental commissary; promoted from commissary sergeant March 8, 1864.

Wm. Singleton, surgeon; resigned June 16, 1862.

Robert M. Fairleigh, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon June 19, 1862.

Robert B. McNairy, asst. surgeon; promoted from hospital steward April 10, 1863.

Hartwell T. Burge, chaplain; resigned June 23, 1863.

John H. McRae, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Jno. W. Breathitt, captain; Chas. L. White, captain; Thomas H. Ashford, 1st lieutenant; Milton J. Coleman, 1st lieutenant; N. C. Petree, 2d lieutenant; Alex. C. Lakin, 2d lieutenant; Edward Kelly, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

James M. Holmes, captain; Mathew H. Jouett, captain; John L. Waters, 1st lieutenant; Drury C. Mitcherson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Albert G. Bacon, captain; Robert H. King, captain; Lewis M. Buford, captain; John J. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Edward H. Morin, 1st lieutenant; Charles Smock, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Arthur N. Davis, captain; Tho. J. Lovelace, captain; M. J. Davis, 1st lieutenant; Robert O. Gaines, 2d lieutenant; Calvin N. Jarrell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Oliver N. Spencer, captain; Robert Bogle, captain; Percival P. Oldershaw, 1st lieutenant; David M. Oglesby, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Newton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Isaac Miller, captain; Elisha Baker, captain; W. H. Burghardt, 1st lieutenant; Leonard Pearler, 2d lieutenant; Wm. T. Buckner, 2d lieutenant; John C. Corey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

J. Speed Peay, captain; Tho. C. Foreman, captain; L. L. Drown, captain; Edward W. Ward, captain; William Starling, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Coyle, 1st lieutenant; John Weist, 1st lieutenant; A. J. Gillett, 2d lieutenant; Garnett Duncan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Lewis Wolfley, captain; James Beggs, captain; Frederick Overbury, 1st lieutenant; Edward H. Morin, 2d lieutenant; James T. Leavy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

George F. Mercer, captain; John M. Thomas, captain; Lewis R. Dunn, 1st lieutenant; Peter S. Bruner, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Aaron C. Shacklett, captain; Francis H. Crosby, captain; Horace Scott, captain; Frank M. Jolly, 1st lieutenant; William Waters, 1st lieutenant; Samuel C. Chalfant, 2d lieutenant; Charles Blanford, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

John P. Cummings, captain; W. W. Hester, 1st lieutenant; W. W. Weatherholt, 1st lieutenant; Wm. R. Gardner, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

Geo. F. White, captain; A. G. Sloo, captain; Benjamin Johnson, 1st lieutenant.

The Third Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Calhoon, Ky., under Col. James S. Jackson; mustered into the United States service on the 13th day of December, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—FOURTH REGIMENT.

Jesse Bayles, colonel; resigned April 14, 1863.

G. Glay Smith, colonel; promoted brigadier-general Volunteers, June 11, 1862.

Wickliffe Cooper, colonel; promoted colonel April 5, 1863.

Jacob Ruckstuhl, lieutenant-colonel; resigned May 8, 1863.

Llewllyn Gwynne, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major Aug. 10, 1863.

John F. Gunkel, major; resigned Feb. 3, 1863.

Sidney S. Lyon, major; promoted from captain, Company F, Aug. 13, 1863.

Moses C. Bayles, adjutant; mustered out April 14, 1862.

George K. Speed, adjutant; promoted captain Company G Nov. 7, 1863.

Chas. Kurfiss, regimental quartermaster; mustered out of service.

Chas. H. Swift, regimental quartermaster; transferred to Fourth Kentucky Veteran Cavalry.

Saml. L. Adams, surgeon; resigned Sept. 20, 1862.

Henry Mallory, surgeon; resigned July 10, 1863.

Chas. H. Butler, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon Oct. 1, 1863.

David P. Middleton, asst. surgeon; resigned April 10, 1862.

J. P. Bachman, asst. surgeon; transferred to Fourth Kentucky Veteran Cavalry.

Mathew N. Lasley, chaplain; resigned April 9, 1862.

COMPANY A.

Levi Chilson; captain; William D. Hooker, captain; Joseph A. Cowell, captain; William J. Hunter, 1st lieutenant; James Barnes, 2d lieutenant: Basil N. Hobbs, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

John Kurfiss, captain; Adam Rogers, captain; Henry Tanner, 1st lieutenant; John Feitsch, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Charles L. Unthank, captain; Sylvester W. Raplee, captain; John M. Bacon, captain; James O'Donnell, 1st lieutenant; William J. Killmore, 1st lieutenant; William M. Nichols, 2d lieutenant; A. G. Rosengarten, 2d lieutenant; James Hines, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

George Welling, captain; William J. Barnett, captain; Frank N. Sheets, 1st lieutenant; John B.

Lee, 1st lieutenant; James A. Kemp, 2d lieutenant; John P. Brown, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Nelson B. Church, captain; Sidney Lyons, captain; Basil N. Hobbs, captain; Spencer Cooper, captain; John D. Bird, 1st lieutenant; Thomas P. Harnot, 1st lieutenant; Wm. G. Milton, 1st lieutenant; Abel R. Church, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Henry A. Schaeffer, captain; Leopold Preuss, captain; James O'Donnell, captain; Max Cohu, 1st lieutenant; Henry G. Waller, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Casper Blume, captain; John Sailer, captain; George K. Speed, captain; William Shriver, 1st lieutenant; William H. McKinney, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Hoffman, 2d lieutenant; Rodolph Curtis, 2d lieutenant; George Rothchild, 1st sergeant.

COMPANY H.

Patrick W. McGowan, captain; John F. Weston, captain; Isaac Burch, 1st lieutenant: Lewis Ryan, 1st lieutenant; John Burke, 2d lieutenant.

The Fourth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Louisville, Ky., under Col. Jesse Bayles, mustered into the United States service on the 24th day of Dec. 1861, by Capt. Bankhead, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—FIFTH REGIMENT.

David R. Haggard, colonel; mustered out March 24, 1863, on account of disability.

Wm. P. Sanders, colonel; died of wounds received in action at Campbell's Station, Tenn., November 20, 1863.

Oliver L. Baldwin, colonel; promoted from major 2d Kentucky Infantry; resigned March 24, 1865.

Isaac Scott, lieutenant-colonel; resigned March 9, 1863.

William T. Hoblitzell, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain, Company I, 2d Kentucky Cavalry, March 10, 1863.

Michael H. Owsley, major; resigned Sept. 5, 1862.

Thomas C. Winfrey, major; promoted major December 4, 1861.

John Q. Owsley, major; promoted major; resigned Aug, 12, 1863.

Christopher T. Cheek, major; promoted from captain Company B.

James L. Wharton, major; promoted from captain Company A.

Hugh Mulholland, surgeon; resigned April 11, 1863.

William Forrester, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon April 12, 1863.

Marcellus Baugh, chaplain; resigned Dec. 22, 1862.

William B. Chrisler, chaplain; transferred to 3d Kentucky Cavalry January, 1865.

Jacob B. Mitchell, asst. surgeon; promoted surgeon 12th Tennessee Cavalry.

William T. Owsley, asst surgeon; mustered out June, 1862.

John H. C. Sandridge, adjutant; killed in action March 10, 1865, at Monroe's Cross Roads, N. C.

William D. Mitchell, adjutant; detached from regiment before muster in.

John T. Farris, regimental quartermaster, promoted from sergeant 125th Illinois Infantry.

James H. McKee, regimental quartermaster; promoted from sergeant Company D.

Andrew T. Vincent, regimental quartermaster; promoted from private Company A.

Patrick M. Conly, regimental commissary; promoted from sergeant Company A.

George E. Willett, regimental commissary.

COMPANY A.

Hal. Palmer, captain; James L. Wharton, captain; Thomas A. Elkin, captain; James V. Conrad, 1st lieutenant; James Funk, 2d lieutenant; Francis B. McAllister, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

James T. A. J. Duncan, captain; Christopher T. Cheek, captain; Andrew Offutt, captain; Jonathan S. Harlen, 1st lieutenant; Henry D. Gorham, 1st lieutenant; John Right, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

John Q. Owsley, captain; Samuel Martin, captain; John D. Smith, captain; Leonidas S. Sullivan, 1st lieutenant; Wily S. Holland, 1st lieutenant; Granville B. McGee, 2d lieutenant; George M. Vandever, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

William W. Bradshaw, captain; Robert Higginbottom, captain; Edwin Vincent, 1st lieutenant; Andrew J. Jones, 1st lieutenant; Edward Hughes, 2d lieutenant; Edward Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

John A. P. Glore, captain; Robert Story, 1st lieutenant; Abijah C. Riddle, 2d lieutenant; Isaac S. Bow, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Daniel W. Claywell, captain; Joseph C. Hill, captain; James W. Lawless, captain; Christopher T. Cheek, 1st lieutenant; Robert Higginbottom, 1st lieutenant; John W. Baker, 1st lieutenant; William D. Baugh, 2d lieutenant; Rufus F. Thorn, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John R. Poindexter, captain; John B. Riggs, captain; Elias C. Keen, 1st lieutenant; John Brown, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Michael B. Freeman, captain; Fleming Farris, captain; Richard B. Freeman, 1st lieutenant; John A. Burk, 1st lieutenant; Jas. W. Lawless, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

John L. Carter, captain; Asa C. Wells, captain; Doctor G. Shepherd, 1st lieutenant; Hiram Campbell, 2d lieutenant; William H. Bryan, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John B. Page, captain; John W. Forrester, captain; James W. Strode, 1st lieutenant; Fleming Farris, 1st lieutenant; Andrew Offutt, 1st lieutenant; James W. Lawless, 1st lieutenant; Charles Gill, 1st lieutenant; Joseph G. Hardin, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Camp Sandidge, Gallatin, Tenn., under Col. David R. Haggard, and mustered into the service March 31, 1862, by Maj. W. H. Sidell, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—SIXTH REGIMENT.

Dennis J. Halisy, colonel; killed in action near Newmarket, Ky., Dec. 31, 1862.

Lewis D. Watkins, colonel; promoted to brevet brigadier-general June 24, 1864.

Reuben Munday, lieutenant-colonel; promoted lieutenant-colonel Dec. 11, 1861.

Wm. P. Roper, lieutenant-colonel; promoted major, then lieutenant-colonel.

Lewis A. Gratz, major.

Wm. H. Fidler, major; perished on steamer Sultana April 28, 1865, near Memphis, Tenn.

Walter F. Stafford, major; promoted major March 25, 1863.

Hugh B. Kelly, adjutant.

Jas. R. Meagher, adjutant; promoted from 1st lieutenant Company K.

Geo. W. McMillan, surgeon.

Wm. H. Newman, surgeon; honorably discharged May 1, 1863.

Levan J. Keeler, surgeon; promoted from asst. surgeon June 13, 1863.

John Drye, surgeon; promoted from captain Company G.

Chas. B. Chapman, asst. surgeon.

Milton C. Clark, chaplain; discharged on account of wounds received in action July 8, 1864.

Geo. Sambrock, regimental quartermaster.

Lee R. Yates, regimental commissary, resigned March 1, 1864.

COMPANY A.

Edwin K. Stephens, captain; Walter F. Stafford, captain; David L. Cook, captain; Robert A. Kerr, 1st lieutenant; Jerome S. Hale, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

William P. Roper, captain; James H. Coffman, captain; Archie P. McLeod, 1st lieutenant; Samuel Kenbrough, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Chas. Milward, captain; Jas. C. Martin, captain; Scott H. Robinson, captain; Benj. F. Sheets, 1st lieutenant; James Robinson, 2d lieutenant; Wm. C. Hunter, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John B. Buchanan, captain; Isaac Taylor, captain; Owen W. Ballew, 1st lieutenant; Andrew J. Henderson, 2d lieutenant; Allen K. Collins, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

James C. Dunham, 1st lieutenant; Stephen H. Shiplar, 1st lieutenant; Philip N. Heath, 1st lieutenant; Henry Tachua, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Perry G. Lanham, captain; Warren H. Mead, 1st lieutenant; Daniel Cheatham, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John Drye, captain; Levin M. Drye, captain; Henry S. Robson, 1st lieutenant; James J. Surber, 1st lieutenant; John T. Belden, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

George W. Craven, captain; G. J. Brothers, 1st lieutenant; William Murphy, 1st lieutenant; Isaac Graham, 2d lieutenant; Frank M. Vowels, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Edward Penn, captain; Samuel W. Crandell, 1st lieutenant; Elijah Bright, 1st lieutenant; Daniel M. Richmond, 2d lieutenant; James G. McAdams, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

James M. McCown, captain; James R. Meagher, 1st lieutenant; James D. Wilson, 1st lieutenant; James P. Conley, 1st sergeant.

COMPANY L.

Otto Ernst, captain; Albert M. Green, captain; Edwin R. Phillips, captain; Christopher C. Bybee, 1st lieutenant; Lemuel W. Gee, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

Robert H. Brentlinger, captain; George Williams, 1st lieutenant; George W. Richardson, 2d lieutenant; Samuel R. Hartman, 2d lieutenant; John Fowler, 2d lieutenant.

The First Battalion of the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Camp Irvine, Jefferson Co., Ky., under Maj. Reuben Munday, and was mustered into the United States service December 23, 1861, by Maj. W. H. Sidell.

CAVALRY—SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Leonidas Metcalfe, colonel; never mustered into United States service.

John K. Faulkner, colonel; was major till Feb. 9, 1863; then lieutenant-colonel April 2d, 1863.

Thomas T. Vimont, lieutenant-colonel; killed in a quarrel Jan. 16, 1864, at Dandridge, Tenn.

William W. Bradley, lieutenant-colonel; major to Sept. 17, 1864.

William O. Smith, major; resigned Feb. 5, 1863.

Robert Collier, major; was captain Company H to May 29, 1863; resigned Feb. 21, 1865.

Andrew S. Bloom, major.

Charles C. McNeeley, major; was captain of Company B to March 11, 1865; not mustered as major.

William S. Sharp, surgeon; resigned May 8th, 1863.

Charles T. Spillman, surgeon; was asst. surgeon to May 9th, 1863.

Solomon S. Wolff, asst. surgeon; resigned Dec. 14, 1864.

Andrew J. Burnam, asst. surgeon.

John B. Campbell, adjutant; appointed captain and A. Q. M. April 30, 1864.

Felix G. McCrea, adjutant; was quartermaster-sergeant to Dec. 11, 1862; promoted to captain Company G Nov. 14, 1864.

Detmer P. Watson, adjutant; was sergeant-major to Nov. 14, 1864.

John W. Campbell, regimental quartermaster, resigned Feb. 3, 1863.

H. O. Newman, regimental quartermaster; resigned Sept. 22, 1864.

Arthur B. Masoner, regimental quartermaster; resigned May 25, 1865.

Joseph C. Masoner, regimental commissary; promoted from commissary sergeant Feb. 19, 1863.

M. J. W. Ambrose, chaplain; resigned Sept. 6, 1863.

Coleman W. York, chaplain; resigned Feb. 3, 1865.

COMPANY A.

Barnabas T. Hayden, captain; Aaron Lee, 1st lieutenant; Sanford D. Vanpelt, 1st lieutenant; Samuel H. Royce, 2d lieutenant; William Ingram, 2d lieutenant; Henry H. Talbott, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Chas. C. McNeely, captain; Jesse H. Berry, captain; Jno. S. Stodghill, 1st lieutenant; Tho. M. Oden, 1st lieutenant; Wallace W. Gruelle, 1st lieutenant; Jno. T. Hopkins, 1st lieutenant; Geo. M. Sisson, 2d lieutenant; Jas. H. Oden, 2d lieutenant; Dennis Nichols, 1st lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Thomas T. Vimont, captain; James P. Ashley, captain; Augustus H. Trotter, 1st lieutenant; Thomas L. Scott, 1st lieutenant; John H. Sims, 2d lieutenant; Lewis B. Vimont, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

W. W. Bradley, captain; Jesse Bryant, captain; Andrew J. Jones, 1st lieutenant; James P. Roberson, 2d lieutenant; James H. Robey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Benjamin F. Robbins, captain; William A. McGinety, captain; William Hamilton, 1st lieutenant

Sidney M. Goshhorn, 1st lieutenant; John P. McGinety, 1st lieutenant; Silas Gohagen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Robert Scott, captain; Felix G. McCrea, captain; James W. Brewer, 1st lieutenant; Robert Chaney, 2d lieutenant; Richard Brewer, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Robert Collier, captain; Jephtha D. Thornton, captain; Edwin H. Walker, 1st lieutenant; William M. Kerby, 1st lieutenant; James L. Baird, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Dunn, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Elihu Price, captain; Seneca Goulding, captain; Mathew R. McDowell, 1st lieutenant; Charles G. Ogden, 1st lieutenant; Thomas E. Willett, 1st lieutenant; Alfred Mitchell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

John E. Burns, captain; Simeon Crane, captain; Curtis R. Beedle, 1st lieutenant; Wilkins Warren, 2d lieutenant: H. McCalla McGee, 2d lieutenant.

Company F, originally recruited by Capt. John E. Burns, was consolidated with Company M.

Company I, originally recruited by Capt. Jesse H. Berry, was consolidated with Company B.

This regiment was organized at Paris, Ky., in August, 1862, under Col. Leonidas Metcalfe, and was mustered into service by Maj. Sitgraves, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Benjamin H. Bristow, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel Apr. 1, 1863.

James H. Holloway, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from major May 1, 1863.

Joseph M. Kennedy, major.

James W. Weatherford, major.

Samuel M. Starling, major; promoted from captain Company M June 1, 1863.

L. Bennett, surgeon.

R. W. Whittington, assistant surgeon.

George F. Penticost, chaplain.

Edward Campbell, quartermaster.

E. C. Spiceland, commissary; promoted from 2d lieutenant Company L June 9, 1863.

Joel. E. Huffman, adjutant.

William A. Speed, sergeant major; appointed from Company H August 4, 1862.

Thomas E. White, quartermaster-sergeant; appointed August 15, 1862.

Henry D. Belden, commissary-sergeant.

John Black, steward; appointed from Company A.

Isaac B. Schoolfield, steward; appointed from Company M Dec. 8, 1862.

Cyrus W. Faulkland, saddler, appointed from Company E Sept. 13, 1862.

Paul A. Neff, bugler; appointed bugler Sept. 13, 1862.

George N. Masks, veterinary surgeon; appointed from Company E May 10, 1863.

James M. Shackelford (transferred), colonel; promoted brigadier-general Jan. 2, 1863.

Wm. S. Ross (transferred), surgeon; resigned May 21, 1863.

John Feland (transferred), quartermaster; resigned March 24, 1863.

John Belden (transferred), commissary; promoted captain Company M June 9, 1862.

James Lunathian (transferred), veterinary surgeon; discharged for disability Apr. 13, 1863.

COMPANY A.

George W. McCullough, captain; Wm. H. Poindexter, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Hardy, 2d lieutenant; James T. Donaldson, Jr., brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Isaac Singleton, captain; Robert F. Yantis, 1st lieutenant; Archibald Carson, 2d lieutenant; James H. Richmond, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Charles M. Whipp, captain; John E. Sharp, 1st lieutenant; Daniel W. Coleman, 2d lieutenant; Royall B. Wilkinson, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Samuel F. Johnson, captain; Presley L. Morehead, 1st lieutenant; Clark E. Ritter, 2d lieutenant; Thomas B. Boyd, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

John A. Arthur, captain; John J. Hollaway, 1st lieutenant; James R. Morin, 1st lieutenant; David R. Lock, 2d lieutenant; George S. Fawkner, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

William F. Hunter, captain; James B. Carson, captain; James M. Combest, 1st lieutenant; John T. Richards, 2d lieutenant; Elijah A. Coppage, 2d lieutenant; Newton J. Smith, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

James M. Morrow, captain; Samuel M. Crandell, 1st lieutenant; Lewis Buckner, 2d lieutenant; Fielding W. Starling, 2d lieutenant; S. B. Reed, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Samuel Allen, captain; Peter P. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Mathew H. Owens, 2d lieutenant; Samuel N. Melton, 2d lieutenant; John Farmer, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

John Dever, captain; John F. Cunningham, 1st lieutenant; William Penn, 2d lieutenant; Felland P. Bland, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

James H. Hudspeth, captain; William A. Sasseen, 1st lieutenant; Richard L. Boulware, 2d lieutenant; William D. Crain, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

Elisha Owens, captain; Robert V. Gunter, captain; Samuel Talley, 1st lieutenant; Joseph S. Richards, 2d lieutenant; Edward C. Spiceland, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

John D. Belden, captain; Daniel S. Parker, captain; John R. Curry, 1st lieutenant; Moses Kinnett, 1st lieutenant; Logan S. McWhorton, 2d lieutenant; Philip T. Hardwick, 2d lieutenant; George Dameron, 2d lieutenant; John B. Brown, sup. 2d lieutenant.

CAVALRY—NINTH REGIMENT.

Richard T. Jacob, colonel.

John Boyle, lieutenant-colonel.

John T. Farris, major; resigned Nov. 10, 1862.

William C. Moreau, major.

George W. Rue, major.

James R. Page, major; resigned Feb. 14, 1863.

John C. Brent, major; promoted from 1st lieutenant Company B Feb. 15, 1863.

Uriah W. Oldham, adjutant; promoted to captain Company F Aug. 18, 1862.

Frank H. Pope, adjutant; resigned May 23, 1863.

Andrew J. Hyter, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major June 4, 1863.

Charles A. Clarke, regimental quartermaster; resigned Aug. 17, 1862.

W. Rector Gist, regimental quartermaster; promoted from sup. 2d lieutenant Company K Aug. 18, 1862.

Edwin J. Clark, regimental commissary, resigned.

William A. Craig, regimental commissary; promoted from sup. 2d lieutenant Company L.

William Bailey, surgeon.

William H. Botts, assistant surgeon.

B. F. Hungerford, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

Ben. M. Harney, captain; Thos. P. Shanks, 1st lieutenant; Frank H. Pope, 1st lieutenant; Alfred C. Morris, 2d lieutenant; C. Harrison Somerville, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Milton P. Hodges, captain; William A. Smyth, captain; Charles S. Brent, 1st lieutenant; John C. Brent, 1st lieutenant; Green. M. C. Self, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Thomas J. Hardin, captain; Theodric J. Macey, 1st lieutenant; Edward S. Stewart, 2d lieutenant; John C. Jackson, 2d lieutenant; W. Ashton Craig, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

John L. Neal, captain; Thomas M. Dear, 1st lieutenant; Moses A. Dear, 1st lieutenant; John W. Jenkins, 2d lieutenant; Gideon J. Stivers, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Henry J. Sheets, captain; James R. Page, captain; Thomas Mahoney, 1st lieutenant; Thomas M. Page, 2d lieutenant; Richard H. Parrant, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Uriah W. Oldham, captain; John G. Gillipsie, 1st lieutenant; Samuel D. McMeekin, 1st lieutenant; Jackson Armstrong, 2d lieutenant; Lilburn A. Black, 2d lieutenant; Edwin J. Clark, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John D. Gore, captain; Charles W. Quiggins, 1st lieutenant; Dennis W. Gore, 2d lieutenant; Frank Hewitt, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Joseph N. Luckett, captain; Samuel Porter, 1st lieutenant; S. B. Colgrave, 2d lieutenant; John A. Mobley, 2d lieutenant; Francis Steadman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Harvey J. Burns, captain; Cincinnatus Hendren, 1st lieutenant; Turner W. Bottom, 1st lieutenant; John W. Edwards, 2d lieutenant; John D. Hale, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

William Edwards, captain; James P. Sharp, 1st lieutenant; William Craig, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

William M. Searcy, captain; Benjamin L. Boston, captain; Charles K. Elder, 1st lieutenant; Wiley Searcy, 2d lieutenant; W. Rector Gist, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

William G. Connor, captain; Wm. W. Edwards, 1st lieutenant; H. C. Rodenbaugh, 1st lieutenant; Samuel E. Bratton, 2d lieutenant.

This regiment was organized at Eminence, under Col. Richard T. Jacob, and mustered into the United States service on the 22d day of August, 1862, by Maj. L. Sitgraves, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—TENTH REGIMENT.

Joshua Tevis, colonel; resigned Nov. 17, 1862.

Charles J. Walker, colonel; resigned Sept. 1, 1863.

R. R. Maltby, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned Aug. 22, 1862.

James L. Foley, major; commissioned Sept. 9, 1862.

William A. Doniphan, major; resigned March 17, 1863.

John Mason Brown, major; commissioned Oct. 27, 1862.

James M. Taylor, major; promoted to major March 18, 1863.

Ridgly Wilson, adjutant; resigned June 28, 1863.

John N. Wallingford, adjutant; promoted adjutant June 29, 1863.

George G. Fetter, quartermaster.

John F. Moore, commissary; commissioned Aug. 15, 1862.

Washington Fithian, surgeon; commissioned Aug. 12, 1862.

J. F. Fleming, surgeon; commissioned Sept. 20, 1862.

Samuel Maguire, asst. surgeon.

James P. Hendrick, chaplain; commissioned Sept. 5, 1862.

COMPANY A.

Newton S. Dudley, captain; Robert G. Ringo, captain; James M. Taylor, captain; Charles H. Burns, 1st lieutenant; Thomas A. Jones, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Charles S. Rogers, captain; Henry W. Caldwell, 1st lieutenant; Burton W. Darnall, 2nd lieutenant, George A. Trumbo, sup. 2d lieut.

COMPANY C.

William E. Rice, captain; Andrew T. Wood, 1st lieutenant; William T. Berry, 2d lieutenant; Jno. N. Wallingford, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Jno. G. Rogers, captain; George H. Wheeler, 1st lieutenant; Wm. B. Shockley, 2d lieutenant; John F. Moore, 2d lieutenant; C. J. McClelland, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Wm. D. Ratcliffe, captain; Joseph T. Lokey, 1st lieutenant; Henry E. Ware, 1st lieutenant; Theodore B. Harlan, 2d lieutenant; Newton Devore, sup. 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Frank Mott, captain; Simeon Sumpter, 1st lieutenant; Casper Castner, 1st lieutenant; James M. Burk, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Milton Evans, captain; Andrew J. Farow, 1st lieutenant; James B. Brewer, 2d lieutenant; Daniel Hendrickson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Charles Nute, captain; James C. Bierbower, 1st lieutenant; Samuel B. Kelley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Henry C. White, captain; Lewis M. Clarke, captain; George L. McCord, 1st lieutenant; James W. Steward, 2d lieutenant; Joseph T. Cottingham, brevet 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John D. Russell, captain; Jacob Nelson, captain; David L. Evans, 1st lieutenant; George F. Hertel, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

John M. Gray, captain; Thomas Barber, 1st lieutenant; John R. Taber, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

Francis M. Rathburn, captain; John A. Thompson, 1st lieutenant; James M. Blackburn, 2d lieutenant.

CAVALRY—ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

Alexander W. Holeman, colonel; resigned Sept. 26, 1864.

William E. Riley, lieutenant-colonel; resigned July 18, 1863.

Archibald J. Alexander, lieutenant-colonel; resigned June 9, 1864.

Milton Graham, lieutenant-colonel.

William O. Boyle, major; killed in action Dec. 18, 1864, at Marion, Va.

Duvall English, major.

Frederick Slater, major; promoted to major from captain Company E.

L. L. Pinkerton, surgeon; resigned March 22, 1863.

James H. Peyton, surgeon; resigned March 8, 1864.

James F. Peyton, surgeon; promoted surgeon March 9, 1864.

John F. Rodgers, asst. surgeon; discharged to date from appointment.

Thomas W. Hewitt, asst. surgeon.

Wm. P. Pierce, adjutant; discharged Aug. 6, 1864.

Harry Gee, adjutant; promoted from sergeant-major to adjutant June 23, 1864.

Stephen Stone, quartermaster; resigned March 27, 1863.

Wm. M. Simpson, quartermaster; promoted quartermaster June 7, 1863.

Munroe B. Pulliam, commissary; captured at Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20, 1863.

Louis Bien Kamp, commissary; promoted commissary Jan 23, 1865.

John Taffe, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

John G. Pond, captain; Wm. P. Pierce, captain; Reuben F. Scott, 1st lieutenant; John M. Cotton, 2d lieutenant; Howard Warren, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

James A. Johnson, captain; Presly F. Hansbrough, captain; George J. Burgess, 2d lieutenant; Wm. M. Simpson, sup. 2d lieutenant; Abraham W. Stone, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Jacob Cozatt, captain; Samuel P. Debaun, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Edwards, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Norton, 2d lieutenant; John J. Rose, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

W. H. Bell, captain; James W. Robinson, 1st lieutenant; John W. Burton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Frederick Slater, captain; Edward H. Green, captain; Robert Q. Terrill, 1st lieutenant; Solomon Huffman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Robert S. Curd, captain; Benjamin W. Blincoe, 1st lieutenant; John H. Dickerson, 1st lieutenant; John J. Curtis, 1st lieutenant; Harrison F. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Joseph Lawson, captain; Allen Purdy, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Willerman, 1st lieutenant; John H. Skinner, brevted 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

George H. Wheeler, captain; Daniel E. W. Smith, 1st lieutenant; George W. Taylor, 2d lieutenant; B. H. Niemeyer, 2d lieutenant.

Companies I, K, L, M of this regiment, were transferred to the Twelth Kentucky Cavalry, per S. O. No. 70, headquarters Department of Cumberland, dated June 23, 1865.

The Eleventh Kentucky Cavalry was mustered into the United States service on the 22d day of September, at Louisville, Ky., by Capt. V. N. Smith, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—TWELFTH REGIMENT.

Quintus C. Shanks, colonel; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Eugene W. Critttenden, colonel; promoted from captain 4th United States Cavalry.

Alexander W. Holeman, lieutenant-colonel; promoted colonel 11th Kentucky Cavalry Nov. 2, 1863.

James T. Bramlette, lieutenant-colonel; commissioned Nov. 9, 1863.

Nathaniel L. Lightfoot, major; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Wm. R. Kinney, major; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Ira Hart Stout, major; promoted Oct. 11, 1862.

Julius N. Delfosse, major; killed in action at Philadelphia, Tenn,, Oct. 20, 1863.

James B. Harrison, major; promoted from captain of Company B Nov. 17, 1863.

George F. Barnes, major; transferred to 12th Kentucky Cavalry.

Garland J. Blewitt, adjutant; was commissioned Aug. 16, 1862.

Zeno B. Freeman, adjutant; resigned Dec. 23, 1863.

William Noland, adjutant; promoted from commissary sergeant.

Thomas E. Tyler, adjutant; promoted from 1st sergeant July 30, 1865.

James A. Thomas, regimental quartermaster; commissioned Aug. 19, 1862.

John T. Feaman, regimental quartermaster, promoted regimental quartermaster April 11, 1863.

Daniel J. King, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster June 17, 1865.

Charles S. Clary, commissary; commissioned Oct. 11, 1862.

Erasmus O. Brown, surgeon; mustered in to date Sept. 12, 1862.

Thomas J. Swan, surgeon; resigned May 11, 1865.

Samuel B. Littlepage, asst. surgeon; hospital steward from August 10, 1862, to Jan. 30, 1863.

Horace Fletcher, asst. surgeon; commissioned Oct. 25, 1862.

A. T. Bennett, asst. surgeon; commissioned March 6, 1865.

John Pell, chaplain; commissioned Oct. 11,1862.

COMPANY A.

Andrew G. Hamilton, captain; Thomas J. Cherry, captain; James B. Harrison, captain; James L. Hix, captain; Moses P. Gott, 1st lieutenant; Edgar M. Gwynn, 1st lieutenant; Hiram D. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; John H. Stone, 2d lieutenant; David J. Block, 2d lieutenant; Cincinnatus Condit, 2d lieutenant; William F. Denton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Wm. P, Pierce, captain; Wm. H. Ritchey, 1st lieutenant; Benj. F. Lewis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

George W. Webb, captain; Henry A. Denton, captain; Robert Karnes, captain; Thomas S. Coleman, 1st lieutenant; Isaac T. Montgomery, 1st lieutenant; Samuel R. Jones, 2d lieutenant; Louis Bergman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Mason Hedrick, captain; Jno. L. Woodward, captain; Stephen D. Dial, captain; Robert Karnes, captain; Felix G. Bannon, 1st lieutenant; Obediah B. Chapman, 1st lieutenant; Europe F. Littlepage, 1st lieutenant; Thomas B. Perrigo, 1st lieutenant; Wm. K. Wallace, 1st lieutenant; Porter A. Hudson, 2d lieutenant; Thomas Lloyd, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Henry M. Bennett, captain; Henry F. Samuels, captain; Newton Smock, 1st lieutenant; Nathaniel M. Priest, 1st lieutenant; Charles B. Mitchell, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Silvinas B. Johnson, captain; Adam Elms, captain; Samuel Baker, captain; Simon P. Morgan, 1st lieutenant; Hiram D. Roberts, 1st lieutenant; Sidney C. Swift, 1st lieutenant; David H. Baker, 1st lieutenant; James A. Anderson, 2d lieutenant; William T. Flora, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

John W. Hill, captain; Samuel E. Hill, captain; John H. Quisenberry, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Cullen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

W. L Payne, captain; Benjamin Duvall, captain; Geo. W. Bullitt, captain; Guy D. Howe, 1st lieutenant; Amos Lippincott, 1st lieutenant; William H. Hines, 2d lieutenant; James Butler, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Charles Bachmann, captain; Merrit M. Peirce, 1st lieutenant; William H. Bunting, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

John E. Williamson, captain; Wm. Mangan, captain; Elias J. Pendick, 1st lieutenant; Samuel B. McAfee, 1st lieutenant; Henry H. Hamilton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

John H. Starks, captain; William G. Hurt, captain; Benj. K. Stephenson, 1st lieutenant; William D. James, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

Thomas P. Carter, captain; Levi Linn, 1st lieutenant; Charles H. Turner, 1st lieutenant; William D. Lee, 2d lieutenant.

The Twelfth Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry was organized in the winter of 1862–63. A portion of the regiment was mustered into the United States service on the 17th day of November, 1862, at Owensboro, Ky., by W. B. Royall, captain 5th United States Cavalry; the remainder of the regiment was mustered in at Munfordsville, Ky., February 12, 1863, by Capt. T. E. Noell.

CAVALRY—THIRTEENTH REGIMENT.

James W. Weatherford, colonel; promoted from lieutenant-colonel Dec. 23, 1863.

John A. Morrison, lieutenant-colonel.

Harrison M. Hurt, major; promoted from captain Company E December 23, 1863.

Ferdinand D. Rigney, major.

George W. Sweeney, major; on duty as major from Oct. 28, 1863.

Daniel S. Parker adjutant.

Fielding P. Bland, regimental quartermaster.

George F. Cunningham, commissary; cashiered by order No. 90, Department of the Ohio, dated Oct. 28, 1864.

Lafayette Bennett, surgeon.

Wm. D. Stone, assistant surgeon; absent, sick, since Dec. 1, 1864.

Joseph S. Harper, assistant surgeon.

Robert F. Mills, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

James M. Giboney, captain; Benj. F. Bransom, 1st lieutenant; Joseph W. Cartwright, 2d lieutenant; David Murphy, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Asa Bryant, captain; Napoleon B. Portman, 1st lieutenant; Strother Bowman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Thomas Wood, captain; Richard H. McWhorter, 1st lieutenant; Mathew H. Turner, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Thomas Watson, captain; Jesse C. Newell, 1st lieutenant; George T. Rigney, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Harrison M. Hurt, captain; William D. Lowe, captain; James M. Stephenson, 1st lieutenant; R. W. Chapman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

James R. Howard, captain; Elza C. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Martin Hurt, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Samuel M. Crandall, captain; James H. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Jesse A. Skeen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

William M. Northrip, captain; John E. Murrah, 1st lieutenant; William G. Gabbart, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Edmund Wilkerson, captain; John A. Stone, 1st lieutenant; Reuben Ard, 2d lieutenant; Moses Sweeney, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Nathan G. Wells, captain; George S. Hughes, 1st lieutenant; William D. Wolford, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

John R. Curry, captain; Black Hughs, 1st lieutenant, Francis Montgomery, 1st lieutenant; James M. Williams, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

George W. Penn, captain; John Ellis, 1st lieutenant; Franklin L. Shipman, 2d lieutenant.

The Thirteenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized at Columbia, Ky., under Col. J. W. Weatherford, and mustered into the United States service on the 23d day of December, 1863, by Capt. S. M. Letcher, United States mustering officer.

CAVALRY—FOURTEENTH REGIMENT.

Henry C. Lilly, colonel; promoted from private Company B Feb. 13, 1863.

Andrew Herd, lieutenant-colonel; promoted from captain Company E Feb. 20, 1863.

Joseph W. Stivers, major; promoted from 2d lieutenant to major August 21, 1862.

Alfred Smith, major.

John C. Eversole, major.

R. T. Williams, major.

Frank B. Tucker, adjutant; resigned August 28, 1862.

John H. Massie, adjutant; resigned April 23, 1863.

Tho. C. Reed, adjutant; was commissary to August 24, 1863.

Alex. M. Barnes, regimental quartermaster; resigned August 28, 1862.

Lewis M. Ricketts, regimental quartermaster.

Saml. W. Hatten, commissary; promoted from sergeant major Oct. 2, 1863.

Washington Fithian, surgeon; resigned March 21, 1863.
James P. Turner, surgeon.
James W. Hensley, assistant surgeon.
Mathew G. Jones, assistant surgeon.
Wm. F. Cole, sergeant-major; promoted from sergeant Company E Sept. 1, 1863.
A. C. Lanehart, quartermaster sergeant; promoted from sergeant Company F Jan. 1, 1864.
Hezekiah Creech, commissary sergeant.
Stephen P. Wallace, saddler sergeant.
Elias Smith, hospital steward.
Robert Pendley, hospital steward; promoted from private Company E January 1, 1864.

COMPANY A.

Fountain Finnell, captain; John W. Ogden, 1st lieutenant; Joseph T. Smart, 1st lieutenant; William P. Schooler, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Wm. D. Craig, captain; Mason C. Miller, 1st lieutenant; Robert A. Thomas, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Seldon F. Bowman, captain; Clayton C. Bell, 1st lieutenant; Zachariah W. Owen, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Samuel McKee, captain; Allen H. Rupard, 1st lieutenant; James Kinnard, 2d lieutenant; Henry C. Rainey, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Sylvester Isaacs, captain; Andrew Herd, captain; William A. Smith, 1st lieutenant; Abraham H. Wilder, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Jefferson Hall, captain; Abraham W. Baker, 1st lieutenant; David W. Gentry, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

Jackson H. Jacobs, captain; Jones A. Crawford, 1st lieutenant; Pleasant Gillum, 2d lieutenant; James H. Armstrong, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Hiram Shons, captain; Moses P. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; James M. Williams, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Thomas Amis, captain; John Amis, 1st lieutenant; Wiley Amis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

William Strong, captain; Edward Marcum, 1st lieutenant; Nimrod McIntosh, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

William B. Eversole, captain; Thomas Johnson, 1st lieutenant; Abner Eversole, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

Harrison Fields, captain; James Eversole, 1st lieutenant; Shadrach Stacey, Jr., 2d lieutenant.

The Fourteenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized in the fall of 1862, under Col. H. C. Lilly. Companies A, B, C, and D were mustered in on the 6th day of November, 1862, at Mt. Sterling, Ky., by Capt. S. E. Noell. Companies E, F, G, H, I, K, L, and M were mustered in at Irvine, Ky., on the 13th of February, 1863.

CAVALRY—FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Gabriel Netter, lieutenant-colonel; killed in action at Owensboro, Ky., Sept. 19, 1862.
Albert P. Henry, lieutenant-colonel; captured June 29, 1863, at Spring Creek, Tenn.
Willia Waller, major.
John W. Lockhead, adjutant; promoted adjutant Dec. 16, 1862.
Thomas Alexander, regimental quartermaster; promoted regimental quartermaster Dec. 4, 1862.
Patrick H. Darby, regimental commissary; promoted sergeant-major May 1, 1863; promoted 1st lieutenant and regimental commissary June 15th, 1863.
Selathiel Medaris, assistant surgeon; discharged April 25, 1863.
James O. Castilow, quartermaster-sergeant.
Eugene Dodd, commissary-sergeant.

COMPANY A.

Samuel Duncan, captain; Henry W. Rose, 1st lieutenant; George F. Barnes, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

Samuel M. Purcell, captain; Isham S. Mallory, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Alexander, 1st lieutenant; Francis M. Gilliland, 1st lieutenant; James Clement, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Jonathan Belt, captain; Fountain P. Hawkins, 1st lieutenant; William B. Bush, 2d lieutenant; Houston L. Keesee, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

Wm. C. Frizzell, captain; Axel Nyberg, captain; Morgan T. Williams, 1st lieutenant; Robert L. Lockhead, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Lewis A. Hanson, captain; John B. Key, 1st lieutenant; Joseph F. Peck, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

Edward L. Maxwell, captain; Chas. J. Akerstrom, 1st lieutenant; Joseph A. Gates, 2d lieutenant.

The Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized in the fall of 1862, and mustered into the United States service at Paducah, Ky., by Capt. Noell, United States army, on the 6th day of October, 1862. Gabriel Netter was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, July 25, 1862, and was killed at Owensboro, Ky. A. P. Henry was afterward, on February 14, 1863, commissioned lieutenant-colonel, and entered on duty as such March 5, 1863, remaining in command until his capture at Spring Creek, Tenn., June 29th, 1863, when Maj. Willia Waller became the senior officer with the regiment, and commanded it on its muster out of service at Paducah, Ky., October 6, 1863. Company C, of this regiment, was not mustered out until Oct. 29, 1863.

The Fifteenth Cavalry was chiefly engaged in scouting through the First District and western portion of the State of Kentucky, and was for some time the only protection afforded to the loyal citizens of that section. It sustained losses in numerous skirmishes, and at Owensboro, Ky., and the battle of Spring Creek, Tenn.

CAVALRY—SEVENTEENTH REGIMENT.

Samuel F. Johnson, colonel.
Thomas W. Campbell, lieutenant-colonel.
John B. Tyler, major.
Nelson C. Lawrence, major.
Thomas J. Lovelace, major.
David R. Murray, adjutant.
Virgil A. Jones, regimental quartermaster.
Robert Brodie, regimental quartermaster.
Thomas J. Buchanan, regimental commissary.
William Randolph, surgeon.
Charles F. Hart, surgeon.
Joseph T. Harper, assistant surgeon.
Robert Y. Thomas, chaplain.

COMPANY A.

James C. Bacon, captain; Junius R. Clift, 1st lieutenant; Robert R. Davis, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY B.

James C. Wilson, captain; John M. Cranor, 1st lieutenant; Robert D. Chatman, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY C.

Stephen M. Overby, captain; John C. Young, 1st lieutenant; David Jackson, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY D.

James H. Lile, captain; Thomas Blythe, 1st lieutenant; Jack S. Bradley, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY E.

Ed. Hartee, captain; James M. Young, 1st lieutenant; George W. Tatum, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY F.

John Alsop, captain; B. V. Tyler, 1st lieutenant; Wm. F. Richards, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY G.

J. H. Sturdivant, captain; Wm. J. McGhee, 1st lieutenant; Alfred V. Townes, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY H.

Wm. H. Lawrence, captain; Thomas M. Lewis, 1st lieutenant; George W. Shelton, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY I.

Charles E. Van Pelt, captain; Finis H. Little, 1st lieutenant; Uriah M. Brown, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY K.

Washington C. Shannon, captain; William L. Travis, 1st lieutenant; A. Wood Pollard, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY L.

Elisha F. Lemen, captain; John G. Daniel, 1st lieutenant; Wm. C. Bourland, 2d lieutenant.

COMPANY M.

John R. Reno, captain; David C. Goad, 1st lieutenant; Wm. H. Roark, 2d lieutenant.

The following is taken from the official records on file in the adjutant-general's office:

The Seventeenth Kentucky Cavalry was organized in the winter of 1864–65. A portion of the regiment was mustered into the United States service by Lieut. Russell, in December, 1864, at Russellville, Ky.; a portion by Capt. Smith, at Owensboro, Ky., in April, 1865; the remainder was mustered in at Louisville, Ky., in the months of January, February and March. Thos. W. Campbell, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, March 22, 1865. Saml. F. Johnson was commissioned colonel, April 25, 1865. The regiment did good service in the southern portion of the State and along the line of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, guarding that great military thoroughfare. It was finally mustered out at Louisville, Ky., on the 20th day of September, 1865. It was engaged in numerous skirmishes, in which loss was sustained, beside the battles at Hopkinsville, Bunker Hill, and in Lyon County, Ky.

The officers of this command having failed to furnish any memorandum or official history of its marches and the battles and skirmishes in which it was engaged, a more extended notice of the same cannot be given.

KENTUCKY LIGHT ARTILLERY.

FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY A.

David C. Stone, captain; dismissed May 4, 1863, disability, removed by the President.

Theodore S. Thomasson, captain; promoted captain May 26, 1863, mustered out Nov. 15, 1865.

Alphonso W. Roath, 1st lieutenant; resigned Nov. 29, 1861.

John H. Mellen, 1st lieutenant; honorably discharged for disability Oct. 22, 1864.

Robert A. Moffett, 1st lieutenant; resigned May 2, 1864.

John D. Irwin, 1st lieutenant; resigned March 1, 1865.

William H. Sinclare, 1st lieutenant; dismissed July 3, 1865.

John H. Landwehr, 1st lieutenant; mustered out Nov. 14, 1865.

George W. Clark, 2d lieutenant; resigned Feb. 6, 1862.

William R. Irwin, 2d lieutenant; died in hospital at Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 15, 1864.

Frederick R. Sanger, 2d lieutenant; mustered out Nov 15, 1865.

FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY B.

John W. Hewett, captain; mustered out with battery, Nov. 15, 1864.

George W. Nell, 1st lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

Albion A. Ellsworth, 1st lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

William H. Spence, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

William N. Snail, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

Mathew H. Turner, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 15, 1864.

FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY C.

John W. Neville, captain; mustered out with battery Nov. 14, 1864.

Charles Bradley, 1st lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 14, 1864.

Hugh S. Rawle, 1st lieutenant.

Richard W. McReynolds, 2d lieutenant; veteran on detached service.

Thomas J. Walters, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Nov. 14, 1864.

FIRST LIGHT ARTILLERY—BATTERY E.

John J. Hawes, captain; mustered out Jan. 20, 1865.

L. E. P. Bush, captain; resigned June 12, 1865.

Samuel A. Miller, captain; mustered out with battery Aug. 1, 1865.

Frank G. Clark, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery Aug. 1, 1865.

LIGHT ARTILLERY—FIRST INDEPENDENT BATTERY.

Daniel W. Glassie, captain; mustered out with battery July 10, 1865.

Seth J. Simmonds, captain; cashiered.

James W. Kerr, 1st lieutenant; mustered out July 10, 1865, with battery.

George Hattersley, 1st lieutenant; mustered out March 17, 1865.

Robert C. Steele, 1st lieutenant; discharged for disability, Sept. 5, 1864.

Arthur Erenburg, 1st lieutenant; mustered out May 15, 1865; wounded at Antietam.

James W. Conine, 1st lieutenant; promoted colonel 5th U. S. C. T., Nov. 23, 1863.

Leonard Magnos, 1st lieutenant; dropped from rolls June 6, 1861.

Frederick A. Danie, 2d lieutenant; dismissed Nov. 17, 1862.

Hamilton B. White, 2d lieutenant; promoted captain 10th Ohio Battery, January 10, 1862.

Robert Johnson, 2d lieutenant; mustered out with battery July 10, 1865.

Battery A was organized in July, 1861, at Camp Joe Holt, Ind., by Capt. David C. Stone, and mustered into the United States service Sept. 27,1861. After three years of active and distinguished service in the Army of the Cumberland, this battery veteranized at Nashville, Tenn., in February, 1864. After the defeat of Gen. Hood in December, 1864, the battery was ordered to Texas, where it remained until October, when it returned to Louisville, and was mustered out of service Nov. 15, 1865.

Battery B was organized at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., in August, 1861, by Capt. J. W. Hewitt, and was mustered into service Oct. 8, 1861. This battery took an active part in the early engagements in Kentucky and Tennessee, and was distinguished for soldierly bearing and excellent discipline. It was mustered out at Louisville, Ky., Nov. 16, 1864, the recruits and veterans being transferred to Battery A.

Battery C was organized for one year's service at Louisville, Ky., in September, 1863, by Capt. John W. Neville, and was mustered into service on the 10th of the same month. After serving one year in the Department of Kentucky, the battery reenlisted for three years, and was ordered to Arkansas, where it participated in several severe engagements.

Battery E was organized at Louisville, Ky., by Capt. John J. Hawes, in September, 1863, and was mustered into the service at Camp Nelson, Ky., October 6, 1863. It re-enlisted for three years in February, 1864. The service performed by this battery in Kentucky and east Tennessee was peculiarly arduous, and the gallant behavior of its members won the repeated commendation of superior officers.

The First Independent Battery was organized as Company E, 1st Kentucky Infantry, and detached as artillery at the instance of Gen. Rosecrans, then commanding in Western Virginia, Oct. 31, 1861. The battery served with distinction in the campaigns in West Virginia, participating in the engagements at Tylus Mountain, Horse Shoe Bend, Cotton Mountain and Greeley Bridge, Va., Frederick City and Antietam, Md., Cloyrd Mountain, New River Bridge, Lynchburg and Salem, Va. After four years of honorable service, the battery was mustered out July 10, 1865, at Louisville, Ky.

BATTLE LIST OF KENTUCKY TROOPS.

Following is a list of engagements during the Rebellion in which Kentucky troops were engaged:

1861.

Wild Cat, Ky., Oct. 21—Seventh Infantry, First Cavalry.

1862.

Mill Springs, Jan. 19—Fourth, Tenth, Twelfth Infantry, First Cavalry, Patterson's Engineers.

Middle Creek, Ky., Jan. 10—Fourteenth Infantry.

Fort Donelson, Feb. 16—Seventeenth, Twenty-fifth Infantry.

Shiloh, Tenn., April 6, 7—First, Second, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, Thirteenth, Seventeenth, Twentieth, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth Infantry.

Murfreesboro, Tenn., July 13—Battery B.

Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30—Seventh, Fourteenth, Eighteenth Infantry, Sixth, Seventh, Ninth Cavalry.

South Mountain, Md., Sept. 14—Simmonds' Independent Kentucky Battery.

Antietam Mountain, Md., Sept. 17—Simmonds' Independent Kentucky Battery.

Perryville, Ky., October 8—Fifth, Seventh, Fifteenth Infantry, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth Cavalry, Battery A.

Dobbin's Ferry, Tenn., Dec. 9—Eighth, Twenty-first Infantry.

Chickasaw Bluffs, Dec. 29, 30—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

1863.

Stone River, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862, Jan. 3, 1863—First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh, Fifteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third Infantry, Second, Third Cavalry, Battery A.

Arkansas Post, Ark., Jan. 11—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Thompson's Hill, Miss., May 1—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Champion's Hill, Miss., May 16—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Big Black River Bridge, Miss., May 17—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Horseshoe Bend, Cumberland River, May 9, 10—Ninth, Twelfth Cavalry.

Vicksburg, Miss., May 19, July 4—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Jackson, Miss., July 10, 16—Seventh, Nineteenth, Twenty-second Infantry, Patterson's Engineers.

Lebanon, Ky., July 7—Twentieth Infantry.

Tullahoma Campaign, June 24, July 4—First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-Third Infantry, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Cavalry.

Chickamauga Campaign, Ga., Sept. 19, 20—First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-Third Infantry, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh Cavalry.

Marrowbone, Ky., Sept. 22—Thirty-ninth Infantry.

Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20—Twenty-seventh Infantry, First, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Brown's Ferry, Tenn., Oct. 27—Fifth, Sixth, Twenty-third Infantry.

Campbell Station, Tenn., Nov. 16—Thirteenth, Twenty-seventh Infantry, Fifth Cavalry.

Kingston, Tenn., Nov. 24—Sixteenth Infantry.

Siege of Knoxville, Nov.—Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh Infantry, First, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Lookout Mountain, Nov. 23—Eighth Infantry.

Missionary Ridge, Nov. 23, 25—Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third Infantry.

Bean's Station, Tenn., Dec. 14—Eleventh, Twenty-seventh Infantry, First, Twelfth Cavalry.

Mossy Creek, Tenn., Dec. 29—Sixteenth Infantry, Seventh Cavalry.

1864.

Dandridge, Tenn., Jan. 20—Seventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Dalton, Ga., Feb. 25—Eighth Infantry.

Sabine Cross Roads, La., April 8—Nineteenth Infantry.

Rockyface Ridge, May 9—First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Fifteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Resaca, Ga., May 15—First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-First, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Dallas, Ga., May 25, June 2—Third, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth,

Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth Infantry, First, Second, Third, Fourth Cavalry.

Lost Mountain, Ga., June 10—First, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Mt. Sterling, Ky., June 9—Thirty-seventh, Fortieth, Forty-fifth Infantry, Seventeenth Cavalry, Battery C.

Cynthiana, Ky., June 12—Thirtieth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-fifth, Forty-seventh Infantry.

Kenesaw Mountain, June 20, 27—Third, Fifth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth Infantry, Second Cavalry.

Lafayette, Ga., June 24—Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh Cavalry.

Near Marietta, Ga., July 4—Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Fifteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first Infantry.

Adairsville, Ga., July 7—Third, Fifth Cavalry.

Peach Tree Creek, July 20—Third, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Siege of Atlanta, Ga., July 22, Sept. 1—Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth Infantry, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Newnan's, Ga., July 30—Fourth Infantry, Second, Seventh Cavalry.

Hillsboro, Ga., July 31—First, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry.

Lovejoy Station, Aug. 20—Fourth, Ninth, Twenty-eighth Infantry, Third, Fifth Cavalry.

Jonesboro, Ga., Sept. 2—Tenth, Thirteenth, Twenty-first Infantry.

Saltville, Va., Oct. 2—Twenty-Sixth, Thirtieth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-fifth Infantry.

Sherman's March to the Sea—Tenth, Eighteenth Infantry, Second, Third, Fifth Cavalry.

Columbia, Tenn., Nov. 28—Eleventh, Twelfth, Sixteenth Infantry.

Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30—Twelfth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-eighth Infantry.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15, 16—Twelfth, Sixteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth Infantry, Fourth Mounted Infantry, Battery A.

Marian, Va., and Stoneman's (Va.) Raid, Dec. 16, 1864, Jan., 1865—Thirtieth, Fifty-third Infantry, Eleventh, Twelfth Cavalry, Battery C.

Hopkinsville, Ky., Dec. 16—Sixth, Seventh Cavalry.

Savannah, Ga., Dec. 21—Eighteenth Infantry, Battery C.

Saltville, Va., Dec. 20—Thirtieth, Forty-fifth, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth Infantry.

Wilson's Raid in Alabama, Georgia, Dec. 20, April 20, 1865—Fourth, Sixty-seventh Cavalry, Fourth Mounted Infantry.

1865.

Town Creek, N. C., Feb. 20—Twelfth Infantry.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., April 1—Fourth Infantry.

Near Raleigh, N. C., April 12—Eighteenth Infantry.

ROLL OF HONOR.

A list of officers of Kentucky regiments, who were killed in action or died of wounds received there during their service in the United States Volunteer Army.

Auxier, Capt. David V., 39th Inf.; died Oct. 4, 1864, of wounds received at the battle of Saltville, Va.

Anthony, Capt. James W., 17th Inf.; died Oct. 10, 1863, of wounds received at the battle of Chickamauga.

Barton, Lieut. Wm. S., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Missionary Ridge, Tenn., Nov. 25, 1863.

Bacon, Capt. Albert G., 3d Cav.; killed in action at Sacramento, Ky., Dec. 28, 1861.

Bayne, Capt. Aaron S., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Tenn., Dec. 3, 1862.

Benton, Capt. John B., 8th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Bevill, Capt. Seth P., 10th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept, 21, 1863.

Bevill, 2d Lieut. John H., 21st Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Tenn., Jan. 2, 1863.

Butler, Capt. Champness D., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Kennesaw Mountain, Ga., Jan. 27, 1864.

Burgess, 2d Lieut. Francis M., 14th Inf.; died of wounds, Aug. 10, 1864, received in action on Atlanta Campaign.

Brown, 2d Lieut. Albert E., 17th Inf.; died May 18, 1862, of wounds received in action at Shiloh.

Burgher, Lieut. Wm. C., 26th Inf.; killed in action near Russellville, Ky., July 29, 1862.

Bradford, Lieut. Jacob D., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Resaca, Ga., May 14, 1864.

Bodine, Capt. James M., 2d Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 21, 1863.

Bryan, Capt. William T., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Boyle, Maj. William O., 11th Cav.; killed in action at Marion, Va., Dec. 18, 1864.

Bradshaw, Lieut. Alban D., 3d Inf.; died Oct. 8, 1863, of wounds received at Chickamauga.

Bradney, Lieut. William, 2d Cav.; killed in action on Atlanta Campaign, July 30, 1864.

Carter, Capt. Jesse M., 1st Kentucky Cav.; killed at Columbus, Ky., July 3, 1863.

Carpenter, Lieut. Frederick F., 9th Inf.; killed at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Cabell, Lieut. Samuel J., 13th Inf.; died March 6, 1864, of wounds received in action at Huff's Ferry, Tenn., March 6, 1864.

Cartsinger, Lieut. James L., 30th Inf.; killed in action at Saltville, Va., Oct. 2, 1864.

Campbell, Maj. Wm. P., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Perryville, Oct. 8, 1864.

Coughlin, Lieut. James, 24th Inf.; killed in action at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864.

Coyle, Capt. Demetrius B., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.

Cox, Lieut. Wade B., 8th Inf.; died July 12, 1863, of wounds received at Stone River.

Cotton, Lieut.-Col. George T., 6th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.

Coleman, Lieut. Richard D., 39th Inf.; killed in action, Jan. 9, 1864.

Cullen, Lieut. Mathew, 3d Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.

Culbertson, Capt. W. W., 18th Inf.; died Sept. 22, 1862, of wounds received in action at Richmond, Ky.

Davidson, Maj. John L., 26th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, Apr. 7, 1862.

Delfosse, Maj. J. Napoleon, 12th Cav.; killed in action at Philadelphia, Tenn., Oct. 20, 1863.

Dissell, Lieut. Frank, 5th Inf.; died May 12, 1864, of wounds received at Stone River.

Dunlap, Lieut. James, 18th Inf.; killed in action at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.

Eubanks, Lieut. Thomas, 6th Inf.; killed at Chickamauga Sept. 19, 1863.

Elam, Lieut. Richard M., 14th Inf.; killed in action at Salyersville, Ky., Nov. 30, 1863.

Eifort, Maj. William H., 2d Cav.; killed in action Atlanta Campaign, Sept. 3, 1864.
Evans, Maj. Morgan V., 19th Inf.; killed in action before Vicksburg, Miss., May 22, 1863.
Ferguson, Capt. Alex B., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.
Forrester, Capt. John W., 5th Cav.; died Nov. 29, 1864, of wounds received on Atlanta campaign.
Foy, Lieut.-Col. James C., 23d Inf.; died July 24, 1864, of wounds received in action near Vining's Station, Ga.
Forman, Col. James B., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.
Fisher, Capt. John R., 27th Inf.; killed in action near Atlanta, Ga., July 20, 1864.
Furr, 2d Lieut. William W., 6th Inf.; killed in action near Dallas, Ga., May 27, 1864.
Garrard, Capt. Daniel, Jr., 22d Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Miss., Dec. 29, 1862.
Gallup, Capt. Giles A., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Jonesboro, Ga., Sept. 2, 1864.
Goulding, Capt. Seneca P., 7th Cav.; drowned while in action at Benton, Ala., Apr. 10, 1865.
Griffin, Lieut. Jesse W., 25th Inf.; killed in action at Fort Donelson, Tenn., Feb. 15, 1862.
Griffin, Lieut. Amos M., 5th Cav.; killed in action March —, 1865.
Hampton, Adjt. Levi J., 39th Inf.; killed in action Dec. 4, 1862.
Hund, Lieut. Anton, 6th Inf.; died May 23, 1862, of wounds received at Shiloh, Tenn.
Hayes, 2d Lieut. James M., 4th Inf.; killed in action at Logan's Cross Roads, Jan. 19, 1862.
Halisey, Col. Dennis I., 6th Cav.; killed in action near New Market, Ky., Dec. 31, 1862.
Hestand, Lieut. Turner, 9th Inf.; killed in action at Lovejoy's Station, Ga., Sept. 2, 1864.
Hegan, Capt. Wm. B., 22d Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Miss., Dec. 29, 1862.
Hedger, Lieut. Hugh A., 21st Inf.; killed in action at Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15, 1864.
Higdon, Lieut. John T., 26th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, Apr. 7, 1862.
Hill, Capt. John W., 12th Cav.; killed in action, Nov. 18, 1863.
Hickman, Capt. Robert B., 8th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.
Hill, Capt. George W., 12th Inf.; killed in action before Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 6, 1864.
Hoffman, Lieut. Joseph C., 23d Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
Hurley, Capt. John P., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Missionary Ridge, Nov. 25, 1863.
Humphrey, Lieut. James, 1st Cav.; died Sept. —, 1864, of wounds received in action.
Huston, Lieut. John W., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
Hunt, Lieut. Garvine D., 3d Inf.; died Nov. 30, 1863, of wounds received at Missionary Ridge.
Jenkins, Lieut. Wm. G., 2d Cav.; killed in action, June 29, 1863.
Jenkins, Capt. Jarrett W., 1st Cav.; killed in action at Perryville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
Jones, 2d Lieut. Samuel R., 12th Cav.; killed in action near Brandenburg, Ky., July 12, 1864.
Jouett, Lieut.-Col. George P., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Chaplin Hills, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
Korman, 2d Lieut. John B., 23d Inf.; died July 26, 1864, of wounds received in action before Chattanooga, Tenn.
Laurie, 2d Lieut. James, 16th Inf.; died May 14, 1864, of wounds received in action at Resaca, Ga.
Landrum, Capt. Wm. J., 17th Inf.; killed in action at Cassville, Ga., May 19, 1864.
Lee, Lieut. Matthias Z. S., 24th Inf.; died Feb. 14, 1864, of wounds received in action at Knoxville, Tenn.
Leggett, Lieut. Algernon S., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.
Lewis, Capt. Orrin M., 18th Inf.; killed in action at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1862.
Lochman, 2d Lieut. Frederick V., 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
Lowe, 2d Lieut. Thomas A., 13th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.
Lee, Lieut. Wm. L., 13th Inf.; died April 16, 1862, of wounds received at Shiloh.
Mavity, Capt. Ephraim P., 23d Inf.; died Sept. 17, 1864, of wounds received in action at Chattanooga, Tenn.
Marker, Capt. Peter, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
Martin, Capt. Columbus H., 11th Inf.; died Dec. 18, 1863, of wounds received in action at Philadelphia, Tenn.
McGraw, Capt. John, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
McKee, Col. Samuel, 3d Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 31, 1862.
McDowell, Capt. E. Irwine, 15th Inf.; killed in action at Resaca, Ga., May 14, 1864.
McGrath, Lieut. James A. T., 15th Inf.; killed in action at Chaplin Hills, Ky., Oct. 8, 1862.
McCulloch, Capt. Miller R., 2d Cav.; killed in action at Stone River, Dec. 30, 1862.
McClure, Lieut. Joseph L., 15th Inf.; died Oct. 18, 1862, of wounds received in action at Perryville, Ky.
Miller, Lieut. Jonathan P., 1st Ky. Cav.; killed in action at Mill Springs, Jan. 19, 1862.
Minter, Capt. Landon C., 8th Inf.; died Feb. 15, 1863, of wounds received at Stone River, Tenn.
Miller, 2d Lieut. James A., 2d Inf.; killed in action at Pittsburg Landing, April 7, 1862.
Miller, Capt. Joseph E., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Resaca, Ga., May 16, 1864.
Mitchell, Lieut. Wm. D., 5th Cav.; killed in action March 10, 1865.
Millman, Lieut. John D., 17th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
Morton, Capt. Preston, 17th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 6, 1862.
Murphy, Lieut. William, 6th Cav.; killed in action, July 4, 1863.
Myers, 2d Lieut. John H. 10th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
Nierhoff, Capt. Frederick, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Kenesaw Mt., Ga., June 23, 1864.
Osborne, Lieut. Chilson A., 14th Inf.; died Nov. 30, 1864, of wounds received in action at Charleston, S. C.
Overburg, Lieut. Frederick, 3d Cav.; killed in action near Marietta, Ga., Oct. 3, 1864.
Owens, Capt. Elisha, 8th Cav.; killed at Pilot Knob, Ky., Feb. 28, 1863.
Palmer, Capt. Henry D., 16th Inf.; killed in action at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864.
Patrick, Capt. Wiley C., 14th Inf.; killed in action near Alatoona, Ga., June 2, 1864.
Pennington, Capt. Levi, 7th Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Miss., December 28, 1862.
Pope, Col. Curran, 15th Inf.; died Nov. 5, 1862, of wounds received in action at Chaplin Hills, Ky.
Robinson, Lieut. William H., 53d Inf.; killed in action at Marion, Va., Dec. 18, 1864.
Rockingham, Lieut. Richard, 6th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
Ryan, 2d Lieut. John, 5th Inf.; died Sept. 25, 1863, of wounds received at Chickamauga.
Royce, 2d Lieut. Samuel H., 7th Cav.; killed in action at Big Hill, near Richmond, Ky., Aug. 23, 1862.
Scott, Lieut. Hugh L., 52d Inf.; died Dec. 3, 1864, of wounds received in action.

Sheets, Lieut. Frank N., 4th Cav.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
Sketoe, Capt. Isaac W., 11th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.
Smith, Lieut. Elza C., 13th Cav.; killed in hospital at Saltville, Va., Oct. 7, 1864.
Sinkhorn, Lieut. Granville J., 28th Inf.; killed in action at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 30, 1864.
Spellmeyer, Capt. John H., 2d Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, April 7, 1862.
Stone, Lieut. Sebastian, 21st Inf.; killed in action at Stone River, Jan. 2, 1863.
Sturgis, Capt. Robert C., 17th Inf.; died Aug. 9, 1864, of wounds received in action before Atlanta, Ga.
Stewart, Lieut. Thomas, 14th Inf.; killed in action before Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 4, 1864.
Stearman, 2d Lieut. Wm. H., 13th Inf.; died Nov. 17, 1863, of wounds received in action at Huff's Ferry, east Tenn.
Taylor, Capt. Henry S., 3d Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 20, 1863.
Thomasson, Maj. Charles M., 5th Inf.; killed in action at Chickamauga, Sept. 19, 1863.
Truett, 2d Lieut. Jabez, 22d Inf.; killed in action at Chickasaw Bluffs, Dec. 29, 1862.
Tate, Lieut. Charles R., 9th Inf.; killed in action at Shiloh, Tenn., April 7, 1862.
Thornburg, 2d Lieut. Walter, 39th Inf.; killed in action Sept. 22, 1863.
Todd, Capt. Charles S., 6th Inf.; killed in action at Stone River Dec. 31, 1862.
Todd, Lieut. L. Frank, 15th Inf.; died Jan. 20, 1863, of wounds received in action.
Vickary, 2d Lieut. Jenkins J., 30th Inf.; killed in action at Saltville, Va., Oct. 2, 1864.
Victor, Capt. Wallace, 13th Inf.; died July 13, 1864, of wounds received at Chickamauga.
Washburn, 2d Lieut. John W., 18th Inf.; killed in action at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 30, 1863.
White, Capt. Charles L., 3d Cav.; died Dec. 7, 1864, of wounds received in action.
Wileman, Maj. Abram G., 18th Inf.; killed in skirmish in Pendleton County, Ky., Oct. 5, 1863.
Wilson, Capt. Thomas, 7th Inf.; killed in action at Champion's Hill, Miss., May 16, 1863.
Wilson, Capt. Upton, 5th Inf.; killed in action at Missionary Ridge Nov. 25, 1863.
Wolford, Capt. Francis M., 1st Cav.; killed in action at Hillsboro, Ga., July 31, 1864.

DEATHS IN KENTUCKY UNION TROOPS.

1861–65.

Killed in action, 95 officers, 1,390 enlisted men; died of wounds, 39 officers, 954 enlisted men; died of disease, 121 officers, 7,122 enlisted men; accidentally killed, 1 officer, 219 enlisted men; drowned, 6 officers, 228 enlisted men; murdered, 14 enlisted men; suicide, 1 officer, 7 enlisted men; executed (G. C. M.), 12 enlisted men; sunstroke, 2 enlisted men; other known causes, 7 officers, 165 enlisted men; causes not stated, 1 officer, 390 enlisted men. Total 271 officers and 10,503 enlisted men, of which number 3 officers and 1,017 enlisted men died while prisoners of war.

DEATHS IN ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.*

1861–65.

Killed in action, 4,142 officers, 62,916 enlisted men; died of wounds, 2,223 officers, 40,789 enlisted men; died of disease, 2,795 officers, 221,791 enlisted men; accidentally killed, 142 officers, 3,972 enlisted men; drowned, 106 officers, 4,838 enlisted men; murdered, 37 officers, 483 enlisted men; suicide, 26 officers, 365 enlisted men; executed (G. C. M.), 267 enlisted men; sunstroke, 5 officers, 308 enlisted men; other known causes, 80 officers, 2,122 enlisted men; causes not stated, 28 officers, 12,093 enlisted men. Total 9,584 officers and 349,944 enlisted men, of which number 219 officers and 29,279 enlisted men died while prisoners of war.

*From the office of the adjutant-general of the United States, and never before published.

CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY APPOINTED FROM KENTUCKY. *

Jno. C. Breckinridge, brig.-gen., Nov. 2, 1861; maj.-gen. Apr. 11, 1862; acting secretary of war, 1865.
Simon B. Buckner, brig.-gen., Sept. 14, 1861; maj.-gen., Aug. 16, 1862; lieut.-gen. Sept. 20, 1864.
Abe Buford, brig.-gen., Sept. 2, 1862.
George B. Cosby, brig.-gen., Jan. 20, 1863.
George B. Crittenden, brig.-gen., March 16, 1861; maj.-gen., Nov. 9, 1861; resigned Oct. 23, 1862.
Basil W. Duke, brig.-gen., Sept. 15, 1864.
Charles W. Field, brig.-gen., May, 9, 1862; maj.-gen. Sept. 12, 1864.
Roger W. Hanson, brig.-gen., Dec. 13, 1862.
J. M. Hawes, brig.-gen., March 5, 1862.
B. H. Helm, brig.-gen., March 14, 1862.
George B. Hodge, brig.-gen., Aug. 2, 1864.
Joseph H. Lewis, brig -gen., Sept. 30, 1863.
H. B. Lyon, brig.-gen., June 14, 1864.
Humphrey Marshall, brig.-gen., Oct. 30, 1861; resigned June 16, 1862; reappointed June 20, 1862; with rank from Oct. 1, 1861.
Jno. H. Meagan, brig.-gen., Dec. 11, 1862.
William Preston, brig.-gen., April 14, 1862; maj.-gen., Jan. 1, 1865.
Gustavus W. Smith, maj.-gen., Sept. 9, 1861; resigned Sept. 11, 1863.
Lloyd Tilghman, brig.-gen., Oct. 18, 1861.
Jno. S. Williams, brig.-gen., April 16, 1862.

LIST OF NAMES OF COMMANDING OFFICERS OF THE FIRST KENTUCKY BRIGADE IN THE ORDER OF THEIR DATES OF COMMAND.

Brig.-Gen. Jno. C. Breckinridge.
Brig.-Gen. Roger W. Hanson.
Col. R. P. Trabue.
Brig.-Gen. Marcus J. Wright.
Brig.-Gen. B. H. Helm.
Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis.

GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS APPOINTED FROM KENTUCKY.†

Gen. John C. Breckinridge.—Staff: Ament, B. W., medical director, relieved Aug. 29, 1862; Addison, ——, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Benham, Calhoun, major, acting inspector-general, Oct. 28, 1862; Breckinridge, J. Cabell, lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Nov. 17, 1861, Sept. 30, Oct. 28, 1862; Buckner, Jno. A., captain, assistant adjutant-general, July 18, 1862, lieutenant-colonel, Oct. 28, 1862; Brown, ——, major, chief commissary subsistence, Oct. 12, 1862; Bradford, J. W., captain, assistant quartermaster, paymaster, June, 4, 1863; Bird, ——, captain, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Brewer, ——, lieutenant-colonel, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Bertus, Wm. E., lieutenant, Twelfth Louisiana, acting inspector-general,

* From the war office at Washington, D. C.

†This list is from the war office at Washington, and was sent to Col. John B. Castleman, adjutant-general of Kentucky, who had it corrected and revised for this work.

Sept., 1863; Cobb, Robertson, captain, chief of artillery,—— Division, Nov. 1, 1863, Nov. 6,1863, assigned as chief of artillery of corps; Coleman, ——, captain, volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan. 1, 1863; Daragh, Thos. B., lieutenant, volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan. 1, 1863; Ewing, E. H., captain, assistant quartermaster, June 27, 1863; Ershine, Jno. H., surgeon, medical director, March 6, 1862; Evans, Alex., major and chief commissary, —— 7, 1863; Foote, Henry S., aid-de-camp; Granes, R. E., major, chief of artillery, Oct. 28, 1862; Hawes, Carey N., announced as chief surgeon of division, Sept. 6, 1862; Hawkins, Thomas T., first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Nov. 17, 1861; Capo, ——, aid-de-camp, captain, assistant adjutant-general, Oct., 1862, Oct. 28, 1862; Helm, Geo. M., 1st lieutenant, engineer officer, Aug. 18, 1862; Hamilton, Wm. B., volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Huestis, Dr., ——, medical inspector, chief surgeon, Jan., Sept., 1863; Hope, John, captain, acting inspector-general, Sept. 30, 1862, announced as acting inspector-general of reserve corps, April 25, 1862; Johnson, J.P., assistant adjutant-general, July, 1863; Kratz, Dr. ——, assistant surgeon, Sept., 1863; Little, George, captain, ordnance officer, May 2, 1863; Legare, J. C., surgeon, medical inspector, March 6, 1862; Morgan, R. C., acting assistant adjutant-general, Jan. 19, 1862; Mastin, Chas. J., captain, acting inspector-general, Feb. 26, 1863, lieutenant-colonel, acting inspector-general, Sept., 1863; Nocquet, Jas. W., captain, chief of engineers, Sept. 30, 1862; O'Hara, Theodore, colonel, acting assistant adjutant-general, Dec., 1862, Jan., 1863; Pickett, Geo. B., captain, engineer officer, March 6, 1862; Pickett, Jno. T., colonel, assistant adjutant-general, ——, 1862; Pinckney, ——, lieutenant-colonel, volunteer aid-de-camp, Aug., 1862; Pendleton, J. E., Dr., medical director, Sept. 30, 1862, Oct. 29, 1862; Pendleton, John E., volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan. 1, 1863; Robentson, J. S., captain, assistant adjutant-general, Sept. 8, 1862; Richards, A. Keene, aid-de-camp, June 23, 1862; Sullins, ——,major, chief quartermaster, Oct. 12, 1862; Schenck, Isaac, major, acting commissary subsistence, Dec. 13, 1862; Slocum, ——, captain, chief artillery, Nov. 6, 1863; Semple, Chas. captain, ordnance officer, Jan. 1, 1863, acting inspector-general, Jan. 24, 1864; Von Zinken, Leon, colonel, Twentieth Louisiana Regiment, acting assistant inspector-general, Sept., 1863; Triplett, ——, major, chief quartermaster, on march Oct. 12, 1862; Wilson, J T., acting inspector-general, Oct. 28, 1862, Dec. 31, 1862; Wilson, James, major, assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 11, 1862, Sept., 1863, Nov. 11, 1863, acting chief of artillery, Sept. 30, 1862, ordnance officer of division, April 21, 1862; Weatherby, surgeon, acting medical director, Sept. 30, 1862; Weeden, acting chief surgeon, Oct. 29, 1863; Young, J. F., surgeon, medical purveyor, March 6, 1862.

Gen. S.B. Buckner.—Staff: Ament, B. W., surgeon, Aug., 1862; Buckner, D. P., volunteer aid-de-camp, Sept., 1861, Feb., 1862; Casly, Geo. B., major, assistant adjutant-general, Sept., 1861, Feb., 1862; Clay, T. J., acting aid-de-camp, Feb., 1862; Cassiday, Alex., captain, assistant inspector-general, Sept., 1861, major, assistant inspector-general, Feb., 1862; Chambliss, N.P., lieutenant, ordnance officer, Sept. 18, 1861; Carrington, L.F., aid-de-camp, Nov. 26. 1861; Davidson, ——, major, chief of artillery, Feb., 1862; Gallagher, J. N., acting aid-de-camp, Feb., 1862; Hays, S. K., major, assistant quartermaster, Feb., 1862; Haines, J. M., major, assistant inspector-general, Sept. 18, 1861; Johnston, Chas. F., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Sept., 1861, Feb., 1862; Moore, ——, engineer officer, Feb., 1862; Nocquet, J., captain, engineer officer, Sept. 18, 1861; Sheliba, Victor, major lieutenant-colonel, chief of staff, June, 1863; Wintersmith, Richard C., major, acting commissary of subsistence, Feb., 1862; Watts, G. O., lieutenant, acting aid-de-camp, Sept. 18, 1861.

Brig.-Gen. A. Buford.—Staff: Crowder, Thos. M., captain, assistant adjutant-general, Oct., 1862, May, 1863; Nicholson, Hunter, major, assistant adjutant-general, Dec., 1862; Given, D. A., 1st lieutenant, acting aid-de-camp; Myers, D. E., 1st lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Aug. 1, 1863 (captain Company E, 9th Kentucky Cavalry), captain, acting inspector-general; Lea, James L., captain, assistant quartermaster, 1862, transferred to staff of Gen. T. H. Bell, Feb., 1865; Finch, J. R., major, acting commissary of subsistence; Gardner, Jno. D., 1st lieutenant, ordnance officer, May 20, 1862, transferred from 7th Kentucky Regiment; Clardy, Thos. F., surgeon (7th Kentucky); Cargill, W. M., major, quartermaster.

Col. Edward Crossland, Commanding Brigade. —Staff: Buford's Division, Forrest's Cavalry, May, 1864; Randle, C. S., captain, acting assistant adjutant-general (7th Kentucky Regiment); Matthewson, J. P., 1st lieutenant, acting assistant inspector-general; Lindsey, Wm., captain, assistant quartermaster (7th Kentucky Regiment), July, 1862; Smith, J. R., major, acting commissary of subsistence, July 22, 1863; Galbraith, Robert A., captain, acting aid-de-camp; Terry, F. G., captain, acting ordnance officer, Sept. 22, 1862 (8th Kentucky Regiment).

Maj.-Gen. Geo. B. Crittenden.—Staff: Brewer, Jas. B., volunteer aid-de-camp, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862; Cunningham, A. S., major, assistant adjutant-general, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862, Dec. 4, 1861; Hillyer, Giles M., major, assistant commissary of subsistence, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862; Porter, W. W., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862, captain, assistant adjutant-general, April 6–7, 1862: Ramsay, F. A., surgeon, medical director, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862; Thornton, H. I. (J?), aid-de-camp, Dec. 7, 1862, Jan., 1862, Feb., 1862.

Brig.-Gen. Basil W. Duke.—Staff: Cameron, ——, captain, chaplain, Sept. 15, 1864, transferred to special service in Canada, Nov., 1864; Davis, William J., captain; assistant adjutant-general, April, 1863, major, aid-de-camp, Dec., 1864; Elliott, R.F., major, acting commissary of subsistence, Sept. 15, 1864, previously commissary Morgan's staff; Gassette, C. W., major; acting quartermaster, Sept. 15, 1864, previously acting quartermaster on Morgan's staff; Gwyn, Hugh G., captain, assistant inspector-general, Sept. 15, 1864, major, assistant inspector-general, Dec. 1, 1864, previously adjutant Keeble's Tennessee regiment, infantry; Morgan, Calvin C., 1st lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Sept. 15, 1864, captain, aid-de-camp, Dec. 1, 1864; Thorpe, P. H., adjutant (?) June, 1862; Williams, Robert, major, brigade-surgeon, Sept. 15, 1864.

Brig.-Gen. Chas. W. Field.—Staff: Corbin, Richard, volunteer aid-de-camp of division, April, 1864; Deshields, H. C. captain quartermaster, April, 1861 (from 40th Virginia), major quartermaster of division subsequently; Harrison, George F., captain adjutant-general, April, 1861, assistant adjutant-general, June, July, 1862 (formerly adjutant 9th Va. Cav., resigned Sept., 1862; Hudson, medical director of division, January, 1864; Mason, Julien J., major, assistant commissary subsistance, April, 1861, (assigned from 9th Va. Cav. private, afterward commissary of division); Jones, Willis F. major, assistant adjutant-general, January, 1864 (killed in battle August, 1864); Mason, W. R. lieutenant, aid-de-camp, June, July, 1862, assigned to conscript bureau July, 1863; Masters, L., captain, assistant inspector general, April, 1861, assigned from heavy artillery, major, assistant adjutant-general, Nov. 4, 1864, major, inspector-general of division, January, 1864 (April, 1865, killed in battle); Pleasants, James, captain, orderly officer of division; Rabb, R. L., lieutenant, aid-de-camp, first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, January, 1864 (resigned August, 1864); Spence, surgeon, medical director, April, 1861; Stephenson,

John, first lieutenant aid-de-camp of division, Aug., 1864.

Brig.-Gen. Roger W. Hanson.—Staff: Hope, John S., captain, acting assistant adjutant general, Dec. 4, 1862; Chipley, S. F., acting assistant adjutant-general, December 20, 1862; Benedict, Joseph, lieutenant 9th Ky., ordered to act as aid-de-camp to Col. Hanson, commanding first Kentucky Brigade, Nov. 10, 1862.

Brig.-Gen. J. M. Hawes.—Staff: Barbour, E. P., aid-de-camp, acting assistant adjutant-general, April 29, 1862; Dyer, H. R. major, assistant quartermaster; Hawes, S. N., lieutenant, aid-de-camp; Hove, J. A. P., captain, aid-de-camp; Leman ——, captain, acting commissary subsistence; McClarty, Clinton, major, assistant adjutant-general; Robertson, James M., captain, assistant inspector-general; Sanders Reid, major, assistant commissary subsistence; Scott, John S., captain, assistant adjutant general; Walker, A. J., captain, ordnance officer; Marshall, Benjamin T., chief surgeon, April 29, 1862; Lester, H. F., lieutenant (2d Kentucky) ordnance officer, April 29, 1862; Robertson, J. S., assistant adjutant-general, May 14, 1862.

Brig.-Gen. George B. Hodge.—Staff: Bullock, Wallie, first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, April, 1863; Davis, Hugh L., first lieutenant, aid-de-camp, Aug., 1864; McAffee, John, captain, assistant adjutant-general (Ind. Confederate Battalion); Miller, W., major, quartermaster (from 27th Virginia P. Rangers), April, 1862; Ogden, John, captain, aid-de-camp; West, Douglas, major, acting ordnance officer; Hope, John, captain, assistant inspector-general.

Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis.—Staff: Hewitt, Fayette, captain, assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 2, 1861–64; McKay, Henry Clay, lieutenant, aid-de-camp, October, 1863; John R. major, assistant quartermaster, Dec., 1863; Phillips, W. S., captain, assistant quartermaster, 1862, major, Dec., 1863; Holmes, Chas. W., major, assistant commissary subsistence, July 17, 1863; Payne, Lewis E., lieutenant, ordnance officer, December, 1863; Buchanan, Samuel H., assistant adjutant-general, Sept. 15, 1864, assistant inspector-general, Dec. 20, 1863; Helm, Chas. W., captain and assistant commissary subsistence, June 16, 1864; Vertrees, J. S., assistant surgeon, 1863.

Brig.-Gen. Humphrey Marshall.—Staff: Fisher Thos. H., major, chief quartermaster, May, 1862; Guerrant, Edward O., assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 30, 1862; Jenkins, B. W., captain, Jan., 1863; Marshall, Chas. E., captain, assistant adjutant-general, April, 1862; resigned Dec., 1862.

Col. and Brig.-Gen. Jno. H. Morgan.—Staff: Alston, R. A., captain, assistant adjutant-general, June, 1862; Grenfell, St. Leger, colonel, assistant adjutant-general, Aug. 22, 1862; Llewellen, D. H., captain, assistant quartermaster, Aug. 22, 1862; major, Dec. 9, 1862; Morgan, Charlton, captain, aid-de-camp, Dec. 9, 1862; Roberts, Green, captain, assistant aid-de-camp, Oct., 1862; Tyler, Robt., lieutenant, assistant aid-de-camp, Dec. 9, 1862; Williams, R. H., acting aid-de-camp, Dec. 9, 1862.

Col. R. T. Trabue Commanding Hanson's Brigade Dec. 31, 1862, *and Jan.* 1, 1863.—*Staff:* Benedict, Joseph, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Chipley, S. F., captain, Dec. 31, 1862 and Jan. 1, 1863; Semple, Charles, captain, acting ordnance officer, Dec. 21, 1862, and Jan, 1, 1863; Stake, T. E., lieutenant, assistant inspector-general, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Trabue, Presley, lieutenant, acting ordnance officer, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Williams, Robt. H., adjutant 4th Kentucky, acting assistant adjutant-general, Dec. 31, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863; Darrah, Thomas B., acting assistant adjutant-general, Oct. 13, 1862; Robertson, J. S., acting assistant adjutant-general, April 20, 1862; Hewitt, J. W., acting assistant adjutant-general, June 16, 1862; Shaw, G. T., captain, acting commissary subsistence, June 16, 1862.

Brig.-Gen. Jno. S. Williams.—Staff: Duke, Basil C., surgeon, Sept., 1862; Marye, Lawrence, captain, ordnance officer, Sept. 1862; Morris, John, colonel, volunteer aid-de-camp, Sept., 1862; Peyton, Wm. M., captain, aid-de-camp, Sept., 1862; Poor, R. L., captain, chief engineer, department West Virginia, Sept. 20, 1862; temporarily on staff of Gen. Williams; Stanton, Richard, captain, assistant adjutant-general, Sept., 1862.

NAMES OF FIELD OFFICERS, KENTUCKY REGIMENTS.*

First Infantry.—Colonel, Thos. H. Taylor; lieutenant-colonels, Wm. Preston Johnston, Ed. Crossland; major, Ed. Crossland.

Second Infantry.—Colonels, J. M. Hawes, R. W. Hanson, R. A. Johnson, James W. Moss; lieutenant-colonels, Robert A. Johnston, James W. Hewitt, Phil. Lee; majors, James W. Hewitt, James W. Moss, H. McDowell; adjutant, T. E. Moss.

Third Infantry.—Colonels, Lloyd Tilghman, A. P. Thompson; lieutenant-colonels, Benj. Anderson, Alfred M. Johnston; majors, Alfred M. Johnston, J. H. Bowman.

Fourth Infantry.—Colonels, Robert P. Trabue, Joseph P. Nuckols, Jr., Thos. W. Thompson; lieutenant-colonels, Andrew R. Hynes, Jno. A. Adair, Jos. P. Nuckols, Thos. W. Thompson; majors, Thos. B. Munroe, Jr., Thos. W. Preston, Thos. W. Thompson, Jno. B. Rogers.

Fifth Infantry.—Colonels, Jno. S. Williams, Andrew J. May, H. Hawkins, lieutenant-colonels, Andrew J. May, Hiram Hawkins, Jno. W. Caldwell; majors, J. C. Wickliffe, Jno. W. Caldwell, Geo. W. Conner, William Moynhier.

Sixth Infantry.—Colonels, Joseph H. Lewis, Martin H. Cofer; lieutenant-colonel, Martin H. Cofer; majors, Thos. H. Hayes, W. L. Clarke.

Seventh Infantry.—Colonels, C. Wickliffe, Ed. Crossland, W. D. Lannom; lieutenant-colonels, W. D. Lannom, H. L. Shorneill; majors, W. J. N. Welborn, H. S. Hale.

Eighth Infantry.—Colonel, H. B. Lyon; lieutenant-colonels, H. B. Lyon, A. R. Shacklett; major, R. W. Henry.

Ninth Infantry.—Colonels, T. H. Hunt, J. W. Caldwell; lieutenant-colonels, J. W. Caldwell, J. C. Wickliffe; majors, J. C. Wickliffe, Benj. Desha.

Tenth Infantry.—Colonels, R. W. Martin, A. R. Johnston; lieutenant-colonel, R. M. Martin; major, W. G. Owen.

Eleventh Infantry.—Colonel, B. E. Candill; major, J. T. Chenowith.

First Cavalry.—Colonel, J. R. Butler; lieutenant-colonel, Thos. W. Woodward; majors, J. W. Caldwell, N. R. Chambliss, I. L. Chenowith.

Second Cavalry.—Colonel, T. G. Woodward; lieutenant-colonels, Thos. G. Woodward, Thos. T. Johnson; majors, T. R. Webber, T. W. Lewis.

Third Cavalry.—Colonel, J. R. Butler.

Fourth Cavalry.—Colonel, H. L. Giltner; lieutenant-colonel, M. P. Pryor.

Fifth Cavalry.—Colonel, D. H. Smith; lieutenant-colonel, Preston Thompson.

Sixth Cavalry.—Colonel, J. Warren Grogsby; lieutenant-colonel, Thos. W. Napier.

Seventh Cavalry—Colonel, Ed. Crossland; major, Thos. Steele.

Eighth Cavalry.—Colonel, R. S. Cluke.

Ninth Cavalry.—Colonels, W. C. P. Breckinridge, T. H. Hunt; lieutenant-colonel, R. G. Stoner; major, J. C. Wickliffe.

Tenth Cavalry.—Colonels, A. R. Johnson, A. J. May, E. Trimble.

*From the war office at Washington.

Eleventh Cavalry.—Colonel, D. W. Chenault.

Faulkner's Cavalry.—Major, T. S. Tate.

First Battalion Volunteers.—Major, Thos. H. Hays.

First Battalion Mounted Rifles.—Majors, B. F. Bradley, O. G. Camron.

Second Battalion Mounted Rifles.—Major, Thomas Johnson.

Third Battalion Mounted Rifles.—Major, Jno. B. Halladay.

Morgan's Cavalry.—Colonel, Jno. H. Morgan; lieutenant-colonel, J. W. Bowler; majors, G. M. Morgan, J. T. Cassell.

The following roster of Confederate troops exhibits the various organizations with which Kentucky troops served during the years 1863-64:

Brig.-Gen. John S. Williams' Brigade, 1863: First Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Second Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Second Kentucky Battalion Cavalry, Hamilton's Battalion Cavalry, Allison's Squadron Cavalry.

Brig.-Gen. Joseph H. Lewis' Brigade: Second Kentucky Infantry, Fourth Kentucky Infantry, Fifth Kentucky Infantry, Sixth Kentucky Infantry, Ninth Kentucky Infantry.

Brig. Gen. A. Buford's Cavalry Brigade, Nov. 20, 1863: Eighth Kentucky, Col. H. B. Lyon; Seventh Kentucky, Col. Edward Crossland; Third Kentucky, Col. A. P. Thompson.

With Wharton's Division, August 15, 1863; Second Brigade, Col. Thomas Harrison: First Kentucky Cavalry, Col. J. R. Butler.

Morgan's Division, First Brigade, Cavalry, Col. B. W. Duke: Second Kentucky, Maj. T. B. Webber; Fifth Kentucky, Col. D. H. Smith; Ninth Kentucky, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. Warren Grogsby; Ward's Kentucky Regiment, Col. Ward.

Second Brigade, Cavalry, Col. R. S. Cluke: Eighth Kentucky, Col. R. S. Cluke; Eleventh Kentucky, Col. D. W. Chenault; Tenth Kentucky, Lt.-Col. J. M. Huffman.

Chickamauga, Sept. 19-20, 1863; Breckinridge's Division, Helm's Brigade Infantry: Second Kentucky, Col. J. W. Hewitt, and Lieut.-Col. J. W. Moss; Fourth Kentucky, Col. Jos. P. Nuckols, Jr., and Maj. T. W. Thompson; Sixth Kentucky, Col. J. H. Lewis and Lieut.-Col. M. H. Cofer; Ninth Kentucky, Col. J. W. Caldwell and Lieut.-Col. J. C. Wickliffe; Cobb's Battery, Capt. Robert Cobb.

Missionary Ridge, Nov. 25, 1863; Breckinridge's Division, Lewis' Brigade, Infantry: Second Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. James W. Moss; Fourth Kentucky Regiment, Maj. T. W. Thompson; Sixth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. W. L. Clarke; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Jno. C. Wickliffe; Fifth Kentucky Regiment, Col. H. Hawkins.

With Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Oct. 31, 1863; Fourth Division, Brig.-Gen. Kelly; 1st Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Col. J. R. Butler; Second Kentucky Mounted Infantry; Ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry.

Second Brigade of Brig.-Gen. Kelly's Division, Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Nov. 20, 1863, Col. J. Warren Grogsby, commanding: First Kentucky Mounted Infantry Regiment, Col. J. R. Butler; Second Kentucky Mounted Infantry Regiment, Col. Thos. G. Woodnard.; Ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry Regiment; Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge.

Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Nov. 23, 1863, Kelly's Division, Second Brigade: First (Third) Kentucky Regiment, Col. J. R. Butler; Second Kentucky Regiment, Col. Thos. Woodward; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Col. W. P. C. Breckinridge.

With Bates' Division, June 30, 1864; Lewis' Brigade Infantry: Second Kentucky Regiment, Col. J. Moss; Fourth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. T. W. Thompson; Fifth Kentucky Regiment, Lieut. Col. H. Hawkins; Sixth Kentucky Regiment, Col. M. H. Cofer; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Col. J. W. Caldwell.

Wheeler's Cavalry Corps, Army of the Tennessee, June 30, 1864, Brig.-Gen. Jno. S. Williams' Cavalry Brigade: First Kentucky Regiment, Lieut.-Col. J. W. Griffith; Second Kentucky Regiment, Maj. T. W. Lewis; Ninth Kentucky Regiment, Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; Second Kentucky Battalion, Capt. J. B. Douch; Allison's Squadron, Capt. J. S. Reese; Detachment Hamilton's Battery, Maj. James Shaw.

FORREST'S CAVALRY COMMAND, AUGUST 30, 1864.

BUFORD'S DIVISION.

Lyon's Brigade.—Third Kentucky Infantry Regiment (mounted) Col. G. A. C. Holt; Seventh Kentucky Infantry Regiment (mounted) Col. Ed. Crossland; Eighth Kentucky Infantry Regiment, Lieut-Col. A. R. Shacklett; Twelfth Kentucky Infantry Regiment; Col. W. W. Faulkner.

FORREST'S COMMAND, MARCH 20, 1864.

CHALMERS' DIVISION.

Third Brigade.—Col. A. P. Thompson; Third Kentucky Infantry, Lieut.-Col. G. A. C. Holt; Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Col. Ed. Crossland; Eighth Kentucky Infantry, Lieut-Col. A. R. Shacklett; Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Col. W. W. Faulkner.

Byrnes' Battery.—Edward P. Byrne, captain, 1861; Elias D. Lawrence, lieutenant; Thos. Hinds, 1st lieutenant, Oct. 1861; Jno. Joyes, Jr., lieutenant, 1861; Guignard Scott, 2d lieutenant; Joseph Bell, 2d lieutenant; B. P. Shelly, 2d lieutenant, Aug., 1861; Frank P. Peak, 2d lieutenant. B. T. Shelly, 2d lieutenant, 1861.

Cobb's Battery.—Robert Cobb, capt. March, 1862; E. P. Gracey, lieutenant July, 1861; R. B. Matthews, lieutenant March, 1862; B. H. Gaines, 2d lieutenant, July, 1861; A. B. Danes, 2d lieutenant, Oct., 1861.

It has not been possible, in compiling the foregoing list, to obtain all the names, or even a satisfactory list of the killed and wounded in the Confederate army, either among commissioned officers or privates, from 1861-65. Records of such statistics are not easily, if at all attainable, and this interesting feature, so far as regards Confederate officers and soldiers, has been reluctantly omitted.

DEATHS IN KENTUCKY UNION TROOPS DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

ORGANIZATION.	Killed and died of wounds.		Of disease and other causes.		Prisoners of war died.		Discharged for Disability.	Aggregate Deaths, Officers and Men.	Total No. Mustered.
	Offic'rs.	Enlisted Men.	Offic'rs.	Enlisted Men.	Offic'rs	Enlisted. Men.			
First Cavalry	5	51	1	172	.....	119	142	348	1413
Second Cavalry	5	47	1	113	.....	14	289	180	997
Third Cavalry	3	50	3	161	.....	8	104	215	1200
Fourth Cavalry	1	30	1	101	.....	55	168	188	826
Fifth Cavalry	4	31	5	154	.....	16	117	210	879
Sixth Cavalry	2	29	4	200	.....	58	170	293	1350
Seventh Cavalry	1	21	6	115	.....	10	153	153	1142
Eighth Cavalry	1	7	4	109	.....	.....	63	121	1288
Ninth Cavalry	.....	5	1	103	.....	.....	85	109	1258
Tenth Cavalry	.....	11	1	61	.....	2	30	75	1235
Eleventh Cavalry	1	16	1	100	1	145	152	264	1280
Twelfth Cavalry	3	18	4	146	.....	68	252	239	1690
Thirteenth Cavalry	.....	9	1	86	1	.....	8	97	1241
Fourteenth Cavalry	.....	13	2	69	.....	.....	11	84	1296
Fifteenth Cavalry	1	1	1	62	.....	.....	30	65	631
Sixteenth Cavalry	.....	3	1	55	.....	3	23	62	.....
Seventeenth Cavalry	.....	6	2	68	.....	.....	47	76	1266
Artillery	.....	14	1	78	.....	.....	175	93	1285
First Infantry	.....	61	1	52	.....	30	182	144	1105
Second Infantry	3	76	1	82	.....	9	216	171	1158
Third Infantry	6	94	.....	186	.....	19	214	305	1076
Fourth Infantry	1	114	4	244	.....	92	320	455	1858
Fifth Infantry	8	143	4	125	.....	31	190	311	1050
Sixth Infantry	10	99	5	83	.....	17	221	214	975
Seventh Infantry	3	38	2	287	.....	.....	189	330	1169
Eighth Infantry	4	53	1	128	.....	21	85	207	1033
Ninth Infantry	7	95	3	236	.....	14	251	355	1135
Tenth Infantry	2	68	5	138	.....	10	156	223	969
Eleventh Infantry	2	45	2	185	1	35	186	270	979
Twelfth Infantry	1	38	5	177	.....	20	41	241	994
Thirteenth Infantry	8	47	6	164	.....	17	185	242	982
Fourteenth Infantry	5	49	5	145	.....	6	107	210	1325
Fifteenth Infantry	9	106	1	103	.....	10	245	249	969
Sixteenth Infantry	2	50	5	129	.....	3	35	189	895
Seventeenth Infantry	8	122	5	141	.....	17	316	293	1499
Eighteenth Infantry	5	83	1	136	.....	23	45	248	929
Nineteenth Infantry	1	40	3	154	.....	3	187	201	962
Twentieth Infantry	.....	38	3	193	.....	5	193	239	991
Twenty-first Infantry	3	58	6	151	.....	5	209	223	939
Twenty-second Infantry	3	50	3	144	.....	7	198	207	1013
Twenty-third Infantry	4	81	.....	98	.....	9	266	192	1018
Twenty-fourth Infantry	2	27	3	175	.....	6	119	213	1064
Twenty-sixth Infantry	2	35	2	143	.....	6	156	188	1160
Twenty-seventh Infantry	1	35	1	163	.....	20	135	220	826
Twenty-eighth Infantry	1	36	1	67	.....	9	174	114	842
Thirtieth Infantry	2	23	.....	70	.....	3	16	98	882
Thirty-second Infantry	.....	.....	1	42	.....	5	17	48	923
Thirty-third Infantry	.....	.....	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	22	.....
Thirty-fourth Infantry	.....	3	2	62	.....	2	145	69	894
Thirty-fifth Infantry	.....	8	.....	51	.....	.....	8	59	962
Thirty-seventh Infantry	.....	8	.....	103	.....	.....	11	111	876
Thirty-ninth Infantry	3	23	3	178	.....	23	64	230	1358
Fortieth Infantry	.....	8	2	81	.....	13	18	104	1036
Forty-fifth Infantry	.....	10	1	95	.....	15	12	121	1000
Forty-seventh Infantry	.....	1	4	72	.....	1	4	78	946
Forty-eighth Infantry	.....	7	1	103	.....	.....	3	111	882
Forty-ninth Infantry	.....	1	1	78	.....	.....	9	80	946
Fifty-second Infantry	.....	11	1	50	.....	3	5	65	889
Fifty-third Infantry	1	8	.....	39	.....	2	62	50	1058
Fifty-fourth Infantry	.....	1	.....	29	.....	.....	58	30	854
Fifty-fifth Infantry	.....	7	2	29	.....	.....	79	38	873
Engineers	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	7	8	43
Unassigned	.....	19	.....	96	.....	8	.....	123	407
Totals	134	2291	136	7190	3	1017	7358	10771	64190
Veteran Cavalry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	233	.....	2655
Veteran Infantry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1100	.....	5430
Total casualties computed in original organizations	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8691	.....	72275

PART II.

J. Corbett Sr

Elizabeth E. Corbett

THE JACKSON PURCHASE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.*

JACKSON'S PURCHASE, The Purchase and the Purchase District are various titles applied to an important region of country, which the general historian has hitherto largely ignored. This district, full of interest on account of what both nature and man have done for it, lies between the Tennessee River and the great Mississippi, east and west, and stretches from the Ohio River to the northern limit of Mississippi, embracing what are usually known as Western Kentucky and West Tennessee. In Western Kentucky it includes seven counties, viz.: Ballard, Hickman, Fulton, Graves, McCracken, Marshall and Calloway, embracing something over 2,100 square miles, or 1,344,000 acres.

West Tennessee includes, in whole or in part, twenty counties, viz.: Lake, Obion, Weakley, Henry, Benton, Carroll, Gibson, Dyer, Lauderdale, Tipton, Haywood, Crockett, Madison, Henderson, Decatur, Hardin, McNairy, Hardeman, Fayette and Shelby, probably 6,000 square miles, or 3,840,000 acres.

This history has to do with only that portion of the Purchase found within the limits of Kentucky. The general facts are taken largely from public records, while special and personal items are gathered from miscellaneous sources, and will be found in the sketches of the several counties embraced.

In 1779–80 Dr. Thomas Walker, at the head of a commission appointed for the purpose, surveyed and established a line between Virginia and North Carolina, which was extended to the Tennessee River, and thence to the Mississippi, on the line of 36° 30′. It was finally ascertained that the line as run and marked by Walker was north of latitude 36° 30′. After the Indian title to the land west of the Tennesee River was extinguished by the treaty of 1819, the legislature of Kentucky appointed Robert Alexander and Luke Munsell to ascertain the true point of latitude 36° 30′ on the Mississippi River, and to run and mark a line east upon that parallel. This was done as far east as the Tennessee River.

February 2, 1820, John J. Crittenden and Robert Trimble, commissioners appointed for Kentucky, and Felix Grundy and William L. Brown, commissioners for Tennessee, signed, in Frankfort, Ky., articles of agreement, substantially as follows:

ARTICLE 1. Walker's line of 1779–80 from the southeast part of the State to the Tennessee River, and then up and with the river to the point where Alexander and Munsell's line strikes it, shall be acknowledged as the true one.

ART. 2. Provides that between the two points in the river, as mentioned in the foregoing article, the Tennessee River shall be a common boundary, subject to conjoint use, but that the islands in the river shall belong to Kentucky.

ART. 3. Provides for marking the line between the two States more specifically, whenever the two States, by their governors, shall desire the same.

February 11, 1820, the legislature of Kentucky approved the report of the commissioners, and specially designated the boundary of the State. As referring to the Purchase District, it was agreed to be the "line run by Alexander and Munsell on the parallel of latitude 36° 30′ to the middle of the channel of the Mississippi River, opposite the point on

*Chapters Nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, of Part II, by J. Fraise Richards, and chapters Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, by G. N. Berry.

the Mississippi below New Madrid, fixed, marked and ascertained by them as the point of intersection of said parallel of latitude and said river; thence up said river to the mouth of the Ohio River, including within the boundary of Kentucky the islands in said Mississippi River, known by the numbers one, two, three, five (or Wolf Island) and eight; thence across the Ohio River to the northwest bank at low water mark; thence up the northwestern bank of said river at low water mark." Each county along the Mississippi and the Ohio to have the same boundaries as the State, and to have the control of the islands in the river opposite its territory. The boundary along the Ohio is the same as that fixed by Virginia when she ceded to the general government the Northwest Territory, embracing Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, viz.: low water mark on the north side.

In 1859, Austin P. Cox and Charles Briggs, commissioners from Kentucky, met two commissioners from Tennessee, and, commencing on the Mississippi River below New Madrid, ascertained the true line and fixed every mile stones of demarcation, thus complying with the articles of agreement of 1820, and permanently adjusting the boundary.

"To settle all territorial controversies, and to remove all ground of complaint or dissatisfaction that might arise to interrupt the peace and harmony which have so long and so happily existed between the United States of America and the Chickasaw Nation of Indians, James Monroe, President of the United States, by Isaac Shelby and Andrew Jackson, of the one part, and the whole Chickasaw Nation, by their chiefs, head men, and warriors, in full council assembled, of the other part, have agreed on the following articles which, when ratified by the President and Senate of the United States of America, shall form a treaty binding on all parties:"

ARTICLE 1. Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established and made perpetual between the United States of America and the Chickasaw Nation of Indians.

ART. 2. To obtain the object of the foregoing article, the Chickasaw Nation of Indians cede to the United States of America (with the exception of such reservation as shall be hereafter mentioned), all claim or title which the said nation has to the land lying north of the south boundary of the State of Tennessee, which is bounded south by the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and which lands, hereby ceded, lie within the following boundaries, viz.: Beginning on the Tennessee River, about thirty-five miles, by water, below Col. George Colbert's ferry, where the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude strikes the same; thence due west, with said degree of north latitude, to where it cuts the Mississippi River at or near the Chickasaw Bluffs; thence up the said Mississippi River to the mouth of the Ohio; thence up the Ohio River to the mouth of Tennessee River; thence up the Tennessee to the place of beginning.

ART. 3. In consideration of relinquishment of claim and cession of lands in the preceding article and to perpetuate the happiness of the Chickasaw Nation of Indians, the commissioners of the United States, before named, agree to allow the said Nation the sum of twenty thousand dollars per annum, for fifteen successive years, to be paid annually; and, as a further consideration for the objects aforesaid, and at the request of the chiefs of the said Nation, the commissioners agree to pay Capt. John Gordon of Tennessee, the sum of one thousand one hundred and fifteen dollars, it being a debt due by Gen. William Colbert, of said Nation, to the aforesaid Gordon; and the further sum of two thousand dollars, due by said Nation of Indians, to Capt. David Smith, now of Kentucky, for that sum by him expended, in supplying himself and forty-five soldiers from Tennessee, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, when assisting them (at their request and invitation) in defending their towns against the invasion of the Creek Indians; both which sums (on the application of the said Nation) are to be paid within sixty days after the ratification of this treaty, to the aforesaid Gordon and Smith.

ART. 4. The commissioners agree on the further and particular application of the chiefs, and for the benefit of the poor and warriors of the said Nation, that a tract of land, containing four miles square, to include a salt lick, or springs, on or near the river Sandy, a branch of the Tennessee River, and within the land hereby ceded, be reserved, and to be laid off in a square or oblong, so as to include the best timber, at the option of their beloved chief, Levi Colbert, and Maj. James Brown, or either of them; who are hereby made agents and trustees for the Nation, to lease the said salt lick, or springs, on the following express conditions, viz.: For the benefit of this reservation, as before recited, the trustees or agents are bound to lease the said reservation to some citizen or citizens of the United States, for a reasonable quantity of salt to be paid annually to the said Nation, for the use thereof; and that, from and after two years after the ratification of this treaty, no salt, made at the works

to be erected on this reservation, shall be sold within the limits of the same for a higher price than one dollar per bushel of fifty pounds weight; on failure of which the lease shall be forfeited, and the reservation revert to the United States.

ART. 5. The commissioners agree that there shall be paid to Oppassantubby, a principal chief of the Chickasaw Nation, within sixty days after the ratification of this treaty, the sum of five hundred dollars as a full compensation for the reservation of two miles square, on the north side of Tennessee River, secured to him and his heirs by the treaty held with the said Chickasaw Nation on the 20th day of September, 1816; and the further sum of twenty-five dollars to John Lewis, a half breed, for a saddle lost while in the service of the United States; and to show the regard the President of the United States has for the said Chickasaw Nation, at the request of the chiefs of the said Nation the commissioners agree that the sum of one thousand and eighty-nine dollars shall be paid to Maj. James Colbert, interpreter, within the period stated in the first part of this article, it being the amount of a sum of money taken from his pocket in the month of June, 1816, at the theater in Baltimore. And the said commissioners, as a further regard for said Nation, do agree that the reservations made to George Colbert and Levi Colbert in the treaty held at the council house of said Nation on the twenty-sixth day of September, 1816, the first to Col. George Colbert, on the north side of Tennessee River, and those to Maj. Levi Colbert, on the east side of Tombigbee River, shall inure to the sole use of said Col. George Colbert and Maj. Levi Colbert, their heirs and assigns, forever, with their butts and bounds, as defined by said treaty, and agreeable to the marks and boundaries as laid off and marked by the surveyor of the United States where that is the case; and where the reservations have not been laid off and marked by the surveyor of the United States the same shall be so done as soon after the ratification of this treaty as practicable on the application of the reserves or their legally appointed agent under them, and agreeably to the definition in the before recited treaty. This agreement is made on the following express conditions: That the said land and those living on it shall be subject to the laws of the United States, and all legal taxation that may be imposed on the land or citizens of the United States inhabiting the territory where the said land is situate. The commissioners further agree that the reservation secured to John McCleish, on the north side of Tennessee River, by the before recited treaty, in consequence of his having been raised in the State of Tennessee and marrying a white woman, shall inure to the sole use of the said John McCleish, his heirs and assigns, forever, on the same conditions attached to the lands of Col. George Colbert and Maj. Levi Colbert in this article.

ART. 6. The two contracting parties covenant and agree that the line of the south boundary of the State of Tennessee, as described in the second article of this treaty, shall be ascertained and marked by commissioners appointed by the President of the United States; that the marks shall be bold, the trees to be blazed on both sides of the line, and the fore and aft trees marked U. S.; and that the commissioners shall be attended by two persons to be designated by the Chickasaw Nation; and the said Nation shall have due and seasonable notice when said operation is to be commenced. It is further agreed by the commissioners that all improvements actually made by individuals of the Chickasaw Nation, which shall be found within the lands ceded by this treaty, that a fair and reasonable compensation shall be paid therefor to the respective individuals having made or owned the same.

ART. 7. In consideration of the friendly and conciliatory disposition evinced during the negotiation of this treaty by the Chickasaw chiefs and warriors, but more particularly as a manifestation of the friendship and liberality of the President of the United States, the commissioners agree to give, on the ratification of this treaty, to Chinnubby, king of the Chickasaw Nation, to Teshuamingo, William McGilvery, Anpassantubby, Samuel Seeley, James Brown, Levi Colbert, Ickaryoucuttaha, George Pettygrove, Immartarharmicco, Chickasaw chiefs, and to Malcolm McGee, interpreter to this treaty, each one hundred and fifty dollars in cash; and to Maj. William Glover, Col. George Colbert, Hopoyeahaummar, Immauklusharhopoyea, Tushkarhopoye, Hopoyeahaummar, Jr., James Colbert, Coweamarthlar, Illachouwarhopoyea, military leaders, one hundred dollars each; and do farther agree that any annuity heretofore secured to the Chickasaw Nation of Indians by treaty to be paid in goods shall hereafter be paid in cash.

In testimony whereof the said commissioners and undersigned chiefs and warriors have set their hands and seals. Done at the treaty ground east of Old Town, this nineteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

ISAAC SHELBY,
ANDREW JACKSON,

And the aforesaid chiefs and others.

Says Redford, in his History of Methodism in Kentucky: "The stipulations of this treaty were made in Monroe County, Miss., on the banks of the Tombigbee, on the road between Aberdeen and Cotton Gin, about ten miles from the former place. The magnificent oak under whose branches Gen. Jackson and his staff stood, side by side with Chinnubby and his chiefs, on that occasion, like those whom it sheltered, is fast fading away; but the results of that interview are found in the beautiful cities, villages and country-

seats, that now dot the territory that was thus wrested from savage hands, and in the school-houses and churches, those bulwarks of liberty, everywhere to be seen."

The foregoing treaty was approved January 7, 1819, by the National Government.

Gen. George Rogers Clark, for his valuable services during the Revolutionary war, and particularly for his operations against Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and other points under control of the enemy, received from the government two tracts of land by patents, bearing date September 15, 1795. One tract containing 36,962 acres and the other 37,000, aggregating when surveyed between 90,000 and 100,000 acres.

This land was located in the Purchase, the 37,000 acre tract being in McCracken County and embracing the present site of Paducah. Its bounds are thus defined: "Beginning at three maples, two ashes and a hackberry on the bank of the Ohio, at the mouth of the Tennessee River, running thence south sixteen degrees; west, 1,280 poles, crossing a creek to two white oaks and three maples standing on the bank of the creek that empties into the Ohio, at the lower end of the island, at the mouth of the Tennessee; thence north, seventy-four degrees; west, 5,598 poles, crossing a fork of Massac Creek, at 1,830 poles, another at 2,340 poles, a branch at 3,000 poles, and another at 3,396 poles, passing a corner five black-jack sapplings in the head of a hollow at 3,840 poles to a white oak and hickory by a small drain, corner to George Smith, running thence with his line north fifty-eight degrees west, 2,166 poles, to two maples and a cottonwood tree standing on the Ohio River, at the lower side of a small creek, and the fifth below Massac, running thence up the Ohio, binding thereon, 8,640 poles to the beginning."

This land, which was mortgaged to pay the debts of Gen. Clark, was finally sold by order of the Jefferson County Court, and bought in by George Woolfolk, in January, 1825, in the city of Louisville. Subsequently it was sold by him for $5.00 to William Clark, who afterward divided it among his heirs.

In the January term, 1844, of the Supreme Court of the United States, an important decision was rendered in the celebrated case, Porterfield *vs.* Clark. The opinion of the court was rendered on their behalf by J. Catron, one of the judges, on an "appeal from the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Kentucky, in a suit in equity, by Robert Porterfield, the testator of the plaintiffs in error, against the defendants. The bill set forth the title to Porterfield, as founded on three patents issued in 1824, 1825 and 1826 respectively, upon entries under the authority of two military warrants, the first issued in 1782, and the second in 1783, under the acts of Virginia of November, 1781, and May, 1782. The title of the defendants rested upon a patent and survey founded upon entries made by Col. George Rogers Clark, on May 18, 1780, by virtue of treasury warrants of Virginia."

The plaintiffs claimed "Clark's title to be invalid, because made on lands reserved by resolution of the General Assembly, for officers and soldiers of that State, then in the service of the United States; also because made on lands reserved by law for the Chickasaw Indians, and also on lands reserved by the act aforesaid, as being within the country and limits of the Cherokee Indians." After tracing the history of the case carefully, and thoroughly weighing the evidence, the Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court, and thus quieted forever the title of Clark, his heirs and assigns to this important tract of land.

The Jackson Purchase is substantially an annex to the State of Kentucky. Many of its people feel that they are placed at a serious disadvantage in respect to their proper rights and privileges under the State government. With this feeling strongly implanted in their hearts, they have hoped for years that they might join with the remainder of the Purchase in Tennessee, and thus form a State whose government would be more immediately identified with their interests. So strong had this feeling become during the late civil war, that in May, 1861, a convention was held in Mayfield, at which the proposition to secede from Kentucky, was earnest-

ly discussed and recommeded. The great support given the Confederate cause during the civil war, is a strong proof of the growth of this sentiment.

The name "Jackson Purchase," is attributable to the prominence of the leading agent on the part of the United States Government. It is said that the Indians had some ill-will against Gov. Shelby of Kentucky, and were loth to treat with him, hence the prominence of Gen. Jackson, his associate, whom they had learned both to fear and respect.

The Indians never used the Purchase for any other purpose than that of hunting grounds. No evidences remain of permanent settlement by them, though many old citizens may be met who remember the presence of the Chickasaws in various portions of the district as late as 1830. They removed from their lands very readily however, soon after the signing of the treaty.

During the Rebellion, the Purchase was called the "South Carolina of Kentucky," and Paducah, the "Charleston of Kentucky."

Wadesboro, familiarly called "Old Wadesboro," was in consequence of its being the first land office, the capital of the Purchase. From it emanated most of the business, legal and moral influences of the new country.

The similarity of soil, productions, climate and the characteristics of the people of the Purchase has resulted in a wonderful unity of sentiment and action on their part, extending to their methods of farming, styles of architecture, forms of expression and modes of living. Wisely directed, this unity can not fail to develop the highest and best condition of civilization.

The country is at present, undergoing a transformation from the condition of dependence upon slave labor to that of voluntary labor directed by self-intelligence. To do this in the face of the heavy losses imposed by a war which not only swept away the value locked up in human chattels, but inflicted other severe losses upon real estate, is a task of no ordinary magnitude; and yet, the great masses of the population are addressing themselves heroically to its accomplishment.

The remarkable growth of a temperance sentiment in this district cannot fail to arrest the attention of an intelligent observer. Under the permission of local option laws the people of the various localities are deciding to abolish the traffic in and use of all forms of intoxicants. They address themselves to the problem with no half and half spirit, but throw into it the most intense earnestness. This portends a better order of thing.

A growing feeling in favor of elevating the public school system and making it more efficient is manifest. The strong hold that private and denominational schools have had in the past, is gradually sharing with the rational conception that free public schools are the great defense and safe-guard of a republic like ours. In some cases, hitherto, public schools have been looked upon simply as charitable institutions. This idea is yielding to the truer one that they are the people's colleges, and that to the extent that these are fostered and made efficient will ignorance and crime, with all their evils, be decreased. Schoolhouses are cheaper and better than jails and penitentiaries, and more salutary in their influences. Properly regulated families, good public schools, a pure free press, a holy church and efficient civil government, these are the landmarks of an exalted Christian civilization.

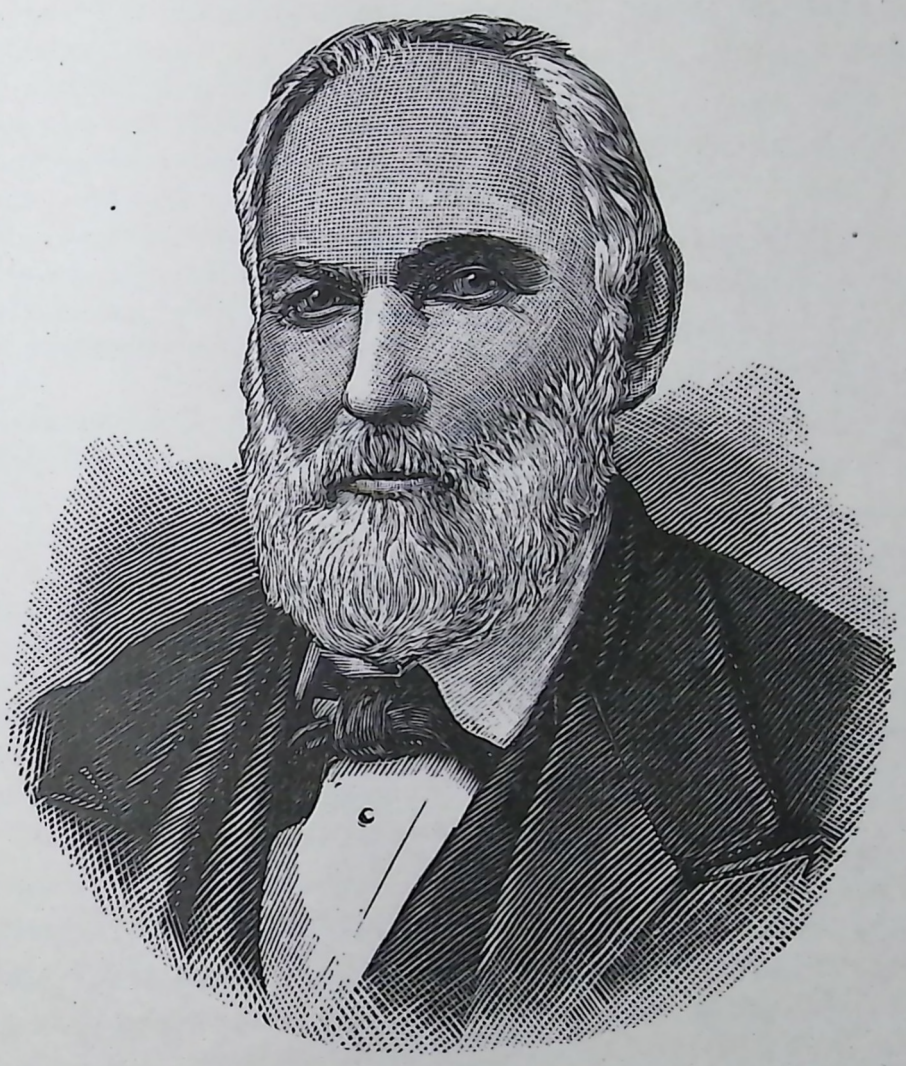
CHAPTER II.

BALLARD COUNTY.

BALLARD COUNTY embraces an area of 393 square miles of territory in the extreme western part of the State and is bounded by the Ohio River on the north; Graves and McCracken Counties on the east; Hickman on the south; and the Mississippi River on the west. It is the ninety-third county in order of formation, and dates its history as a distinct division from the year 1842, at which time it was created out of parts of Hickman and McCracken Counties, and named in honor of Capt. Bland Ballard, one of the bravest and most daring spirits mentioned in the early history of Kentucky. The following sketch of this celebrated character is from Collins' history:

"Capt. Ballard was born near Fredericksburgh, Va., October 16, 1761, and died in Shelby County, Ky., September 15, 1853, aged ninety-two. He came to Kentucky in 1779, when eighteen years old, joined the militia, served in Capt. Bowman's expedition in May, 1779; in Gen. Clark's expedition against the Piqua towns, July, 1780, where he was dangerously wounded in the hip, and suffered from it until his death; in Gen. Clark's expedition, November, 1782, against the same towns; in 1786, was a spy for Gen. Clark, in the Wabash expedition, rendered abortive by mutiny of the soldiers; in 1791 was a guide under Gens. Scott and Wilkinson, and August 20, 1794, was with Gen. Wayne, at the battle of the "Fallen Timbers." When not engaged in regular campaigns, he served as hunter and spy for Gen. Clark, who was stationed at Louisville, and in this service he continued for two years and a half. During this time he had several rencounters with the Indians, one of which occurred just below Louisville. He had been sent in his character of spy to explore the Ohio River from the mouth of Salt River to the falls, and thence up to what is now the town of Westport. On his way down the river, when six or eight miles below the falls, he heard, one morning, a noise on the Indiana shore. He immediately concealed himself in the bushes, and when the fog had scattered sufficiently to permit him to see, he discovered a canoe filled with three Indians approaching the Kenucky shore. When they approached within range, he fired and killed one. The others jumped overboard and endeavored to get their canoe into deep water, but before they succeeded, he killed a second and a third. For this service Gen. Clark gave him a linen shirt and several other small presents. While a scout to the Saline Licks, on one occasion, Ballard, with a companion. came suddenly upon a large body of Indians, just as they were in the act of encamping. They immediately charged, firing their guns and raising the yell. This induced the Indians, as they had anticipated, to disperse for the moment, until the strength of the assailing party could be ascertained. During this period of alarm, Ballard and his companion mounted two of the best horses they could find and retreated for two days and nights until they reached the Ohio, which they crossed upon a raft, making their horses swim. As they ascended the Kentucky bank, the Indians reached the opposite shore.

At the time of the defeat on Long Run, Ballard was living at Linn Station on Beargrass, and came up to assist some families in moving from Squire Boone's Station, near the present town of Shelbyville. They proceeded safely until they arrived near Long Run, when they were attacked in front and rear by the Indians, who fired their rifles and then rushed on them with their tomahawks. Some few of the men ran at the first fire, of the others, some succeeded in saving part of their families, or died with them after a brave resistance. Capt. Ballard, after assisting several of the women on horseback, who had been thrown at the first onset, during which he had one or two single-handed combats with the Indians, and seeing the party about to be defeated, he succeeded in getting outside the Indian line, when he used his rifle with some effect, until he saw they were totally defeated. He then started for the station pursued by the Indians, and on stopping at Floyd's Fork in the bushes, on the bank he saw an Indian on horseback, pursuing the fugitives, ride into the creek, and as he ascended the bank near where Ballard stood, he shot the Indian, caught the horse and made good his escape to the station. The news or the defeat induced Col. Floyd to raise a company of thirty-seven men for the purpose of chastising the savages. Floyd commanded one division and Capt. Holden the other, Ballard being with the latter. They proceeded with great caution, but did not discover the Indians until they received their fire, which killed or mortally



Samuel, H. Jenkins

wounded sixteen of their men. Notwithstanding the loss, the party under Floyd maintained their ground and fought bravely until overpowered by three times their number, who appealed to the tomahawk. The retreat, however, was completed without much further loss.

During the period he was a spy for Gen. Clark, he was taken prisoner by five Indians on the other side of the Ohio, a few miles above Louisville, and conducted to an encampment twenty-five miles from the river. The Indians treated him comparatively well, for though they kept him with a guard, they did not tie him. On the next day after his arrival at the encampment, the Indians were engaged in horse-racing. In the evening two very old warriors were to have a race which attracted the attention of all the Indians, and his guard left him a few steps to see how the race would terminate. Near him stood a fine black horse, which the Indians had stolen recently from Beargrass, and while the attention of the crowd was attracted in a different direction, he mounted this horse, and had a race indeed. They pursued him nearly to the river, but he escaped, though the horse died soon after he reached the station. This was the only instance, with the exception of that at the River Raisin, that he was a prisoner.

In after life, Capt. Ballard repeatedly represented the people of Shelby County in the legislature, and commanded a company in Col. Allen's regiment under Gen. Harrison, in the campaign of 1812–13. He led the advance of the detachment which fought the first battle of River Raisin, was wounded slightly on that day, and severely by a spent ball on the 22d of January. This wound also continued to annoy his old age. On this disastrous occasion he was taken prisoner, and suffered severely by the march through snow and ice from Malden to Fort George.

Perhaps no county in the Purchase has a greater variety of natural features than Ballard. Mayfield Creek, the largest water-course, flows through the county from east to west, dividing it into nearly two equal parts. The northern half is a high open country, sufficiently undulating for natural drainage, and characterized by a light clay soil, which produces the usual crops of corn, wheat, rye, oats, sorghum, potatoes, fruits, and the finest quality of tobacco in the United States. Collins says that tobacco from this section has sold in several instances as high as $410 per hundred pounds, while $1.60 per pound is no extraordinary price for the finer varieties. The country lying south of Mayfield Creek is considerably undulating, and hilly with an alluvial soil, as rich and productive as any in the western part of the State. Sand, gravel, sandstone, potter's clay, pipe clay and small deposits of coal are found in the bluffs along the Illinois Central Railroad, while mineral and other springs are to be seen in various parts of the county. The mixed soil of South Ballard yields a satisfactory return to the agriculturist; tobacco, corn, oats and wheat being the principal crops. Considerable attention is given to stock-raising, which promises to become the leading industry at no distant day.

The county is well drained by a number of streams, which flow in various directions, the principal being Mayfield Creek, which enters the county through Section 36, Town 6 north, Range 2 west, and empties into the Mississippi River about one and a half miles south of Wickliffe. West Fork, one of the tributaries of Mayfield Creek, enters the latter stream in Section 9, Town 5 north, Range 3 west, its general direction being southwest. Another tributary is Wilcox Creek, a stream of some importance, which empties into Mayfield Creek in Section 5, Town 5 north, Range 2 west. Stovall's Creek, named for one of the earliest families, flows through the southern part of the county, while the north and nothwestern portions are watered and drained by Clanton and Humphrey's Creeks, along which some of the first comers to the county located.

When first seen by the white men, North Ballard presented the appearance of a vast prairie, being covered with a rank growth of grass, which on the uplands did not reach its normal height, while on the lower levels its growth was of astonishing proportions, frequently reaching a height which would tend to create the illusion of a perfectly level plain. The forests of young growth, underbrush and saplings did not exist sixty years ago. Then the timber, save along the streams, was marked only by scattered groves, which favored localities preserved from the ravages of the annual fires which swept over the country. These were started by accident from the fires of the hunters, or by Indians to keep the timber in check, and to clear the country of the rank grass stubble. This practice, when continued from year to year, produced two results, it killed off the forest

growth more rapidly than it would have been removed by the ordinary agents by burning and crisping the outer bark, and exposing the body of the tree to dampness, decay and the ravages of worms; and it destroyed every spring or fall the bushes, which had grown up since the preceding spring, and which had not attained sufficient size to withstand the heat. Evidently if the process had been kept up long enough, the old forest would have passed away entirely, and no new one would have grown in its place. One of the most important results to be reached from a study of the burnt districts of the purchase is the almost entire disappearance of the white oak timber. There is a strip of country partially surrounded by vast forests of white oak such as once evidently occupied the district, which is suddenly stripped of its forest growth, except that part immediately along the streams. In the new forest, which succeeded this destruction, scarcely any white oak timber is to be found. In the southern part of the county the old forest growth comprises considerable white oak, laurel oak, black oak, Spanish oak, black jack and hickory on the higher grounds. A change of fifteen feet is sufficient to produce change in timber.*

Skirting Mayfield and other creeks, the timber is very valuable, consisting of white oak, poplar, sweet gum, shag and white hickory, black ash, cypress, bartram oak, winged elm, swamp laurel oak, and a dense undergrowth of grape vine, paw paw, etc. On the low lands, bordering the Mississippi, once grew some of the finest timber in western Kentucky.

There are several lakes in the western part of the county, the largest of which, Fish Lake, is two miles long and about one-half mile wide. It is well stocked with the finest variety of the finny tribe, and is a favorite resort of the pleasure seekers, while professional fishermen ply their vocation in its waters the greater part of the year. The other lakes are Straight, Forked, Indian Camp, Crooked, No. 4, Black Lake and Goose Pond, all small bodies of water.

*Geological Report.

It is a well known and conceded fact, that a greater part of Kentucky was once inhabited by a semi-barbarous people, known as Mound-Builders. "In Town 5, Range 4 west, on Gray's branch is a remarkable mound, an oblong about thirty feet wide, sixty or seventy feet long and fifteen or twenty feet high. Its sides are nearly perpendicular. On the Ohio River bottoms, opposite Mound City, Ill., is one of the most remarkable and extensive mounds in the West, five or six feet high, and spread over about fifteen acres, remarkable for having upon one end of it a mound, oval in shape and about forty feet high, containing half an acre, with trees upon it two feet or more in diameter, while from the center of the big mound arises a third mound twelve feet high. Many relics have been found near these mounds."*

On the bluffs near Wickliffe are a number of well defined ancient earthworks, many of them being circular in form and varying in diameter from fifteen to sixty feet. Large trees, centuries old, are growing on these mounds, which attest their great antiquity. They have been opened from time to time, and a number of curiously shaped vessels bearing rude likenesses of the human face, pipes, stone axes and other relics, taken from their long hiding places. Other mounds are found in various parts of the county, chiefly along the water-courses.

The first appearance of white men in what is now Ballard County, dates from the summer of 1780, at which time Gen. George Rogers Clark, with about 200 soldiers dropped down the Mississippi to a point known as the Iron Banks, five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, where he established a military outpost, which he named Fort Jefferson. He constructed a log fort and several block-houses, his "object being to fortify the claim of the United States to the Mississippi River, as its western boundry, south of the Ohio." Clark was instructed to select a strong position near that point, and establish there a fort and garrison; thence "extend his conquests northward to the lakes, erecting forts at different points, which might serve as

*Collins.

monuments of actual possession, besides affording protection to that portion of the country." The Chickasaw Indians, the undisputed owners of the territory west of the Tennessee River, at that time viewed the encroachments upon their rights in any but a friendly spirit, and at once began organizing a force to expel the garrison. A full account of the desperate struggles which the brave little band of defenders maintained, for several days, against their savage foes, will be found in the general history of the State comprising Part I. of this Volume. The old fort stood about a mile and a half south of Wickliffe near the mouth of Mayfield Creek, but all vestiges of it have long since disappeared.

Shortly after the construction of the fort, a few daring spirits, lured by a love of adventure and a desire to secure homes in the fertile region of western Kentucky, came down the river in canoes and made temporary settlements in the vicinity of the fortifications. Some of these intrepid frontiersmen brought their families with them, and in the attack which the Indians made on the fort, they seem to have been the first victims. One of these settlers was a Mr. Music, whose entire family, consisting of a wife and several children, were butchered in cold blood by the savages, and their little cabin burned to the ground over their remains. Mr. Music himself escaped, and during the siege did valiant service in helping to defend the fort. William Tipton, afterward the first settler at the town of Columbus, Hickman County, made a temporary improvement near the river, and was in the fortifications during the attack. He, with other pioneers whose names have long since faded from the memory of man, left the country about the time the fort was abandoned. This was as early as 1784, and from that date until the purchase of the country in 1819, no permanent settlements were attempted in that part of Kentucky west of the Tennessee River. Early in 1818, one John Humphrey moved his family into what is now Ballard County, and settled on the creek which bears his name, about three miles from its mouth. He is supposed to have been the first permanent resident. Solomon Redferrin, Robert Crafton and William Crafton came the same year, and located farms near the same water-course, from three to five miles southeast of the Ohio River. Daniel Doolin settled near the site of Barlow City in 1818 or 1819, and contemporary with him were John Weaver and James Talbott, both residents of the same locality. William Rush made a settlement on the Ohio River opposite Cairo in 1819, and one year later William Holman and Samuel Wilson, with their families, were living about eight miles southeast of Blandville. Wilson made the first land entry in the county in 1825, receiving a patent for 160 acres in Section 13, Town 5 north, Range 2 west, for which he paid the Government the sum of $1 per acre.

Andrew Lovelace settled in the vicinity of Lovelaceville in 1820, and laid the foundation for a flourishing settlement, which sprang up a few years later, when was added to it the Ewell family, the Newman family, Benjamin Kimmell, Samuel Caruthers, Penuel Billington (father-in-law of Caruthers), James Ashley, Israel Linn, William Linn and Samuel Wilson. Prominent among the early members of this settlement was Richard Goldston, who settled on Humphrey's Creek. He represented the county in the State legislature, was governor of Washington Territory during the administration of President Polk, and a member of the convention which formed the present constitution of Kentucky. His brother, James Goldston, was an early settler in the same part of the county.

Among the early residents of the Blandville settlement were the Stovall family, consisting of several members of the same Christian name, but designated by different appellations, such as "Hardin" John Stovall, because he came from Hardin County; "Nigger" John, the only one of the name who ever owned a slave, and "Buttermilk" John, so called on account of his fondness for that "beverage." They were all good citizens, and did much in a quiet way to advance the interests of their respective communities. The Unsells, Abe, James, David and Henry, settled near Blandville, as did also Henry

Clingman, Richard Weaver, John Allerton, William Watson, John Watson, James Watson, William Elliott, Adam Hall, David Hall and others. As early as 1821–22, there were living near Barlow City, John Crise (who afterward became the first sheriff of the county), "Squire" Watson, the Webb family, John Staton and family, William Weaver (brother of John Weaver), the Russell family, the Childs family, Freeland Tharpe, George Adams, Matthew Adams, John Ross and John Hughes. The settlements along Humphrey's Creek were increased from time to time by the following citizens: "Squire" Darnall, one of the earliest magistrates, John and Caleb Terrell, and William Leaville.

The settlement at Milburn was an early one, and among the first families gathered there were Joseph Young, Reuben George, J. B. Quigly, James Ashbrook, "Cad" Young, Moses Thompson, Mr. Reddick and others, who will be appropriately mentioned in the history of the village. John Marshall settled on Shawnee Creek ten miles south of Blandville, as early as 1822, and James Curry, a hunter and trapper, made a few improvements on the bluffs below Barlow City, about the same time. Nicholas Smith, Joe Puntney and William Cook, were early settlers on the Ohio River, the two former keeping wood-yards for a number of years. Dr. J. D. Martin, one of the first physicians of Ballard, and afterward county surveyor, was an early comer. John Stone, John L. Henderson, the Mahan family (near the Graves county line), John Hardin, Henry Hudson and Daniel Mosby, were early settlers.

The following early residents additional to those enumerated, came in from time to time, namely: William Dunnaway, James Burrow, Samuel Hawes, Sr., James Bone, William Gilson, Howard Atherton, C. H. Underwood, W. H. Reeves, Curtis Reeves, Ephraim Garner, Henry Garner, Dr. Jesse Dodson, Newton Helm, Thomas Helm, Peter Campbell, Robert Campbell, David Sams, Andrew Newman, William Morrow, Samuel Nunsaker, Isaac Buckler, Henry Buckler, Elijah Woodall, Benjamin Meshew, Henry Dewese, James Dewese, Joseph Jackson, Hayden Edwards, James Edwards, Elijah H. Edwards, Thomas Woolfork, Henry Myers, John Myers, Elijah Hammett, George Reeves, Jarrett Willingham, William Camp, Thomas Willingham, Elijah Scarborough, Elisha Boyd, G. W. McClure, John C. Rude, Joseph Ashworth, Abner Davis, John Davis, Benjamin Bowland, Dr. Reece Bowland, Thomas Morgan, Joseph Bishop, father of Judge Bishop, G. W. Howle, James B. Johnson, William Goode, Abraham Welding, D. G. Stokes, John S. Stokes, Owen S. Jackson, William Cowling, William Short, Moses Lockridge, Hugh D. Smith, Richard Wyatt, Benjamin F. Cochran, Stephen Wray, James Armstrong, M. S. Preston, Freeman Belcher, John Flint, Edmund Rogers, James Pryor, Enos Sutherland, William H. Murphy, Lewis Hughes, Luke Sweatman, Averitt Harper, J. Hayes, Daniel J. Harkless, Henry Fulgham, Joseph Evans, Henry Clingman, Adam Clingman, James T. Graham, Benjamin Enlow, John, Enlow, Martin Dougherty, Robert Fletcher, Edward Freeman, Thomas Dugan, David Menser, John Lamb, Abraham Shelton, Silas Rhodes, D. S. Green, Benjamin Mason, T. B. Martin, Samuel Culbertson, the Hawthorne family, Col. John Ogden, the Rudolph family, Anderson Vaughan, S. C. Vaughan, John Moore, Hon. Oscar Turner, Alfred M. Shelby, James Blythe, N. Ballard, Rev. Willis White, John M. Bookout, Charles Swain, Isaac Swain, Morgan D. Sprouse and Gladeen G. Sprouse, the majority of whom purchased lands from the Government prior to 1845.

The country which these early pioneers had chosen was indeed a hunter's paradise. The prairie and timber were crowded with game of all kinds, and the streams with fish. Without this it is doubtful if this region would have been settled for a score of years later. Far removed from the natural sources of supply, the pioneer was forced to depend upon the resources of the country alone, which, even with the abundance of game, provided but an indifferent support for the family. Deer were found in unlimited numbers, and the early settler had no trouble in killing more than the needs of the family required, right at his

C. R. Pile.

own door. Droves to the number of a hundred were often seen, and settlers were in the habit of carrying their guns on almost all occasions, and seldom returned from any expedition without an evidence of the abundance of these animals in the shape of a haunch, or a ham of venison. Bears were also found, and it was a test of the hunter's skill to bring down one of these animals. Wild hogs served to vary the frontier fare. These were animals that had escaped from the settlements and had subsisted upon the nuts and roots of the woodland, and had gone wild in the course of nature. They were of a long-legged gaunt species, and kept within the timber pretty closely. Wild geese, cranes, herons, ducks and other water fowl were found by thousands, while Mayfield Creek, the lakes in the western part of the county, and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers contributed their inexhaustible supply of the finny tribe to the luxuries of the pioneer's bill of fare. "Wild bees and honey were so plentiful that a man could climb many of the trees and drink metheglin out of the first knot hole he reached."* With this abundance of what are even now considered luxuries, it would seem at a casual glance that the pioneer's life was one of ease rather than hardship, but when it is considered that these were the sum of their luxuries, and what we deem common necessities, and find so cheap, as to pass almost unnoticed, in our estimate of family supplies and expenses, were to the early settlers almost inaccessible and the most expensive, a great change is wrought in our estimate. Salt was very expensive and difficult to procure; flour for a time could not be procured at any price, and even meal, such as we have to-day, was unknown on the frontier. And even the variety of game the country afforded, soon failed to answer the purposes of beef and pork. The system exposed to the ravages of disease, and subject to the trying experience of early farm labor, demanded something other than fresh meat, nor could all give their attention to hunting. The prime reason for the presence of most of the pioneers in the county was to build up homes and lay the foundation for future competence, and to accomplish this the larger part of the community centered here had only their hands with which to accomplish their mission.

It is difficult at this day to imagine a state of society where even the commonest means of social progress must be invented and set in motion, but the pioneer found this fact a very prominent and practical one in his early experience. The supplies brought into the country by the immigrant were occasionally, by the closest economy, made to last until the growing crop or garden could supply the necessities of the family. For years, in some settlements here, the people were thrown entirely upon their own resources. A temporary supply of corn was occasionally secured from some older settler, who had harvested a crop, which sufficed until the growing corn came into roasting ears. As soon as the kernel was sufficiently firm, the grater was brought into requisition, and a sort of bread or porridge was made. When the grain became hard and the grater no longer effective, the mortar was resorted to. This consisted of a large block of wood or stump, in which a kettle-shaped excavation had been chiseled or burned. A pestle was made of a heavy pole to the end of which was often fixed an iron wedge. This was suspended to a sweep, such as is still seen at wells, the lower end of which was fixed to the ground by stakes, converting it into a spring pole. Every cabin had its hominy block, and among earlier sounds about the house was the monotonous pounding of these frontier mills. Some of the better provided settlers possessed hand-mills, which were made of "nigger head buhrs." Others on special occasions, resorted to the coffee-mill for meal to furnish the material for the entertainment of some guest. Although the streams afforded good sites for the construction of water-mills, the necessary machinery and mechanical skill were for a long time wanting. Horse-mills came in to supply the need, and while they were called corn-crackers, they did much more effective work, than the name would imply. These consisted of a small set of home-made buhrs

*Collins.

propelled by a large cog-wheel set upon a perpendicular axis. In the lower part of this axis horizontal levers were attached, so that two teams might be attached to give motion to the machinery. They moved very slowly, and the patron was obliged not only to furnish his own team, but was often compelled to wait several days for an opportunity to use it. The first mill of this character was erected prior to 1830 by Mr. Ewell, and stood near the McCracken County line. Mr. Ewell operated it several years, and afterward sold it to Richard Goldston, who moved the machinery about a mile from the original location. David Unsell in 1838, constructed a small mill on Stovall's Creek, about three miles from Blandville. It was a primitive affair, and furnished breadstuffs for the neighborhood several years. In 1839 Thomas Reeves erected a "stump-mill," so called on account of the machinery resting upon a large stump, three miles north of Blandville. It was in operation six or seven years. The last proprietor was William Ashley. Several water-mills were attempted in an early day. The first of these was constructed by John Garner on Mayfield Creek, about three miles east of Blandville. It has been remodeled several times and is still in operation. Mills were constructed in several places in the county at different dates, and at the present time there are a number of good ones in successful operation.

The first distillery in the county was operated by James Blythe, in North Ballard, many years ago. Several tanneries were started at different places in an early day, and in later years the manufacturing and shipping of lumber became an important and lucrative industry.

When the first permanent settlements were made in the present county of Ballard, it formed a part of the counties of Hickman and McCracken, the southern half belonging to the former, and that part lying north of Mayfield Creek to the latter. The legislative act under which the county was created, was approved in 1842, and on the fourth Monday in May of the same year, the justices appointed to effect the organization met at the tobacco barn of Daniel Mosby, near Blandville, and put the county machinery in motion. The justices were twelve in number, one-half of them representing the northern part of the county, and one-half the southern. Those from North Ballard were Rev. Willis White, Penuel Billington, John Ross, James Waters, Thomas Terrel and Noah Turk. South Ballard was represented by Cad Young, Reuben George, Daniel Mosby, Samuel Wilson, Squire Cochran and Thomas Sanford. After taking the several oaths required by law, and organizing for business, the court proceeded to appoint Samuel Upshaw clerk *pro tem.*, and a Mr. Crise, sheriff. Several matters of minor importance were disposed of, after which the court adjourned to meet for the following term at Blandville, which had been selected as the seat of justice for the newly created county. The second session was held at the residence of Jackson Stovall, near Blandville, and among the first business transacted was the appointing of commissioners to contract for and superintend the building of a court house. The names of but two of these commissioners are now remembered, to-wit: Rev. Willis White, and O. P. Miller. Among the other official acts were the following, viz: The division of the county into districts, and the appointing of constables for the same; providing for the support of certain paupers; the appointment of viewers to lay out and locate highways, in various parts of the county, and the election of a permanent clerk of the court. The last matter was attended with considerable difficulty on account of a spirited rivalry springing up between the justices from the northern part of the county, and those representing the southern part, each faction pressing the claims of a favorite candidate. James Waters, of Paducah, was supported by the six justices of North Ballard, while his competitor, Jacob Corbett, received an equal number of votes from the representatives of South Ballard. After a number of ineffectual attempts had been made to adjust the matter, it was finally agreed that the judge of the circuit court should choose between the two men, which he did, selecting Mr. Waters. Instead of proving

mutually satisfactory, this action of the judge produced the contrary effect, as the friends of Mr. Corbett were so intent upon electing him, that they refused to abide by the decision. The fight was continued with renewed vigor by both factions, and out of it grew another contest almost as spirited, viz.: the appointment of a surveyor, the representatives of either section supporting their respective candidates for the position. Thomas Terrell, of North Ballard, was supported by the friends of Mr. Waters, and Henry Black, of South Ballard, received the support of Mr. Corbett's friends, the vote being equally divided. After several ballots had been taken, the matter was finally settled by an exchange of one of Black's votes for one of Corbett's, resulting in the election of both those gentlemen. Owing to the unfortunate destruction of the records in 1880, but little could be learned respecting the early county legislation. The first circuit court of Ballard was held June, 1842, at the residence of John Stovall, about one and a half miles northwest of Blandville, Hon. W. P. Fowler, judge, presiding. James Waters was appointed clerk, after which a grand jury was impaneled, and other business of minor importance transacted.

The early judiciary of Kentucky was marked as furnishing men of a high order of talent. Among the most noted attorneys who practiced at the Ballard bar, in an early day were the following, viz.: J. W. Crockett, R. L. Mayes, James Campbell, Sr., father of Hon. James Campbell, present judge of the first judicial district, J. B. Husbands, E. I. Bullock, J. B. Lewis, O. H. P. Miller, Wesley Cole and C. S. Marshall.

The following gentlemen comprise the present bar of the county, viz: Hon J. D. White, Hon. Samuel H. Jenkins, Z.W. Bugg, J. D. Wilds, A. J. Warden, Sr., A. J. Warden, Jr., W. F. Haws, J. B. Wickliffe, T. P. Hayes, I. E. Conley, M. T. Shelburn, W. T. Reeves, W. F. White, W. C. Puckett, B. F. Bailey and R. D. Bugg.

Official dignity in the early days was of a homespun character, and required no great expense to provide appropriate surroundings. The first building in which the justices met, or in other words, the first court house, if the term is not too dignified to be applicable, was the tobacco barn of Mr. Mosby, near Blandville. The next house, was Mr. Stovall's residence, in which was held the second session of the county court. An order for a court house to be erected on the public square at Blandville was made at the second term in 1842, and a short time afterward the commissioners appointed to superintend its erection awarded the contract to one Mr. Coats, who agreed to complete the work according to plans and specifications, and have it ready for occupancy some time in 1844. The cost of the building was something over $6,000. It was built of brick, and contained a court room on the ground floor, and three jury rooms above. It stood until the year 1880, at which time it was completely destroyed by fire, with all the records, entailing an irreparable loss upon the county.

The county was supplied with a jail sometime before the completion of the court house. The first prison pen was a hewed log structure, substantially made, and admirably constructed for the accomodation of offenders. It was erected in 1843 and stood for a number of years. The second jail was a brick building, erected about the year 1867. It served its purpose until the removal of the county seat to Wickliffe, and is still standing, being used as a residence at the present time.

For the better execution of the laws in the different departments, and the more convenient dispatch of business, the county was laid off into districts. These districts contained voting precincts, but under the old constitution of the state, the voters were not confined to any particular precinct but could cast their ballots at any voting place in the county. As the elections were then continued three days in succession, the majority combined business with pleasure, and repaired to the county seat for the purpose of exercising their right of franchise. Under the present constitution adopted in 1850, this way of holding election was changed, each voter being required to cast his ballot in the pre-

cinct to which he belongs. The county was redistricted to suit the convenience of the people, and as population increased new divisions have from time to time been created. With numerous changes in boundaries, the districts of the county at the present time are as follows, viz: No. 1, North Humphrey's; No. 2, Hinkleville; No. 3, Wickliffe, formerly Barlow; No. 4, Blandville; No. 5, Breaks; No. 6, Milburn; No. 7, Bardwell, formerly Pickett's; No. 8, Arlington, and Gray's Springs; No. 9, Holder's.

As will be readily seen by consulting a map of Ballard, Blandville, the original seat of justice, is situated very near the center of the county, and it is located there no doubt for the reason that the population at that time was pretty generally distributed. The location seems to have met with general approval at first, but before the lapse of many years a feeling of discontent became manifest in remote parts of the country, some of the citizens favoring a division of the county, with Mayfield Creek as the dividing line, while others were outspoken in favor of removing the seat of justice to some point on the Mississippi River. The feeling in favor of a change continued to increase, until finally the leaders of the movement procured the passage of an act of the Legislature granting the citizens the right to test the matter by ballot, Blandville and Fort Jefferson competing for the honor. The vote showed a large majority in favor of Blandville, which served to settle the matter for some years, although a second unsuccessful attempt was made some time prior to 1880. The destruction of the court house in February of the latter year was the occasion for reopening the contest, and immediately thereafter the friends of division began a spirited canvass throughout the northern part of the county, while those in favor of removing the seat of justice petitioned the legislature to again grant the privilege of voting on the question. It is quite probable that the matter would not have come up so soon had it not been for the fact that efforts were at once made for the erection of a new court house at Blandville, and those favoring a removal saw that if it was not made before this work was done it must be postponed for a number of years, if in fact it could ever be accomplished. The town of Wickliffe had been located in the meantime for the especial purpose of securing the county seat, and to further its claims, Judge Samuel H. Jenkins agreed to build a court house in the village at his own expense, and entered into bond for the satisfactory completion of the work. This had a tendency to create a strong following for the new town, and its friends made a thorough canvass of the county in its behalf. The division faction, seeing that it was impossible to accomplish their object, united with these in favor of removal, and through their combined efforts the passage of a bill was procured, providing for an election to be held on the 6th day of May, 1880, to decide between the towns of Wickliffe and Blandville. The bill further provided that a majority of all the votes in the county should be necessary for removal, and to place the matter beyond doubt the votes cast for Wickliffe were to be deducted from the number of legal voters as returned by the assessors' books, the remainder to be counted for Blandville. The books showed the names of 2,950 voters for the year 1880, and against this were cast 1,760 for Wickliffe, making its majority as per provisions of the bill 570. When the result of the election was announced, the friends of Blandville claimed that the way in which the vote was taken was not a fair test, and they at once procured an injunction to prevent the removal of the records. This gave rise to spirited litigation, and by mutual consent the case was transferred to the Common Pleas Court of McCracken County, and tried before Judge Jesse Gilbert, who decided in favor of Wickliffe. From this decision the plaintiffs took an appeal to the Court of Appeals, after which a careful investigation sustained the decision of the lower court. Immediately after the rendering of this decision, February, 1882, the records were removed to the new county seat, where they have since remained. In 1884, the question was again revived, and gave rise to the most exciting

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contest ever witnessed in the county. The friends of Blandville, loth to relinquish the honor which their town had maintained for a period of forty years, procured the passage of an act of the legislature submitting the question to a direct vote of the people. Both sides made a vigorous canvass, and the excitement became intense in every neighborhood and hamlet in the county. Mass meetings and barbacues became the order of the day, and at these gatherings would meet the leaders of the two factions, and publicly discuss the superior merits of their respective towns. Wickliffe was represented by Hon. S. H. Jenkins, whose strong arguments in favor of removal gained many adherents, while Blandville was ably represented by Hon. J. M. Nichols, who proved no weak adversary in joint discussion. These two champions visited almost every village in the county, and in the election which followed a full vote was cast with a majority of 291 in favor of Wickliffe, thus definitely settling a question which engendered no small degree of animosity.

The court house at Wickliffe, as stated, was built by Judge S. H. Jenkins, as an inducement to secure the seat of justice. The building is a commodious brick structure, 40x60 feet, two stories high, contains the three county offices and grand jury room on the first floor, and court room and two jury rooms above. The house stands on a plat of ground 100 yards square, donated to the county by Mr. Jenkins, and was erected at an expenditure of $10,000.

An order for a new jail, to be built in Wickliffe, was made in 1883, and the contract awarded to Cosby & Landrum, of Mayfield, for the sum of $9,100. The building was completed and formally received August 20, 1883. It is a substantial brick edifice, two stories high, contains five cells and jailer's residence. It is the best jail in the Purchase outside of Paducah.

Owing to the unfortunate destruction of the records, it is almost impossible to give the names of the different county offices.

County Clerks.—Jacob Corbett was county clerk from 1842 until about the year 1861–62. Since then the following gentlemen have held the position, namely: A. J. Warden, after whom Corbett served another term; T. L. Glenn and James Fisher, present incumbent.

Circuit Clerks.—James Waters, Jacob Corbett, A. J. Warden, Henry Ashworth and W. W. Jenkins.

County Judges.—Samuel H. Jenkins, C. S. Marshall, W. S. Watson, Mr. Gates, J. B. Ross, J. B. Wilds, F. M. Jenkins and T. C. Marshall. The present incumbent is Hon. S. H. Jenkins.

Sheriffs.—John Crise, Thomas Terrell, Henry Brice, L. S. Lee, Barnett Russ, L. F. Marshall, J. H. Davis, W. H. Davis, P. H. Gupton and G. O. Stone.

Jailers.—D. Menser, Wes. Garrett, Elisha Morgan, Howard T. Jennings and R. L. Billington.

County Attorneys. — Charles Wickliffe, Charles Marshall, Z. W. Bugg, T. P. Hayes, Robert Lowry, William Haywood and M. T. Shelburn.

Representatives.—John H. Terrell, 1844; William Thomas, 1845; Reece Bowland, 1847; Thomas F. Terrell, 1848; Charles Wickliffe, 1849; William M. Coffee, 1853–55; Thomas H. Corbett, 1855–57; J. D. White, 1857–59; W. M. Coffee, 1861, resigned in 1861, and was succeeded by William Mercer, 1862–63; Thomas P. Hayes, 1863–65; T. H. Corbett, 1865–75; W. J. Edrington, 1875–77; Thomas L. Gardner, 1877–79, and W. J. Puckett, present incumbent.

Senators.—Samuel H. Jenkins, 1859–63–75–79; Oscar Turner, 1866–71.

To D. P. Jouett belongs the honor of establishing the first paper in Ballard County. The name of his sheet was the Ballard County *News*, and its first number appeared some time during the year 1865. It was published at Blandville for a period of twelve or fifteen years, passing through the hands of several parties in the meantime; the last editor was J. R. Skaggs. The Wickliffe *Tribune* was established in 1883, by F. H. Thurman, who published it one year, when he moved the office to Columbus, where it was issued for a period of six months. At

the end of that time, Mr. Thurman returned to Wikcliffe, but soon afterward he sold the office to Hall & Co., who moved it to Arlington, where the paper was published for a short time. Jacob White, of Clinton, then purchased the office, and ran the paper in the latter place under the name of the Hickman County *Times* from 1884 until 1885. The office was then purchased by Wimbish Henderson, who moved it to Columbus. The *Tribune* was a well edited, seven column folio, and reached a very good circulation.

The Wickliffe *Journal* made its first appearance in 1884, and is still being published. It was established by F. France, and is a weekly sheet, Democratic in politics, and has already reached a fair circulation.

In the early settlement of the county, the Baptists and Methodists were the most numerous denominations here, and under the ministry of such preachers as the Revs. James P. Edwards, Willis White, Lewis Gourd, Henry Richardson, Finley Bynum and others were important factors in shaping the character of the early community. Ballard County owes a debt of gratitude to the these pioneer preachers, who, at their own expense, labored for the spiritual advancement of its people at a time when "no other help was nigh."

The Baptists built the first house of worship, known as Old Mayfield Creek church, about five miles south of Blandville as early as 1828. The first building was a log structure, which served for a meeting place a num- of years. The organization was afterward removed a short distance from the original site and a new frame building erected, which is still in use. This society has maintained an unbroken existence, and is in a flourishing condition at the present time.

The first Methodist societies in the county are the Old Harmony and Palestine churches, the former about seven miles northwest of Blandville and the latter a few miles southeast. These were good congregations in early days and have been the means of accomplishing much good in their respective communities. Finly Bynum, who is still living in Fulton county, was one of the first pastors. Other denominations came from time to time, and established churches in various parts of the county, chief among which were the Christians and Presbyterians. Almost every neighborhood and village now has its place of worship, and the deep interest manifested in religious matters, attests the high moral character of the citizens of the county. The value of church property in the county in 1883 is as follows: Baptists $3.150; Christians, $5.100; Methodists, $3.550; Presbyterians, $4.250.

Schools were e stablished in Ballard County at a very early date. From the most reliable information, William Hazzard appears to have been the first teacher. He taught a session in a little cabin on Mr. Redferrin's farm, near Humphrey's Creek, as far back as the year 1823. But little is known of Mr. Hazzard, save that he was a man of only ordinary accomplishments, and taught after the primitive manner of sixty years ago. The early schools were supported by private subscription, and lasted from two and a half to four months—the teacher's salary averaging about $20 per term. The first schoolhouses were rude log dwellings, which had been deserted by some family that had found the hardships of settling in the new country too hard to be borne. Ability to read, write and cipher constituted the sum total of a teacher's qualifications. Schools were established in the most thickly populated sections, no districts having been formed, nor any school money from any source except private subscription having been provided. Several terms were taught in the county as early as 1830, and a number of men prominent in subsequent affairs of the county were among the instructors. Like all early teachers they were very severe in their discipline, owing to the size and roughness of the young men who attended, and more than one middle-aged man in the county can to-day tell of the hard "lickings" they received.

The present public school system, though still in a very imperfect condition, has done much for the intellectual advancement of the county. There are at the present time seventy-six districts, sixty-four of which are for

white pupils and twelve for colored. In 1883 there were 1,143 white pupils in the county and 476 colored. Total expenditures for school purposes that year, $7,452.27. The amount paid teachers for the school year 1884–5, was $7,265.70. Value of school property $5,940. In addition to the public schools there are two colleges in the county, one at Milburn, under the auspices of the Methodist Church, and one at Blandville. A good school is maintained at the former place, but the large beautiful building at Blandville is standing idle.

Ballard County being one of the youngest in the State, has no military history prior to the war with Mexico. When a call for troops for the Mexican war was made, a number of the early citizens responded, and joined the company of Capt. C. A. Wickliffe, made up from Ballard, Graves and Calloway Counties. This company numbered about 100 men, and before going to the front was in camp some time at Blandville (see Military History of Graves County). Another company, recruited by Capt. Hiram Chism, was made up largely from Ballard, but their services were not required.

During the late civil war the citizens of the county were divided in sentiment, the feeling in favor of the South predominating. Fully 400 men from the county joined the army of the Confederacy, while about one-fourth that number enlisted under the Stars and Stripes, and did battle for the National Union. One of the first companies raised for the Confederate service was commanded by Charles A. Wickliffe, and belonged to the Seventh Kentucky Regiment. Wickliffe was afterward promoted to the colonelcy of the regiment, and Joseph Logan became captain. The company served in the southwestern campaigns under Corps-Commanders Polk, Buford and Forrest. Company C, of the same regiment, was recruited in Ballard County, and went to the front early in 1862. It was first commanded by Capt. Joseph Blake, and numbered 100 men. Company A, same regiment, commanded by Capt. C. L. Randle, of Hickman, was made up partly from Ballard and partly from Fulton and Hickman Counties. Company E, same regiment, was largely made up from Ballard County, and was a full company. The first captain was C. P. Ray. Another company, commanded by Capt. Lee Sherrell, numbering about eighty men, was also recruited in the county. In addition to the above, quite a number of men from the county enlisted in different regiments, and the county was represented in many of the bloodiest battles of the war. A company of about 100 men, commanded by Elisha Owens, was made up in the county for the Union Army. It was attached to Gen. Shackleford's command, and served for a period of one year. With the exception of a few skirmishes between small bodies of irregular soldiers, the county was the scene of no active military operations. Fort Holt, opposite Cairo, was thrown up early in the war, and garrisoned by a detachment of Federal troops, for the purpose of commanding the river. No engagement ever took place there, and the garrison was afterward withdrawn.

Ballard County enjoys the advantages of two railroads, namely, the Mobile & Ohio and the Illinois Central, formerly the Mississippi Central. The latter was completed in 1874, and passes through the western part of the county from north to south. It is one of the leading roads of the country, and has been of great benefit to the county. The Mobile & Ohio was completed to Columbus in 1854, but was not extended to Cairo until several years later. There are three stations in the county, to-wit: Wickliffe, Laketon and Berkely.

The population of the county in 1850 was 5,496; 1860, 8,692; 1870, 12,576. The following was the population in 1880, by districts and towns:

Lovelaceville, including the Villages of Lovelaceville and Hinkleville	1,866
Blandville District	1,540
Blandville Village	476
Humphries	2,021
Barlow	2,363
Breaks	1,272
Milburn District	1,195
Village of Milburn	309
Pickett's	1,130
Arlington Disirict	1,342

Arlington Village	337
Holder's	531
Total value of taxable property in 1846	$ 632,131
Total value in 1870	2,190,588
Value of land in 1883	1,398,004
Value of town lots	119,425
Value of stores	99,680
Total property exempt from taxation	18,370

Blandville, so called after the christian name of Capt. Bland Ballard, is a remarkably neat and beautiful little country town, situated near the center of the county, in Section 3, Town 5 north, Range 3 west, and Section 36, Town 6 north, Range 3 west. It was located in 1842, as the seat of justice for Ballard County, and laid out on the land of J. H. Stovall, one of the early pioneers of the purchase. The several public buildings, erected in 1843–44, gave the place considerable prominence, and as early as 1845, there were several business houses in successful operation, besides the usual number of artisans, physicians and attorneys found in villages of similar character. Among the first accessions were Dr. G. A. Thompson, S. Halsey and William Rutter, all of whom became permanently identified with the town in their several capacities. Thompson was the first medical man, and for several years practiced his profession in the village and surrounding country. Rutter opened a hotel in one of the first buildings erected on the town site, and appears to have been a very popular landlord. Another hotel was opened a little later by Jacob Clusterman, whose house, a small log building, stood near the central part of the town, facing the public square. Charles Swain was an early hotel keeper also, and seems to have done a good business. Among the early buildings of the town were the law offices of O. H. P. Miller and C. S. Marshall, erected as early as 1844, and the private residence of S. H. Jenkins, built about the same year. Charles Blake and William Jackson were the first merchants. They brought goods to the town early in 1845, and erected business houses, which are still standing. Other early merchants were Mr. Hendricks, Stephen Stratton, W. M. Coffee & Bro., C. P. Ray, George Cite, Taylor & Shelton, and Warden & Campbell. The first mechanic was S. Halsey, who opened a blacksmith shop soon after the town was located. G. B. Strawn was an early blacksmith and wagon-maker, and Daniel Bodkin kept a gun shop for a number of years, the latter became very wealthy in after years. The first frame house in the village was erected by Capt. Blake several years after the organization of the town. Blandville College was established in 1876, at which time the large two-story brick building 40x84 feet was erected at an expenditure of $7,000. This is the finest school edifice in the county, but, unfortunately, is not being used for educational purposes at the present time.

The first Church building in the town was erected about the year 1876, by the Christian denomination. It is a neat brick structure, and is used as a meeting-place by several religious organizations. Blandville remained the county-seat of Ballard for a period of forty-two years, but in 1882, the records were removed to Wickliffe, and since that time the business of the town has been somewhat retarded. Its favorable situation, however, in the midst of a good agricultural region, will insure it a permanent future as the chief commercial center of a large area of territory. The following is the present business register of the town: Horr & Utterback, G. W. Mantle & Co., and G. B. Wilds, general stores; W. C. Hendricks family groceries; W. M. Coffee & Son and J. W. Boyd, drug stores; R. M. Shelton, D. P. Jouett, J. S. Seay, H. S. Smith and J. D. Terrell, physicians. There is one blacksmith shop, one gunsmith and one barber shop. Population in 1880, 476.

Milburn, situated in South Ballard, near the Hickman County line, is the seat of a very old settlement. The town was located about the year 1830, on Sections 20 and 29, Town 4 north, Range 2 west, and named in honor of William Milburn one of the first pioneers in the southern part of the county. The following sketch of the village is from the pen of Rev. Willis White: "The place where Milburn now stands was first settled by William Milburn, about the year 1822. He was a man of intelligence and refinement,

C. N. B. Rollings

courteous, kind, and possessed a large degree of Kentucky hospitality. The town is situated in the midst of a fine farming region, and was settled originally by emigrants from east Kentucky and Virginia. Among those from Kentucky were Joseph Grundy, Cad Young, John Wolfolk, Mr. Reddick, Mr. Cummins and Reuben George. Those from Virginia, Rev. Joseph Ashbrook, father of J. Ashbrook of Paducah, Thomas Rudd, Moody Hobbs and B. McGary came in an early day, broke the bush, cleared the land, and laid the foundation of the present prosperity of Milburn and vicinity. Other early settlers at or near the town were: Abraham Stephens, father of Isaac Stephens; Rev. Mr. Chenault, Jesse Burkhead, the Hughes family, William Piles, George Hobbs, Moses Thompson and Frank Thomas.

"Milburn soon grew to be a town of considerable note by reason of the enterprise and liberal inducements offered by her wide-awake merchants and business men to the citizens, in the purchase and sale of goods. Mr. J. B. Quigley was one of the first merchants of the town, and for many years occupied a leading position in the community, as an honorable, upright citizen and business man. Richard Milburn, J. N. Sanford and Turner Horn were early merchants, and Dr. Reed was one of the first physicians. Milburn was one of the leading business points in the county until the completion of the Illinois Central Railroad in 1874, at which time the growing towns of Arlington and Bardwell absorbed a great deal of its trade. There are at the present time three general stores, one drug store, three blacksmith shops, one shoe shop and one hotel. A large seminary building, 60x40 feet, and two stories high, was erected in the village about the year 1869, at a cost of $5,000. It was built by a joint stock company, but afterward transferred to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, under whose auspices it still continues. The present population of Milburn is estimated at 400."

Lovelaceville is a beautiful little village situated in Sections 25 and 26, of Town 6 north, Range 2 west, and dates its history from a very early day, being the nucleus of one of the first permanent settlements in the county. It was named in honor of Andrew Lovelace, who came to the country in 1820, and located near the town site. The Ewells, Newmans, Goldstons and several other pioneer families settled near the village, when Ballard County was on the outskirts of civilization. The history of the village proper dates from about the year 1834–35, at which time a man by the name of Enos Russ kept a small grocery and whisky shop, which was the favorite resort of all the worthless characters in the county. A little later Richard Goldston brought a stock of goods to the place, and did a fair business for some years. Freeman Belcher was an early merchant; he built a carding machine on Humphrey's Creek, which he operated very successfully for several years, receiving a good patronage from the sections lying on both sides of the creek. I. Kimball and Benjamin Kimball sold goods in an early day, as did also Virgil Lovelace, William McGee and others. Joshua White, brother of Rev. Willis White, of Clinton, and uncle of Judge White, of Blandville, settled near the village in 1843, and erected a steam flouring and lumbering-mill on Sugar Creek, which he operated until about the year 1857–58. He kept a store also, and was among the successful business men of the place. In an early day Lovelaceville was a very important trading point, but like other interior towns its business interests have been absorbed by places having superior advantages. There are several stores at the present time, and about the usual number of mechanics and artisans. The Methodists and Baptists have good organizations in the village, and the neighborhood has ever been noted for the high moral tone of its citizens.

Barlow City, situated about seven miles northeast of Wickliffe, is a small hamlet, which took its name from Thomas Barlow, who opened a hotel in the vicinity of the village in an early day. Dr. Tharpe and William Harris were the first business men of the place, the former having kept a drug store in the village, and practiced the heal-

ing art. Various parties have sold goods in the village from time to time, and it has always sustained the reputation of being a good local trading point. There are two stores at the present time kept by John Brown and Mrs. Wooten, respectively.

Hinkleville, named for Maj. Jesse Hinkle, occupies a part of Section 36, Town 7, Range 3 west, in the northeastern part of the county, and dates its history from about the year 1858. It was for several years a mere country trading point, but afterward it was regularly incorporated, and became a village of considerable importance. The first store was opened by Maj. Hinkle, who carried on a thriving business for several years. After him came the Dalton Brothers, W. W. Jenkins, the Truwaller brothers and others. Its business at the present time is a couple of stores, a tobacco rehandling house, and a blacksmith shop. The Methodist and Christian Churches have societies near the village.

Wickliffe, the present county seat of Ballard, is situated in the western part of the county on the Illinois Central and Mobile & Ohio Railroads, and occupies a part of Section 34, Town 6 north, Range 4 west. The plat was surveyed in January, 1880, and consists of sixty-three blocks, of twelve lots each, a public square, and eighteen streets, ten of which run east and west, and eight north and south. The town was named for Hon. Charles Wickliffe, and officially declared the seat of justice immediately after the May election of 1880. The first trustees were S. H. Jenkins, S. B. Caldwell, Daniel Bodkin, J. C. Dupoyster and W. F. Haws. At the time of the survey, there was but one house on the town site, a small building, which had been used by the section hands of the Illinois Central Railroad. The court house was built in the latter part of 1880, and immediately thereafter a number of lots were sold and business soon began to flow toward the place. The first store was opened by James H. Myers, who erected a small business house on the principal street. Next came W. M. Sparks, W. A. Sparks, Boyd & Wall, W. J. Barlow, and others. The superior shipping advantages of the place soon attracted the attention of manufacturers, and in 1881, the Buffington Wheel Company established a large factory, which gives employment to about thirty men. The establishment is controlled by Buffington, Forney & Co., and manufacturers' spokes, felloes and other wood work. In 1884, Messrs. Rothrock & Murphey established a large planing-mill, which is still in successful operation. The growth of Wickliffe, since its organization, has been all its friends could desire. Its present population is about 800. As a business point it enjoys superior advantages, being in direct communication by both water and rail, with all the principal cities north and south. The present business register shows thirteen grocery stores, two dry goods stores, two drug stores, one millinery store, four livery stables, three hotels, one newspaper, one flouring and saw-mill, and four physicians. The present board of trustees is composed of the following gentlemen: J. A. Rich, A. L. Watwood, F. France, J. R. Skaggs and P. C. Rothrock. There are three religious organizations, viz.: Methodist, Baptist and Christian, all of which meet for worship at the court house.

Arlington, originally known as Nevill, is situated on the Illinois Central Railroad, in Section 29, Town 4, Range 3. It was laid out on land belonging to Robert B. Nevill, about the time of the completion of the road, and soon afterward became a prominent shipping point for lumber, grain and live stock. Among the first business men of the place were W. D. Read, R. A. and H. J. Bayles, M. R. Patterson, Boswell & Holt and Mr. Cunningham. It soon became a flourishing village, and is now the second largest town in the county, having a population of about 450. The following is a summary of its business at the present time: Bean & Co., dry goods and general merchandise; Mrs. A. Ulrich & Co., dry goods; McConnell & Bowers, dry goods, groceries and furniture; Megary & Son, groceries; W. J. Layton, groceries; Wells & Stewart, general merchandise and furniture; Sturdivant & McIntire, general store; Sullenger & Co., groceries; J. J. Martin & Bro., groceries: P. D. Read,

druggist; Hocker & Peck, drugs; William Rogers & Co., tin and hardware; Mrs. Bettie Mulvoy, millinery; Miss Abbie P. McGnider, millinery; Bean & Hobbs, tobacco handlers; J. W. Martwell, livery stable; W. E. Hall, undertaker; W. S. Harris and W. S. Jackson blacksmiths and wagon-makers; McConnell Bros., stock dealers; Nevill Bros., saw and grist-mill; Mrs. S. A. Wiley, proprietor of the Arlington Hotel; A. B. Hayes, proprietor of the Duprew House, and J. W. Gaddie, postmaster. The Haclan flouring-mill was erected in 1885, and is the largest mill in the county. It is four stories high, and has a capacity of seventy-five barrels of flour per day. Physicians, J. R. Owen, A. T. Hobbs, R. T. Hocker, J. M. Peck, and W. H. Porter, dentist.

There are several churches in the village, all of which are well supported. The Methodist Episcopal Church South, was organized about the year 1876, with a good membership, which has been constantly increasing. A neat frame house of worship was erected, in 1878 or 1879, at an expenditure of several hundred dollars. The society is in a flourishing condition, and under the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Hart is doing much good in the community.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is a small organization established shortly after the village was located. The society meets for worship in a frame edifice, the first church building erected in the village, and is ministered to at the present time by Rev. Mr. Powers. The Baptist Church of Arlington was established in 1876, and has a membership at the present time numbering about 200. Their house of worship was erected in 1879, and is one of the finest church edifices in the county. Present pastor, Rev. T. H. Pettitt. There is a large society of colored Methodists in the village, ministered to by Revs. W. E. Watts and A. Parrott. The Masons and Knights of the Golden Rule have lodges, which are well supported.

Bardwell is a thriving little town situated on the Illinois Central Railroad, about midway between Wickliffe and Arlington, and is the center of one of the finest agricultural districts of Ballard County. The plat was surveyed in 1879, for A. W. Violet and Alonzo Shanklin, proprietors, and embraces an area of one square mile. The town was originally called Crittenden, in honor of one of the road officials, but the name was afterward changed to Bardwell, on account of there being two towns of the former name in the State. J. W. & W. R. Turk came to the village shortly after the completion of the railroad, and embarked in the mercantile business, which they have since successfully continued. Commencing with a capital of $200, their business has increased to such an extent that they now have the largest mercanile establishment in the county. Among the business men of the village during the first two or three years of its history, were J. H. Elsey, J. M. Martin, Mr. Dupoyster, Dudley, Nealy and others. Present business register is as follows: J. W. Turk, general merchandise; W. R. Turk, general stock; John S. Davis, dry goods and groceries; Daniel Bodkin, Jr., general stock; Turney Brothers, druggists; John Ray & Co., drugs; John Elsey, drugs; James T. Bullard, stock importer and trader; J. F. Roberts, proprietor of the Ballard House. In addition to the above, there are three blacksmith shops, two saw-mills, one grist-mill, one tobacco house, one millinery store and one butcher shop. The physicians are George A. Thomas, Dr. Turney and William Mosby. Bardwell is one of the best local shipping points on the Central Road, and the seat of a very extensive grain and live stock trade. Its population is about 400. The Methodists and Baptists have good societies in the village, and fair houses of worship.

Fillmore is about two and a half miles north of Wickliffe. It was originally the northern terminus of the Illinois Central Railroad, and at one time consisted of about one dozen houses, one small store, a livery stable and hotel. With the extension of the road to East Cairo, the village disappeared, and at the present time there is but one house standing to mark the place it occupied.

Laketon, seven miles south of Wickliffe, on

the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, is a small village of about fifty inhaqitants. Its business is represented by one general store kept by James Campbell, one saw-mill, one hotel and one shingle machine. It took its name from the several lakes which lie between it and the river.

Berkeley, five miles south of Laketon, in the southern part of the county, is a small village, the outgrowth of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad. It has one general store kept by J. E. Jackson, and one hotel.

Badana, is a small country town of recent growth, in the northern part of the county. It is a good local trading point, and supports one general store and a blacksmith shop.

CHAPTER III.

CALLOWAY COUNTY.

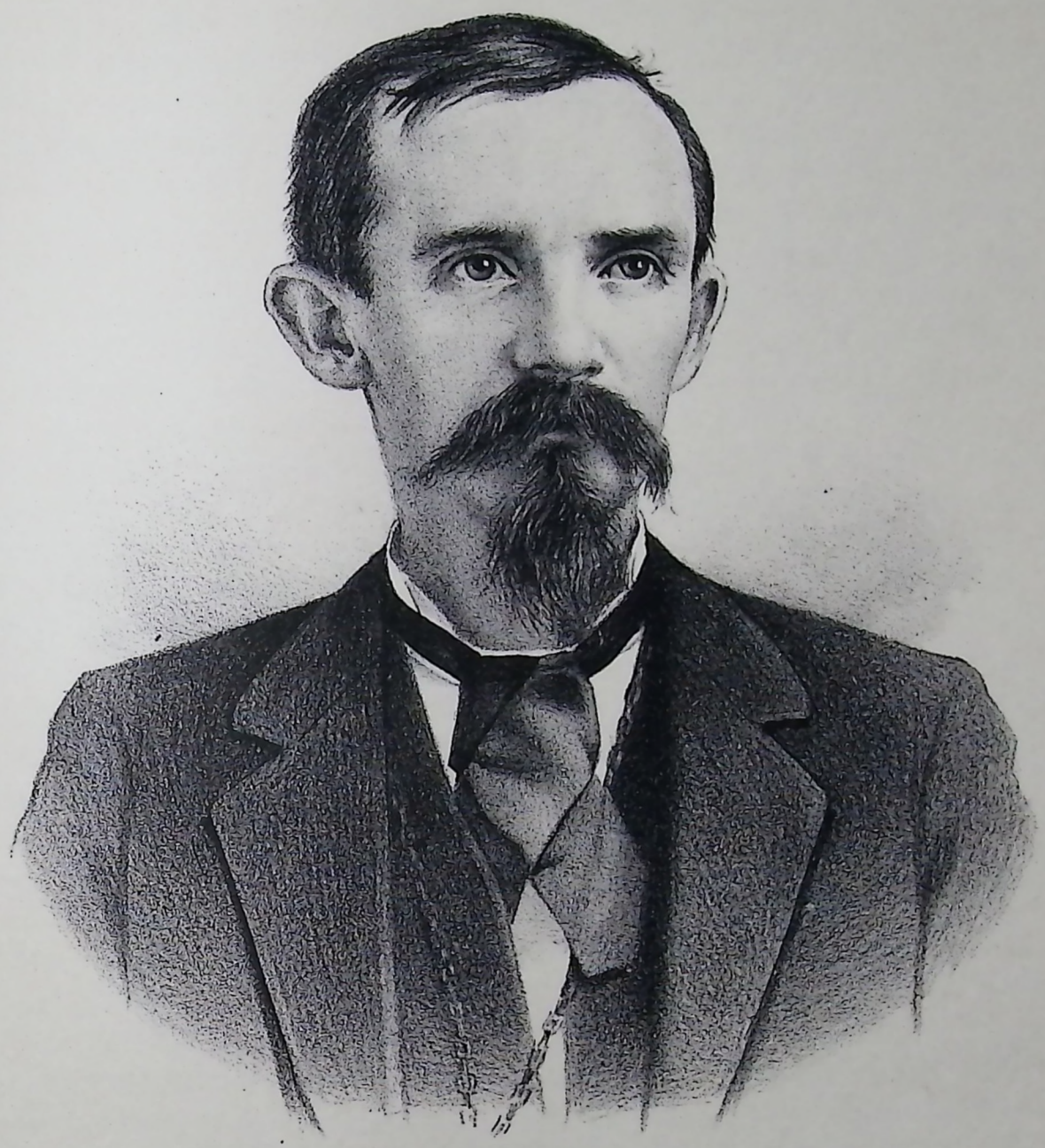
CALLOWAY, the seventy-second county in order of formation, lies in the southeast corner of the Purchase district, and embraces an era of 395 square miles, or 252, 800 acres, bounded as follows, to-wit: Marshall County on the north, Tennesse River on the east, the State of Tennessee on the south, and Graves County on the west. Its topographical features are considerably varied. The country bordering the Tennessee River is broken and hilly, with rich valleys intervening, while the central and western portions are comparatively level, and characterized by a light gray soil, well adapted to general farming. The northwest corner of the county is broken in places and considerably cut up by ravines, which renders the farmer's occupation in that locality a very laborious one.

The northern and eastern parts of the county are heavily timbered, and though much of it has been cut away there still remains sufficient for all practical purposes. The principal varieties of the old forest growth are the different kinds of oak, maple, beech, sweet gum, hickory, ash, cypress, along the Tennessee River, and birch and swamp willow skirting the various water courses.

The timber of the barrens consist of hickory, post oak, white oak, red oak, and such other hard woods as have grown up since the fires have been kept off by the settlement of the country. These barrens which comprise fully one-half of the county were originally devoid of timber, and when first seen by the early settlers presented all the barrenness, without the monotony, which is broken by their rolling surface of the prairies of the West. Along the streams, even in the barrens, grow forests of the very best timbers hickory and oak predominating.

The principal streams of the county are the east and west forks of Clark's River and Blood River. East fork heads in the southwestern part of the county, and flows a northeasterly course through a well cultivated district. It is a stream of considerable importance, and receives a number of small tributaries, all of which play an important part in the drainage of the country. West fork rises about twelve miles west of Murray, flows a northerly direction through a rather flat and very heavily timbered region. These streams frequently overflow their banks, and flood the country for several miles on either side. Blood River, in the eastern part of the county, is a very sluggish stream. It receives several small tributaries, flows an easterly course, and empties into the Tennessee River.

In the early history of the country it appears the first influx of settlers came principally from Virginia and the Carolinas, and located by preference in the northern part of the county. This preference grew out of the fact that there only were to be had both timber and water in rich abundance. The barren or prarie part of the county, which af-



Col. G. A. C. Holt

Speaker of the Senate and Lieut Gov.

forded fine pasturage for their stock was not settled till a much later period. Corn was par excellence the most important crop grown by the early settlers. It was, in the highest sense, the staff of life, and for many years constituted the only material for bread. Wheat, though one of the early productions, was not grown to any great extent till after the larger tracts of barrens came into cultivation. After the timbered districts had come under more general cultivation, and the facilities for making flour increased, the crop became more general in the northern part of the county. The other cereals indigenous to this latitude are profitably raised. The farmers pay the greatest attention to tobacco, which is the most important crop grown in the county. The soil seems peculiarly adapted to the growth of fine varieties, and the weed from Calloway is sure to command a superior price in all the markets of the State. The crop grown in this county in the year 1880 was 3,477,563 pounds.

In 1846 the total value of taxable property in Calloway County, which at that time included the present county of Marshall, was $860,004. The number of acres of land in 1870 was 238,918; assessed value of taxable property for that year, $1,976,765. The following are the figures for 1884, as prepared by the county clerk: Number of farms, 1,976; number of acres of land, 217,488; value of lands, $1,230,555; number of town lots, 183; value of town lots, $58,640; number of stores, 54; value of stores, $127,445; total assessed value of taxable property, $1,230,555; bushels of wheat, 60,000; bushels of corn, 513,-680; pounds of tobacco, 2,847,000.

In 1830 the county had a population of 5,164; in 1840 there were 9,794; 1850, 8,096; 1860, 9,915; 1870, 9,410. The following is the population of the county by districts from the census of 1880: Murray, including the town of Murray, 3,914; New Concord, 2,161; Liberty and Shiloh, 1,806; Brinkley, 1,883; Swan, 1,938; Wadesboro, 1,595.

The county was named in honor of Col. Richard Calloway, who removed with his family to Kentucky, in 1776. He speedily became an efficient actor in the affairs of the infant settlements, and his services were numerous and valuable. As early as 1777 he and John Todd were elected the first burgesses to the General Assembly of Virginia, while in the spring of the same year he was appointed justice of the peace. In 1779 he, with others, under an act of the Virginia Legislature, was appointed a trustee to lay off the town of Boonesborough. The trustees declined to act, and others were appointed. Mr. Morehead, in his eloquent Boonesborough address, classes Col. Calloway among the lawgivers and defenders of the frontier. His career in the new settlements, however, was short. Like a great many other daring spirits of the times, he was killed before he had an opportnnity to greatly distinguish himself.*

According to the historian, Collins, James Stewart and David Jones were the first white men to locate within the present limits of Calloway County. They came here, he says, as early as 1818, from Caldwell County, and opened farms about one mile east of the town of Wadesboro. Others, well versed in the early history of the country, locate Stewart's settlement about one mile north of Wadesboro, which would place him in Marshall County, but there is no doubt of his having made a temporary settlement in Calloway as early as the year mentioned. Mr. Stewart died at an early day, leaving a number of descendants, several of whom reside in the county at the present time. Of Mr. Jones but little is known, save that he was a true type of the pioneer, and a man of many excellent parts. A number of hunters and trappers came to the county as early as 1819 or 1820, and erected temporary habitations along the Tennessee and Clark Rivers. They spent their time hunting the game with which the country at that time abounded, and made no improvements beyond clearing small patches of ground around their little cabins. Their stay was transient, and their names have long since faded from the memories of the oldest inhabitants.

Among the first settlers deserving of special mention was Banester Wade, who first

*Collins.

visited the county in quest of adventure as early as 1817–18. He was a daring hunter, and a noble specimen of the frontiersman of sixty years ago. He made a permanent settlement on West Fork, about the year 1820, and reared a large family, several members of which are among the substantial citizens of the county at the present time. Cotemporary with Wade was Samuel Watson, who settled near the river in the same locality. A little later, came William Smith and William Derrington, both of whom opened farms in the northern part of the county not far from West Fork. The Duncan family, consisting of Asel Duncan and his sons, William, Thomas, John, Crawford, Samuel and Lewis, were among the early pioneers of northern Calloway. William Chester settled on the creek, which bears his name, in an early day, and opened one of the largest distilleries ever operated in the county. William Sutherland and family made a settlement in the northern part of the county prior to 1822, and about the same time or perhaps a year earlier, came William Jones, who settled in the same locality. Jones raised a large family and claimed the honor of having been the first school-teacher in the county. John Harp was a resident of the county as early as 1821, and one year later, there were living on Duncan's Creek, John Swift, Luke Langston and a number of other families, whose names could not be learned. The first settlers in the vicinity of Wadesboro were the Joneses, Stewarts, Sperrys and Wades. The Taylor family settled in the southeastern part of the county, and the Wyatt family were among the earliest residents of northwest Calloway. The early settlers in the interior of the county, near Murray, were Charles Linn, a man by name of Crow, who made some improvements on an island in the Clark River; Mr. Ferrar about two miles northeast of the town, the Saunders family, Seth Pool, Robert Pool, William Melton, Peter Boggess, Coleman Wicker, Mr. Merriman, Henry R. Bailey, Thomas Garrett, Mr. Dunn, Mr. Skaggs and others, all of whom located within a radius of six miles.

In addition to the settlers enumerated, the following persons were residents of the county prior to 1830, viz.: Joab Lassiter, Vincent A. Wade, Lewis Wells, James Ingram, James Clayton, Luke Dees, William McElrath, Jacob Sanders, Harrison Walston, William Curd, Spencer Milliken, Dennison Dees, William Edwards, John Keys, Moza Grisham, Bailey Anderson, Edmund Taylor, John Hodge, David Shelton, Charles Curd, John Allen, Bins Derrington, Reuben Nelson, William McWade, James Bell, John McGrew, George Goodwin, Chapman Miller, Gibson Gray, William Easley, Robert Whitnell, A. D. Jackson, John Hodges and a number of others. The following non-residents purchased government lands in the county between the years 1825 and 1830, viz.: John Eaker, Nathan G. Hale, John Strow, John Elliott, John M. Gardner, Lewis Wells, William Anderderson, William Clayton, George Owings, John Byrne and James Witherspoon.

"In June, 1822, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the opening of a land office at Wadesboro, and appointed Edmund Curd receiver. The act required him to offer for sale to the highest bidder each alternate section of land lying west of the Tennessee River. The law required the land to bring $1 per acre. The first lands entered at the above price in Calloway County, was in the year 1825. In 1827 the price was reduced to 50 cents per acre. Then it was that the tide of immigration set in, in largely increased proportion, and three years later, the county boasted a population of 5,164 souls. The highest price paid for government land in the county was $1.25 per acre, and the lowest price 12½ cents per acre."*

The original boundaries of Calloway County, which included the present county of Marshall, were created by an act of the General Assembly, approved December 15, 1821, the territory at that time being a part of Caldwell and Livingston Counties. In 1822, the Legislature passed an act establishing the county, and January 16th, of the following year, the commissioners appointed met in the town of Wadesboro, and effected a permanent organization. The following are the

*Rev. Willis White's sketches.

names of the commissioners, who constituted the first County Court viz.: Andrew Bell, Arthur H. Davis, Thomas Hill, Nicholas Copeland, William Short, Banester Wade, William Rowlett, Lindsay Martin, John Hodges and George Tucker. They organized for business, and appointed William Curd, clerk, who produced a certificate from the Court of Appeals, as to his qualifications for the position. William Duncan produced a commission from the governor, appointing him sheriff of the county, after which he took the several oaths and gave the bond required by law. The second session of the court was held January 17, 1823, and the first business transacted, was the appointing of William Jones and Eli Cochran, commissioners to draft plans and specifications for a court house to be erected in the town of Wadesboro. The second entry on the record, reads as follows: "It appearing that there are not a sufficient number of ministers of the gospel in the county to solemize the rites of matrimony, it is ordered that license be granted Arthur H. Davis, Thomas Hill, Jacob Rowland and William Rowlett to perform the ceremony of marriage." The third order provides for the division of the county into six constable's districts, and the appointment of the following persons as constables, viz.: Merrill Ethkin, Joseph Staton, J. Gilbert, Eli Cochran, Ransom Rowland and Alexander Tucker.

At the March term of 1823, John Canady, Nicholas Pyle, Anderson Jones, Merrill Uttey and John Reynolds were appointed to establish a road from Heath's Ferry on the Tennessee River, to Wadesboro, and Eli Cochran, William McElrath, Banester Wade, Bins Derrington and John Dodge were appointed viewers to lay out a highway from Wadesboro to the county seat of Graves County. The first tavern license was granted this term to Reuben E. Rowland, who entered into, and gave bond in the sum of £100 that he would keep a public house according to the strict letter of the law. An order for a county jail was duly entered and the following Commissioners appointed to contract for and superintend the building of the same, viz.: William Jones, Eli Cochran and Henry Darnell. Following the foregoing entry appears an order for a clerk's office to be composed of hewed logs, 20x14 feet, ten feet high, with clapboard roof, two doors, and one window, the same to be completed at the ensuing July term. The contract was let to Dennis Derrington, who reported the work done according to plans and specifications at the designated time. At the April term, 1823, a ferry was established at Davis Ford on the east fork of Clark's River, and in July following, Andrew Carson, Jesse Sampson and Grayson Cloud were granted license to establish ferries at different points on the Tennessee River. The county levy for 1823, amounted to $591.13, to raise which the sum of $1 was assessed to each tithable. The levy for the succeeding year was $345, at 50 cents per tithable. In 1825, the justices of the peace were George Tucker, William Jones, Edward Curd, Nicholas Copeland, Stephen Howard, A. H. Davis, William Rowlett, John Hodge, Philip Henson and James Watson. The justices for the year 1830, were John W. Lindsay, William Craddock, James B. Husbands, Samuel Watson, John McCain, William Jones, Jesse Milliken, John Hodges, R. E. Rowland, John Irvin and W. Mallory. The following are the names of the justices for the year 1840, viz.: J. P. McElrath, Enos Faughn, H. P. Utterback, S. S. Wray, M. Barnett, Richard Nichols, Joseph Staton, Jesse Gilbert, Samuel Yandell, William Craddock and Edward Curd.

On February 13, 1823, was held at the court house in Wadesboro, the first circuit court of Calloway County, present the Hon. Benjamin Shackelford, judge; John Bearden and Reuben E. Rowland, associate judges. William Curd and James W. Callaway, were applicants for the position of circuit clerk, both producing certificates from the court of appeals as to their qualifications to act in that capacity. The matter was left to a ballot, which resulted in the election of Mr. Callaway. Mr. Curd was appointed deputy clerk and at the May term 1825, he succeeded Mr. Callaway as clerk, the latter having re-

signed that year. Benjamin Patton and James Breathitt were the first lawyers admitted to the bar of Calloway County, both having been duly "sworn in," immediately after the organization of the court. The second term was held May 15, 1823, present the Hons. John Bearden and Reuben Rowland, associate judges. The grand jury for the court was composed of the following gentlemen, viz.: William Brown, William Wade, William Clayton, Timothy Taylor, Nicholas Pyle, James Bell, John McGrew, George Goodwin, James Stewart, Chapman Miller, Dillon Ford, Boath Maloan, McGilbra Wyatt, Hezekiah Williams, Benjamin Perkins and Gibson Gray, who being impaneled and sworn, and having received their charge, withdrew from the bar to make up their presentments. The parties to the first suit tried before this court were Elijah Goodman, plaintiff, and William Bilyan, defendant. A jury, composed of the following citizens of the county was impaneled to try the case, viz.: John Ford, John Henson, J. Anderson, Elijah Veatch, Aaron Hyatt, John Irvin, Joseph Rives, Thomas Grubbs, William Chambers, William Rodman and William McWade. The jury found for plaintiff in the sum of $1,000. The grand jury returned indictments against Samuel Ramsey, Henry Duncan, Thomas Duncan, John Farmer, John Staton, Jacob Doon, Joseph Staton, and William Staton for rioting. The following gentlemen composed the second grand jury of the county, viz.: Lewis Wells, Jesse Condrin, Hiram Rowland, H. T. Penton, William Reeder, James Baker, Miles Phillery, George Miller, Bins Derrington, David Gardner, Benjamin French, Reuben Nelson, Merrill Utley, Thomas Grubbs, Samuel Watson, James Clayton, John Merrill and John Nutts. The second pettit jury was composed of B. G. Cartwright, Harmon Watson, John Henson, Samuel Yandell J. G. Clayton, Young Hogan, Jesse Ruder, Robert Draffin, H. M. Hicks, Rowland Ginnings and William Easly, before whom were tried John Staton, William Staton, Jacob Doon and Joseph Staton, on charge of rioting as returned by the grand jury. The verdict of the jury was a fine of $1, and twenty-four hours imprisonment to each offender, which was duly enforced. Richard L. Mayes was admitted to the bar of Calloway County, in 1831. Edward Jones was admitted a few years previous to that time.

Circuit Clerks.—James Callaway, from 1823 to 1825; Edmund Curd, 1825 to 1833; Jeremiah C. Wilkins, appointed October, 1833, resigned November, 1836; Edmund Curd, 1836, until his death in 1848; Paris M. Ellison, from November, 1849, until the adoption of the new constitution in 1851. Since 1851, the following gentlemen have filled the office, viz: A. W. Wadlington, R. L. Ellison, Nathan Bowman, P. M. Ellison, J. M. Hutchens and George W. Craig, present incumbent, elected in August, 1880.

County Clerks:—William Curd, Jeremiah C. Wilkins, Edmund H. Curd, P. M. Ellison, John B. England, R. E. Beckham, L. Boyd, J. N. Williams, and R. T. Hamlin, present incumbent.

Sheriffs:—W. B. Duncan, Isaiah Kirby, N. D. Gore, Arthur H. Davis, Andrew Bell, J. Hodges, N. Copeland, John A. Martin, B. Wells, George Tucker, William Jones, John Copeland, Reuben E. Rowland, Samuel Watson, William Craddock, Asaph Jetton, all of whom served prior to the adoption of the present constitution. Since 1851, the office has been held by the following, viz: George P. Linn, C. A. Duncan, Richard Nuckolls, H. P. Utterback, R. F. Mix, N. C. Ryan, J. H. Swift, William Ryan, Isaac Keys, J. W. Fergeson, L. C. Linn, W. S. Bourland, W. B. Keys, R. B. Holland and S. H. Dees.

Surveyors.—Daniel Rowlett, N. Bowman, John Bearden, Charles Curd, James Stone, A. J. Wells, S. T. Coleman, J. W. Stewart, J. B. Dodd, and T. P. Oglevie, present incumbent.

Assessors.—F. N. Gardner, James R. Gordon, I. N. Albritton, James Martin, J. N. Williams, T. W. Lamb, H. H. Miller, J. H. Langston, and J. P. Fisher.

County Judges.—Elisha Hardy, T. M. Jones, James McKnight, P. M. Ellison, G. G. Oury, and W. B. Keys, present incumbent, elected in September, 1882.

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Coroners.—John Irvin, Reuben Nelson, G. P. Linn, V. A. Wade, John M. Bourland, Willis Strow, John P. McElrath, James M. Shelley, W. P. Guthrie, Nathaniel Miller, Camillus Atkinson, Alexander Holsapple, J. Z. Sledd, Boswell Harding, Moses Padgett, A. J. Beale, J. I. Miller, and W. S. Bourland.

Jailers.—Stephen Jones, James Ingram, Thomas H. Grubbs, James Peters, R. K. Williams, ex-chief justice of Kentucky, Charles McDonald, Thomas W. Pitt, James H. Curd, William H. Diuguid, Camillus Atkinson, Joseph Hart, W. H. Dailey, J. E. Churchill, Matthew Allen, and N. Daniel.

Representatives.—Arthur H. Davis, 1824; Linn Boyd, 1827–29; John L. Murray, 1830–32; Cornelius Burnett, 1831; John Irvin, 1836; Vincent A. Wade, 1837–38; James Brien, 1839–41; Thomas M. Jones, 1842–43; Richard Nuckolls, 1844; Francis W. Dodds, 1848–49–51–53; Daniel Matthewson, 1860–61–63; John L. Irvin, 1853–55–57; Elisha Hardy, 1857–59; Virgil Coleman, 1859–63; Leroy Brinkley, 1862–63; John Whitnell, 1863–65, died in 1865, and was succeeded by W. H. Covington, 1865–67; Francis W. Dodds, 1867–69; William M. Hamlin, 1869–71; W. W. Ayers, 1871–75; John D. Gardner, 1875–79; T. A. Miller, 1879–81; B. C. Keys, 1881–83; G. N. Cutchen, 1883, present incumbent.

Senators.—James Brien, 1846–50; Daniel Matthewson, 1855–59; John L. Irvin, 1859–63; Col. G. A. C. Holt, 1867–75, elected speaker of the senate, February 16, 1871, and acting lieutenant-governor until September of the same year.

Judges of Equity and Criminal Court.—The Equity and Criminal Court of Calloway County was established September 1, 1856, with Lawrence S. Trimble as judge. He served until March, 1860, at which time he was succeeded by Hon. J. M. Bigger, who served until the court was abolished, August, 1861.

Common Pleas Judge.—The Common Pleas Court of Calloway County was established in September, 1867; Hon. Ed. Crossand, judge. He served until September 12, 1868, at which time the court was abolished.

We have already in this chapter alluded to the order of the court for the erection of public buildings in the town of Wadesboro. Soon after the order was made, the commissioners appointed to superintend the erection of the court house awarded the contract to Reuben E. Rowland, who agreed, for the sum of $100, to have the buildings ready for occupancy at the ensuing February term. The specifications for the house were as follows: To be twenty feet square, a story and a half high, covered with clapboards. The floor to be made of undressed plank, the whole to be constructed of hewed logs, "notched down close." The furniture was in keeping with the building, and consisted of a judge's bench three feet high, three feet wide, and twelve feet long; one large bench for the jury and one "good seat" for the use of the "council." The building was completed according to contract, and formally received March 13, 1823. Rude, as it must have been, it served the infant county until the increase of population, and the accumulation of wealth engendered sufficient local pride to demand a more pretentious temple of justice. In 1830, an order for a new building was made, the structure to be of brick, thirty-six feet square, two stories high, with the court room and the usual county offices. John Irvin, David Smith, George Denney, William Curd, and Thomas H. Grubbs, were appointed commissioners to let the contract and superintend the construction of the house. The building was completed in 1831, and the first court held therein was the January term of that year. This house served the people as a temple of justice, and often as a tabernacle of worship, until the division of the county in 1842.

At the second session of the county court, held March 13, 1823, William Jones, Eli Cochran and Henry Darnall were appointed commissioners to let the building of a public jail in Wadesboro, the structure to be twelve feet square, and to be constructed of hewed logs, and covered with "cabin roof." Bins Derrington was the contractor. He completed the jail according to plans and specifications.

for the sum of $177. It was in use until 1827, at which time a new building was ordered erected. The second jail was a log structure, also, and was built by Samuel Peter for the sum of $496.88. It was two stories high, contained one strong cell into which a large trap door opened from above. The door was afterward destroyed by a negro prisoner, who contrived to escape by burning off the large hinges. The jail was abandoned in 1835, and one year later, a more substantial prison pen was erected at a cost of $1,633. This building was constructed of heavy oak blocks, securely spiked together and inclosed by a brick wall twenty by twenty feet in size. It was burned prior to 1841, the fire having been kindled by a negro prisoner, who perished with the building. A fourth jail was ordered built at Wadesboro in 1841, but the division of the county one year later, prevented the completion of the building.

As already stated the original boundaries of Calloway, including the present county of Marshall, but as early as 1837, a movement, favoring a division was inaugurated its principal leader being Hon. James Brien, who was defeated for the Legislature upon that issue, in 1838-39. The movement grew in favor very rapidly, however, and at the ensuing election, Mr. Brien was successful, carrying the county by a decided majority. In February, 1842, he procured the passage of a bill for the establishment of Marshall County, and on the 7th of June following, the division was effected and the latter county organized. Immediately after the division, commissioners were appointed to re-locate the seat of justice for Calloway County, several sites having been proposed for their consideration. After viewing the different places, and carefully considering their advantages and disadvantages, the commissioners finally selected a site near the geographical center of the county, adjoining the village of Pleasant Hill, in section 26, town 2 north, range 4 east, which they named Murray, in honor of Hon. Thomas L. Murray, one of the leading lawyers of western Kentucky.

Orders for a court house and jail to be erected in the new town, were made in 1843-44, and shortly thereafter, work on the buildings commenced. The court house stands on the public square and is a substantial brick structure fifty feet square, two stories high, and contains a large court room on the first floor, and the four county offices on the second floor. The commissioners, who superintended its erection were Jesse P. Stephens, B. G. Imes, G. D. McDonald and D. C. Lynch. The first jail in Murray was completed in 1847. It was a brick building and cost the sum of $2,376.50. The present jail was completed in 1866. It is a two-story brick building, substantially constructed and contains three strong cells.

The first poor farm in Calloway County was established about the year 1849. The land was purchased for a nominal sum, and a one-story double hewed log-house erected the latter part of the above year. It served its purpose for a period of twenty years, at the end of which time it was sold, and a smaller farm two and a half miles north of the county seat purchased. The present building was erected in 1871.

When the present constitution went into effect, the county was laid off into a certain number of election districts, with a voting precinct in the most central part, and in some of the larger districts, for the greater convenience of the people, there were two voting precincts. With the numerous changes in boundaries, and the establishing of new districts at intervals, the county is at present time divided into six districts as follows: Number 1, Murray; No. 2, New Concord; No. 3, Liberty and Shiloh; No. 4, Brinkley; No. 5, Swans; No. 6, Wadesboro.

The first paper in Calloway County was *The General Baptist Banner*, a religious sheet established at Murray, in 1857, by John Elliott, whose aim was to make it the organ of the Freewill Baptist Church of Kentucky. It had a small circulation, and at the end of a year the office was moved to Princeton, Ind. Mr. Elliott also published the *Independent Circular*, a small religious paper; during his stay in Murray, the editorial work having been under charge of George T. Sher-

man. It was discontinued at the end of one year. In 1868, the *Murray Gazette* was established by J. N. Bolen, who edited it for a period of four years, when Messrs. Hutchins & Holsapple purchased the office. They continued the paper five months and then moved it to Paris, Tenn. The *Gazette* was a local political sheet, and at one time reached a circulation of 1,200.

The *Murray Journal* was established in 1877, by W. R. Sinclair. It enjoyed a brief existence of about five months, failing for want of patronage.

The *Calloway News* was the next paper launched upon the community. It was established by a stock company in 1879, with W. O. Wear, as editor, who had charge of the office until 1882, at which time Dean Babbitt became editor. Babbitt was succeeded by Logan Curd, and he by O. H. Williams. The office was burned in 1884, Mr. Williams being editor in charge at the time. The *News* was a seven column folio, and was Democratic in politics.

The *Murray Weekly News* was established in February, 1885, by a stock company, with Logan Curd as editor. It is Democratic in politics, is a large eight column folio, and presents an attractive appearance, with every indication of being in a flourishing condition. Its mechanical execution is good, and its editorial and local departments are equal to any country paper in western Kentucky.

There were among the pioneers of Calloway County, many zealous members of different religious denominations. Scarcely was the nucleus of a settlement formed ere steps were taken to counteract in some way the influence of the lawless and evil-minded. This early led to efforts at religious organization and instruction, and often hymns of praise were mingled with the sound of the pioneer's ax. The Baptists are about the strongest church, numerically in Calloway County. Elder Henry Darnall, of the Old School Baptist Church, is supposed to have been the first minister of any denomination to proclaim the gospel to the early residents of Calloway. He held religious services at various places throughout western Kentucky, and in an early day organized a church at Soldier's Creek, now in Marshall County, which was one of the first religious societies west of the Tennessee River. Another early preacher was Elder Absalom Copeland, whose arrival antedates the county's organization. He founded the Old Salem Church, about two miles southeast of Murray, as early as 1832, and preached for the society at intervals for a number of years. This church still maintains its existence, and is one of the most flourishing societies of the county at the present time. The first house of worship was a common log-cabin, which afterward gave place to a more pretentious edifice. The Baptists organized a church at Wadesboro in an early day, and among the pastors are remembered Elders Copeland, Ephraim Owens and Edmund Curd. This society is still kept up, and is now know as a Missionary Baptist Church.

The Methodists followed closely in the wake of the Baptists, and as early as 1821 or 1822 a small class was organized at a place called Sutherland's Camp Ground, in the northwestern part of the county, where services were regularly held for a number of years. A log-house of worship was erected in the vicinity a few years later. Among the early circuit riders that visited this, and other points in the county, were Revs. Whitnell, A. C. Waterfield and Morgan Williams.

Presbyterian ministers visited the county soon after its organization, and established two societies, one at a place known as Kennedy's Camp Ground, near the Marshall County line, and one on Damon Creek, in the western part of the county; the latter place was known as the McElrath Camp Ground. Revs. John Smith, Charles E. Hay, John McKinney and Samuel Johnson were among the earliest, if not the earliest Presbyterian preachers of Calloway County.

An effort was made by the Mormons to establish a church in Calloway County, and Elder Sydney Rigdon, one of their most talented ministers, was sent here for the purpose of making proselytes. Through his efforts a society of about fifty or sixty members was built up in the southwest corner of

the county, the majority of whom moved to Nauvoo, Ill., shortly before the Saints abandoned that city.

The first Christian Church in the county was established at Concord Village some time prior to 1845, and among the early preachers was Elder Biggs, later came Elders H. T. Anderson, Gist and Holmes.

At the present time there are in the county eighteen Methodist Churches, fourteen Missionary Baptist, nine Christian, four or five Presbyterian and four churches of the Old School or Primitive Baptists.

The value of church property from the auditor's report of 1883, is as follows: Baptists, $4,575; Methodists, $2,775; Christian, $3,915; Presbyterian, $500.

An early law of Kentucky, pertaining to the subject of education, was that certain lands in the State should be reserved for the endowment and use of seminaries of learning throughout the commonwealth. The county courts of the several counties were ordered to have surveyed and patented within their respective counties, the requisite number of acres, all of which was exempt from taxation. The seminary land of Calloway County was sold about the year 1842 or 1843, and from the proceeds were erected two buildings, one at Murray and one at New Concord. The Murray building was a two-story brick structure, and contained four schoolrooms. It was completed in 1851 and stood until 1870, at which time it was sold by an act of the State Legislature. The house at Concord was a two-story frame building, completed in 1856. It was destroyed by fire ten years later.

The Murray Institute was established in 1871 by a stock company, the proceeds arising from the sale of the old seminary building, serving as a financial basis for the enterprise. The company was incorporated with a capital of $5,000, which was found inadequate for the erection of the proposed building, whereupon the school district proposed to pay the additional amount required in six years by local taxation. As security for the district, the county issued bonds to the amount of $6,000, which were purchased by private individuals; these bonds were all paid by the district, when they became due. The Institute building is the handsomest school structure west of the Tennessee River. It is two stories high, contains seven large school rooms and was completed at a cost of $17,500. It stands in the midst of a beautiful plat of four acres, and is an ornament to the town of Murray. The school was organized in 1872, by Prof. Henry Nold. The principal at the present time is Prof. H. E. Holton. By a special act of the Legislature, this school is authorized to grant State certificates to its graduates. There are at the present time seventy-one school districts in the county, sixty-two for white pupils and nine for colored. The number of white children of school age by the enumeration of 1884–85, is 4,453; colored, 403. Amount paid teachers for the above school year, $8,000. The superintendent of schools at the present time is Prof. N. B. Barnett.

Quite a goodly number of Calloway's early citizens served in the war of 1812, among whom were the following; William Hutchens, Mr. Marshall, Joseph Washam, A. D. Jackson and Peter Waterfield.

A company was recruited in Calloway, Graves and Ballard Counties for the Mexican War, with Charles A. Wickliffe of Ballard, captain; Edward Curd, first lieutenant, and B. B. Irvan, second lieutenant. The company consisted of about one hundred men fully half of whom were residents of Calloway. Among the living members of this company are P. M. Ellison, William Hutchens, Samuel Hart, W. D. Padgit and John Curd, all citizens of the county.

The people of Calloway County during the late civil war, sympathized with the South. As the county did not lie along the immediate track of either army, and was altogether unimportant from a strategic point of view, it was not made the theatre of any important military operations during the war. Only a few slight skirmishes occurred on its soil, and these were between small parties of the opposing forces, that from time to time passed through various parts of the county. Dur-

Wm. Hollands

ing the latter half of the war, the country was overrun by bands of guerrillas, who plundered hundreds of citizens of their horses, money and other valuables, and murdered innocent persons in cold blood. The town of Murray was burned during one of these raids, and much property destroyed. In the spring of 1862, Gen. Smith, commander of the Federal forces stationed at Paducah, made a raid to the Tennessee River, and did a great deal of damage to the citizens of Murray and surrounding country. The detachment became disorganized, on account of the bad condition of the roads, and the soldiers went unrerestrained through the country, taking whatever property they saw fit. A number of citizens were arrested, and incarcerated in northern prisons, where they were kept several months. "Fort Heiman, on the Tennessee River, in the southeast corner of the county, was occupied for some time by confederate forces under Gen. Abram Buford with one brigade, of cavalry, one (Third Kentucky) Regiment, mounted infantry under Col. G. A. C. Holt, and a battery of light artillery. These constituted the left wing of the Confederate Army under Gen. N. B. Forrest, when he made his successful assault on Johnsonville, Tenn., on the east bank of the Tennessee River, November 4 and 5, 1864. In the latter part of 1863 a small detachment of Federals, numbering about 300, took possession of Murray, and threw up earth-works near the town, which they occupied for a short time. This was the only force of regular troops stationed in the town during the war."*

About eight hundred men from Calloway County joined the southern army, many of them going in sqauds, and enlisting in different regiments at different places. Several companies were recruited in the county, the first of which was raised early in 1861, by Capt. C. C. Bowman. The other officers were C. P. Duncan, first lieutenant; C. G. T. Manning second lieutenant; Elias Hopkins, third lieutenant. They numbered at the time of organization about eighty of the very flower of the youth of Calloway County. This company served one year in Virginia, under Gen. Dick Taylor, but participated in no engagements of any note.

Company H, of the Third Kentucky Infantry, was organized shortly after the breaking out of the war, and left for the front in April, 1861. It was officered as follows: captain, G. A. C. Holt, afterward promoted colonel of the regiment; first lieutenant; T. A. Miller, afterward captain; second lieutenant, John P. Matthewson, and third lieutenant Abner Duncan. The company numbered eighty-seven men, only about twenty-five of whom returned home uninjured, at the close of the war, the rest having fallen at Shiloh, Baton Rouge, Vicksburg, Oxford, Fort Pillow, Selma, Macon, Tishimingo Creek, and other bloody battles, in which the celebrated Kentucky Confederate Brigade participated. This gallant company took part in the campaigns of Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Kentucky, and served from the beginning until the close of the war. Company G, Seventh Kentucky Infantry was recruited in 1862, and numbered about sixty-five men. The officers were J. M. Chambers, captain; David Nowlen, first lieutenant; and James Walston, second lieutenant. This company formed part of the Kentucky brigade, and took part in the campaigns and engagements mentioned above. Another company belonging to the Seventh Regiment was organized in 1862, and commanded by Manoah Swan. The original membership was only about forty, over half of whom were killed during the period of their service. Company C, of Col. Faulkner's celebrated cavalry regiment was made up wholly from Calloway County, in 1863. It numbered about eighty men, and took part in the western campaign during the latter part of the war. Captain James Melton raised a company for the same regiment, the greater number of his men being residents of Calloway County. This was a full company and the majority of the men were under eighteen years of age.

Simultaneous with the breaking out of the war, and while the Confederates were organizing at Camp Boone, and elsewhere, the

*Collins, Vol. II. p. 110.

friends of the Union also rushed to arms. T. P. Carter recruited a company of cavalry in the county for the first Kentucky Battalion U. S. A. while a large number enlisted in the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry, and other regiments. Fully 200 men from Calloway fought under the Stars and Stripes and did valiant service in defending the cause of the National Union.

Wadesboro, the second oldest town of the Purchase and Calloway County's first seat of justice, was located about the year 1821–22, and named in honor of Banester Wade, one of the earliest pioneers of western Kentucky. The locating of the government land office at the village in 1822, and the erection of the county buildings one year later, gave the place considerable prominence, and it was much frequented by emigrants and land speculators for the purpose of entering the the public lands. The land sales at stated intervals attracted large crowds, and were occasions of great interest and excitement. The survey of the town into lots did not take place until several years after its settlement. The original plat contains eighty-six lots of various sizes, eight streets, four running east and west and three north and south, the whole embracing an area of 160 acres, in Section 10, Town 3 north, Range 4 east.

Among the earliest residents of the village were William Curd, first county clerk; Edmund Curd, commissioner of the land office; Dr. John Burns, the first physician, and Andrew Smith, the first merchant. Mr. Smith opened his store about the year 1823–24. He was a very successful business man, and remained in the village until his death in 1840. David Smith was probably the second merchant. Other early business men were Edmund Curd, George Ingram, Edward Curd, Mr. Hand, B. P. and J. P. Elliott, Mr. Lock, H. D. Irvin, Willis Strow, Mr. Overshiner, Mr. Waddy and Mr. McLeod. Dr. Richard Nuckolls, Hon. John L. Murray, P. H. Beckham and James Husbands were prominent residents of the town during the early years of its history. Wadesboro was for a number of years the most important business point in Kentucky, west of the Tennessee River, there being at one time fourteen large stores in successful operation. After the public lands had been entered and sold, the town lost much of its prosperity, and the removal of the county seat to Murray, in 1842, proved its death blow. The majority of the citizens moved to other places, the public buildings fell into ruins, and a general decay fastened itself upon the once flourishing village. The population at the present time is about seventy-five. The business of the town is represented by three general stores, one large tobacco warehouse, one tannery, a flouring and lumbering-mill, one hotel and two blacksmith shops. There is one church and a good frame school-house in the village.

Murray was located for the county seat in 1843. The original town plat is situated in Section 26, Town 2 north, Range 4 east, and embraces an area of eighty acres, divided into twenty-nine blocks and 137 lots, with eight streets, four of which run north and south, and four east and west. The town was laid out upon the land of Charles Curd and James Price. Among the first residents were A. H. Wear and D. C. Carleton. The first house was built by H. D. Blanton, and stood upon ground now occupied by Dale & Martin's drug store, on the corner of Main and Main Cross streets. It was a small cabin, and served for the first store building in the town. Other early buildings were erected by E. H. Curd, Daniel Matthewson and A. H. Wear. H. D. Blanton and Charles Curd were the first merchants. The first hotel was kept by John Saunders, and A. H. Wear opened the first saddlery shop the same year in which the town was organized. The early physicians were Drs. Holt, Purnell, Tetrington, Eaker, Boggs, Bryant and Penner. The first mechanics were Andrew Vance and A. H. Dettery, both blacksmiths. The following firms did business in the town during its early history, viz: Curd & Matthewson, Curd & Smith, John W. Cobb, D. C. Carleton, McElrath & Sledd, Brown & Elliott, Nathan Bowman, Shelley & Curd and A. H. Wear, the last named being in business at the present time.

The growth of Murray has been steady and

substantial, and although a comparatively small town it is one of the most thriving business points in the Purchase. There are at present five large dry goods stores, ten grocery stores, two drug stores, two millinery stores, one jewelry store, one livery stable, one saw-mill, one flouring-mill, one wagon and buggy shop, two blacksmith shops, one tin shop, one undertaker's establishment, two tanneries, one tobacco factory, three dealers in leaf tobacco, and one picture gallery. The following physicians are located in the town, viz.: T. M. Graves, R. S. Coleman, J. G. Hart and J. R. Coleman.

The Baptist Church of Murray was established as early as 1848, and is a strong organization. The society meets in a handsome frame house of worship, and is ministered to by Rev. W. B. Dye. The membership is about ninety.

The Christian Church was organized about the year 1848 or 1849. Their first house of worship stood in the southwest part of the town, and was in use until 1866, at which time it was sold, and the present substantial brick building erected. The present membership is about two hundred. Elder E. C. L. Denton is pastor in charge.

The Murray Methodist Church was established in 1882, and one year later their beautiful frame house of worship was built. The society is in good condition, and numbers about one hundred communicants. Rev. G. W. Evans is pastor.

A masonic lodge, No. 105, was chartered in 1832, at Wadesboro, and afterward moved to Murray. Present membership about fifty.

Murray Lodge No. 105, I. O. O. F., was established in the year 1850, and has a membership of twenty-five at the present time.

The Knights of Honor have a flourishing organization, which numbers among its members many of the substantial citizens of the village.

The present bar of Calloway County is composed of the following gentlemen, viz.: G. A. C. Holt, Oscar Holt, J. G. Miller, T. P. Cook, G. G. Oury, L. C. Linn, W. F. Peterson, J. R. Schroader, James H. Coleman, W. W. Weathers, W. B. Keys and G. C. Diuguid, all residents of Murray.

The population of Murray at the present time is 1,000.

New Concord, ten miles east of the county seat, on Blood River was the nucleus of a very old settlement. The village was the outgrowth of the neighborhood's demand for a trading point, and early became a place of considerable local importance. It was incorporated as Concord in 1835, and as New Concord in 1868. It has lost much of its former prosperity, and has about 100 inhabitants at the present time. There are three business houses, one blacksmith shop, a tobacco warehouse, Masonic lodge and a Methodist Church.

Pleasant Hill, familiarly known as "Pool Town," was located prior to 1830, near the central part of the county, adjoining the plat of Murray. Charles Curd and H. D. Blanton sold goods in the village as early as 1840. The first house on the town site was erected by R. P. Pool, who keep hotel for a number of years. It was afterward used by John Saunders, who opened a house for the traveling public and such guests as saw fit to accept his hospitality. U. P. Pool operated a tannery near the village for some time. Drs. Holt, Purnell and Tetrington were early physicians. The town plat was made January, 1840, and consists of 111 lots, a public square and ten streets, five running east and west and five running north and south. The first trustees were John C. Wilcox, D. Holeman, Henry B. Bailey and Charles Linn. The village was a place of some importance, until the laying out of Murray in 1842, at which time the latter town absorbed its business interests. It is now a suburb of Murray.

Calloway Town, on the Tennessee River, was laid out at an early day. Mr. Dees was one of the first business men, and later came Isaac Wells, and Nugget & Co., who opened stores and carried on a successful shipping business. There is nothing but a landing at the present time, the town having disappeared long since.

Crossland, ten miles southwest of Murray, on the State line, named for Hon. Ed Cross-

land, dates its history from about the year 1865. It is a mere hamlet, but a very good local business point. The business of the place is represented by three business stores, two blacksmith shops, one tobacco warehouse, one cotton gin, and two physicians. The Methodists have a good church and a fair house of worship in the village.

Shiloh, in the northeastern part of the county, eight miles from Murray, is a beautiful village of about twelve years' growth, situated in the midst of a very fine agricultural region. It was named for Shiloh Church, one of the oldest Baptist societies in the county. The following is the business register of the town: one general store, one drug store, one tobacco house, one blacksmith shop, and two physicians. The Baptists and Presbyterians have good congregations, and fair temples of worship in the village.

New Providence, about eight miles southeast of Murray, is one of the oldest villages in the county. It is a flourishing little town of about one hundred inhabitants, and the principal trading point for a large neighborhood. There are two stores and one tobacco house, one blacksmith shop, three physicians and two church organizations—Methodist and Presbyterian.

Cold Water, near the Graves County line, is a village of recent growth, and dates its origin from about the year 1867 or 1868. It is situated in the midst of a fine farming district and is one of the best trading points in the county; one large dry goods store, two grocery stores, one tobacco rehandling house and one blacksmith shop represent its business interests. The Methodists have a church in the vicinity, and about a half mile off the village has one of the finest schoolhouses in the county.

Bachusburg, is situated in the northern part of the county, about fifteen miles from Murray. It sprang up shortly after the war, and received its name from a Mr. Bachus, who erected a flouring and saw-mill in the vicinity. It is a small village and supports one general store.

Newburgh, sixteen miles east of Murray, is the principal shipping point of Calloway County, on the Tennessee River. There is one large tobacco house, one general store, and one warehouse.

CHAPTER IV.

FULTON COUNTY.

FULTON County, the ninety-ninth in order of formation, is situated in the southwestern part of the Purchase, and is bounded on the north by the Mississipi River and Hickman County, on the east by Hickman County, on the south by Tennessee, and on the west by the Mississippi River, which separates it from Missouri.

The county is divided by the river into two parts—the western, known as the "Madrid Bend," being separated from the eastern by eight miles of Tennessee territory. The land consists of Mississippi bottoms, subject for twenty-five miles to periodical overflows, and uplands which are very productive. It is well situated for drainage, having no mountains, and but a small portion of hill country.

The soil generally is good, some portions being exceedingly productive. Fulton County has the best farming land in the Purchase, and needs only careful cultivation to teem with agricultural wealth. The principal productions are corn, tobacco, wheat, hay, stock and lumber. The bottoms abound with a most prolific growth of timber, consisting of the finest quality of oak, walnut, poplar, gum, ash, hickory, cottonwood and cypress.

The Mississippi, with its deep, swift current and changing bed, affords a rich allu-

C. H. Hubbard, M. D.

vial deposit to the country it overflows, as well as an outlet for the tributaries that drain the land. The Little Obion, Bayou du Chien, Mud, Rush and Dixon Creeks are the principal streams of the county. It is thought by some that prior to the forming of Reel Foot Lake, both the Bayou du Chien and the Little Obion, instead of flowing into the Mississippi, ran through Reel Foot Creek and Lake, and that the encroachments of the Father of Waters finally cut into those streams and compelled them to empty their waters directly into the main channel.

Reel Foot Lake, a renowned and favorite fishing and hunting resort, is a body of water about forty miles long, and from one to eight miles wide, and occupies a portion of the southwestern part of the county, extending also into Tennessee. Its origin is traced to the earthquake of 1811, as may be inferred from the appearance of the timber contained within it. "It was formed by sand blown out of a chasm opened by the earthquake, and deposited near the mouth of Reel Foot Creek, causing a sudden damming of its waters which spread over the adjacent low grounds, forming the lake and deadening all the timber growing along the banks of the creek. It is a great resort for all kinds of water-fowl, lizards, cotton-mouth and other snakes and mosquitoes, and is full of excellent fish." * Sportsmen in great numbers, from far and near, visit it every season.

"Earth-cracks," varying in width from ten to seventy feet, may be seen in the bluffs on the Kentucky side of the Mississippi. These cracks are bounded by parallel sides rising from one to five feet above the sunken ground between them, and have trees of considerable size growing along them to testify to their ancient origin. They are supposed to have been caused by some sudden and powerful convulsion of nature. In Missouri, near New Madrid, these cracks are still more remarkable.

In the bluffs adjoining Reel Foot Lake, as well as in other parts of the county along the river, are found divers stone implements, carved images, human bones, utensils of earthen ware, devices, etc., giving evidence of the presence of an ancient race of people.

The region of Reel Foot is subject to violent tornadoes that often do great damage to property. It is thought that some of these violent storms have their origin in the region of the lake. "One of these, which can not be traced further south, took place March 20, 1834, between 9 and 10 A. M., passing by Feliciana, on the edge of Graves County, and within four miles, destroying six or seven houses, and carrying clothing a distance, some say, of twenty miles." On Christmas day, 1875, another destructive tornado passed over the county from southwest to northeast, inflicting heavy losses of property upon people in its track. The house of Andrew Shuck was struck about 1 P. M., and completely demolished, inflicting a loss of some $2,500, and severely injuring Mr. W. M. Bacon, his son-in-law. A large trunk standing in the sitting-room was forced open, and the contents scattered far and near. A contract between two neighbors, and left in the house for safe keeping, was carried to Mayfield, and afterward returned. Bank notes, amounting to $180, were carried through fields and woods, and but half of them recovered from limbs and weeds around which they had been wrapped. One negro woman was killed by the storm.

Earthquakes along the Mississippi River are not unfrequent. Beginning about 2 o'clock in the morning of December 16, 1811, occurred one of the most remarkable of these "shakes," as the people are disposed to term them. Convulsing the whole valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, it expended a large part of its force in Fulton County, and the adjacent territory. During the remainder of the night above mentioned, some twenty-seven shocks, distinct and violent, occurred, rending the earth and thoroughly terrifying the French fishing crews that were plying their vocation along the river. These shocks continued with decreased frequency and violence up to February, 1812.

An eloquent writer, Dr. Lewis F. Linn, United States senator from Missouri, thus described it: "During the continuence of

* Collins

this apalling phenomenon, which commenced by distant rumbling sounds, succeeded by discharges as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded, the earth rocked to and fro; vast chasms opened, whence issued columns of water, sand and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam; while ever and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. The current of the Mississippi was driven back upon its source with the greatest velocity for several hours, in consequence of an elevation of of its bed. But this noble river was not thus to be stayed. Its accumulated waters come booming on and over-topping the barrier thus suddenly raised, carried everything before them with resistless power. Boats, then floating on the surface, shot down the declivity like an arrow from a bow, amid roaring billows and the wildest commotion."

Four miles southwest of Hickman is Nick Comb's Spring, from which issues a valuable chalybeate water, containing free carbonic acid and various saline matters. With the expenditure of some money upon it, this spring might be made the nucleus of a profitable health resort.

Fulton County, named in honor of the great inventor, Robert Fulton, was formed out of the southwestern part of Hickman County, in 1845. The establishing of the new county was caused by the desire of Moscow to become the county seat of Hickman instead of Clinton. The people of Clinton, and notably Judge James, were determined, at all hazards, to defeat the aspirations of Moscow, and for that purpose united with the citizens of Hickman, who were ambitious of having a county seat. Thus Fulton County, with her 184 square miles of territory, the garden spot of the Purchase, was formed. The records of the county clerk's office contain the following: "Be it remembered, that at the Tavern House of Greenbury Watson, in the town of Hickman, on Tuesday, the 1st day of April, in the year 1845, pursuant to an act of the General Assembly of Kentucky, entitled 'An act to establish the County of Fulton,' approved January 15, 1845, Robert Brown, James P. Tyler, Jesse Edmonston, Ralph McFaddin, Shedrick Boaz, Asa W. Clark, Hugh B. French and Thomas M. Smith, severally produced commissions from his excellency, the governor of this commonwealth, appointing them justices of the peace in and for Fulton County, and Thomas James a justice of the peace for Hickman County, having administered to said Brown, *et al.*, all the oaths required by law to be taken by justices of the peace, a county court was begun and held for the said county of Fulton."

The first court was held in the southeast corner of the building owned by the Planters' Bank, of Tennessee, which stood on the site now occupied by Gardner's furniture store. The first transaction recorded is the transfer of 160 acres of land, being the northwest quarter of Section 18, Town 1, Range 5 west, by Goodrich and others to Greenbury Watson, dated February 13, 1845, the consideration being $500. The first mortgage, dated March, 1845, was made by Bruce M. Hughes to Matthew Watson, and transferred 160 acres of land in county, and one town lot in Hickman, the consideration being $2,000.

Sheriffs.—The first man to hold this important trust was Jacob White, whose commission bore date of January 30, 1845. Objection to his qualifying was raised by Lewis Scearce, but was overruled by the court. His oath embraced loyalty to the United States and to Kentucky, and to refrain from dueling. His first bond was fixed at $3,000, and the second at $2,000. He was succeeded in regular order by Robert Brown, James P. Tyler, R. C. Prather, B. F. Easley, Shedrick Boaz, Thomas E. Reed, who filled Boaz's unexpired time, William Heron, R. E. Millet, William H. Roper, John F. Tyler, B. R. Walker, W. C. Johnson and W. A. Shuck, the present efficient incumbent.

County Clerks.—The first county clerk was L. D. Stephens, chosen *pro tem.*, April 1, 1845, with bond of $10,000. Following him were Dick Givens, J. W. Gibson, George S. Morris, John T. Trent, John A. Wilson, A.

M. DeBow and W. P. Taylor, present incumbent.

Circuit Clerks.—Dickson Givens, 1845-51; B. G. Dudley, one term of court; L. D. Stephens, 1851-54; George S. Morris, 1854-60; John C. Gardner, 1860-62; W. A Brevard, 1862-70; J. T. Bynum, 1870-75; T. M. French, 1875, the present incumbent.

County Surveyors.—A. S. Tyler, Thomas W. McMurray, A. E. Brevard and W. A. McConnell.

Coroners.—Robert Powell held a commission from the governor, dated April 1, 1845. Succeeding him were Natham Scearce, H. C. Bailey, Thaddeus W. Thomas, Julian Nail, M. L. McJilton and Peter George. The last qualified in 1874. Others have been elected, but, owing to the failure of the office to pay for the trouble involved, have not taken the oath of office.

County Judges.—Prior to the adoption of the present constitution, the senior magistrate of the county, with his associates, constituted the court. Under the present constitution Lewis Scearce was first judge, and held his position till 1854, when he was succeeded by Josiah Parker, who served without interruption till 1862, and again from September, 1866, to his death in August, 1867. His death occurred Friday morning, August 23, 1867, he being 55 years of age. Concerning him the Hickman *Courier* of the following day said: "Judge Parker was one of the best men that ever breathed the breath of life. Possessed of all those rare qualities of heart which of necessity win the love of his fellow men, he used it throughout life in the worthy pride of doing good. We doubt if the deceased ever performed an act through selfish considerations. His conduct to all was kind, disinterested, affectionate, generous, charitable, Christian-like."

During the period of the war not filled by Judge Parker, magistrates held court. In October, 1867, B. R. Walker began and held till September, 1870; John W. Wingate, 1870-74; J. H. Montgomery, 1874-78; H. C. Bailey, 1878-82; R. S. Murrell, present incumbent, began his labors in 1882.

Jailers.—John Betts, Julian Nail, George W. Stubblefield,* W. D. Taylor, R. F. Thomasson and T. V. Wallace, the present incumbent, have discharged the duties of the office in succession since 1870.

County School Commissioners.—The duties of this important educational office were begun by A. D. Kingman in 1847, and continued till 1854. During this period the organization of public schools was pushed by him vigorously against a spirited opposition. At first only three schools existed in the county, but the number has gradually increased until every boy and girl with aspirations for a rudimentary education may have their laudable desires gratified. The people have never refused to vote in favor of school tax, a just compliment to the founder of the public school system, and an index to the future prosperity of the people of the county. The work so grandly inaugurated by Judge Kingman was afterward pushed forward by W. S. McConnell, William Owens, Jr., Dr. J. B. Nichols, A. S. Tyler, R. T. Tyler, B. C. Caldwell, and A. D. Kingman a second time from 1881 to 1884. In 1884, the law having been changed, a county superintendent was chosen by the people. J. H. Saunders has the honor to fill the office at present.

County Attorneys.—This office has been honored by such men as E. I. Bullock, 1845-51; A. D. Kingman, 1851-58; W. M. McConnell, 1858-60; J. F. Gardner, 1860-62; George C. Hallet, 1862-64; C. P. Buck, 1864-66; J. H. Roulhac, 1866, only a short time when he removed from the county; H. A. Tyler, 1866-70; T. O. Goalder, 1870-73; George P. Prather, 1873-78; A. D. Kingman, 1878-85, being the present incumbent.

Senators.—Henry A. Tyler, 1869-71, 1875-79.

Representatives.—Winfrey B. McConnell, 1848-49; Guy S. Miles, 1867-69; B. R. Walker, 1873-75; Henry S. Campbell, 1877-78; J. R. Luten, 1881-82.

*Concerning Mr. Stubblefield a little incident is related. A prisoner under his charge seemed to have a pistol in his possession. Drawing it upon the jailer, he compelled his own release, and escaped. This being noised abroad, the court asked the jailer the next morning to bring in his prisoner for trial, when Mr. Stubblefield said: "God bless you, judge, the prisoner has done escaped."

At the May term of court, 1845, the site of the present court house was selected, and the sum of $4,000 authorized to be expended in the erection of a suitable building. The structure, a two-story brick, was not raised, however, till 1847–48. The location of the court house can not be excelled for picturesque beauty. The yard is thoroughly supplied with rich shade, and the outlook along and across the majestic Mississippi is perfectly enchanting.

The first jail, a double log structure, was erected and received in 1846. It was torn down and replaced by a second in 1860. Falling down, it was supplanted by the third and present brick structure in 1872, at a cost of several thousand dollars.

To the credit of Fulton County, be it said, no necessity has existed for the purchase of a poor farm or the erection of a house for the indigent. The public pauper is unknown; should such necessity arise, the generosity of the county will readily supply the requisite buildings.

The first permanent settlement of the county was undoubtly made at Hickman, then called Mills' Point, in 1819, by Mr. Mills. Daniel Baldredge, was born on a boat at Mills' Point (Rev. Willis White says, near Cayce) about the same time, and is supposed to have been the first child born in this county. He subsequently lived on Mud Creek, from which place he removed to Arkansas about 1882.

Between the time of the settlement of Mills' Point (1819) and 1830, quite a number of families located in various parts of the county. In 1824, the following families were settled: Robert and Samuel McKinney lived on the Bayou du Chien, about twelve miles from Hickman; A. M. Rush lived on Rush Creek, named after him, between Hickman and Moscow, near where Parson Finley Bynum now resides; in the vicinity of Cayce Station lived John Meneese, Ben Meneese, Hugh Sparkman, and a man named Drummond. One night, the last three called at the house of William Bailey with the view of plundering him. He endeavored to have them depart in peace, as did also the wife. Failing is his purpose, he shot with a rifle and sent a ball through the body of Ben Meneese, killing him. Bailey gave himself up to the nearest magistrate, Dempsey White, father of Rev. Willis White, who was then a new resident of the county. No conviction followed, Bailey having acted in self-defense. White ordered the arrest of the gang. Sparkman was afterward sent to the penitentiary.

Silas Clark, now of Hickman, lived at Wesley; Abraham Farmer lived on the old Murchison place, about five miles from Water Valley; near him lived Seburn Wheeler and Ben Hamby; near Jordon Station lived Parson Reuben Owen, a Baptist preacher, Mr. Creed and John Huffman.

In about 1824, Duncan Campbell, Martin Oliver, Jerry Mitchel, William Bynum, the father of Rev. Finley Bynum, and others, settled in the neighborhood of Cayce. David Browder was also one of the pioneers of the county.

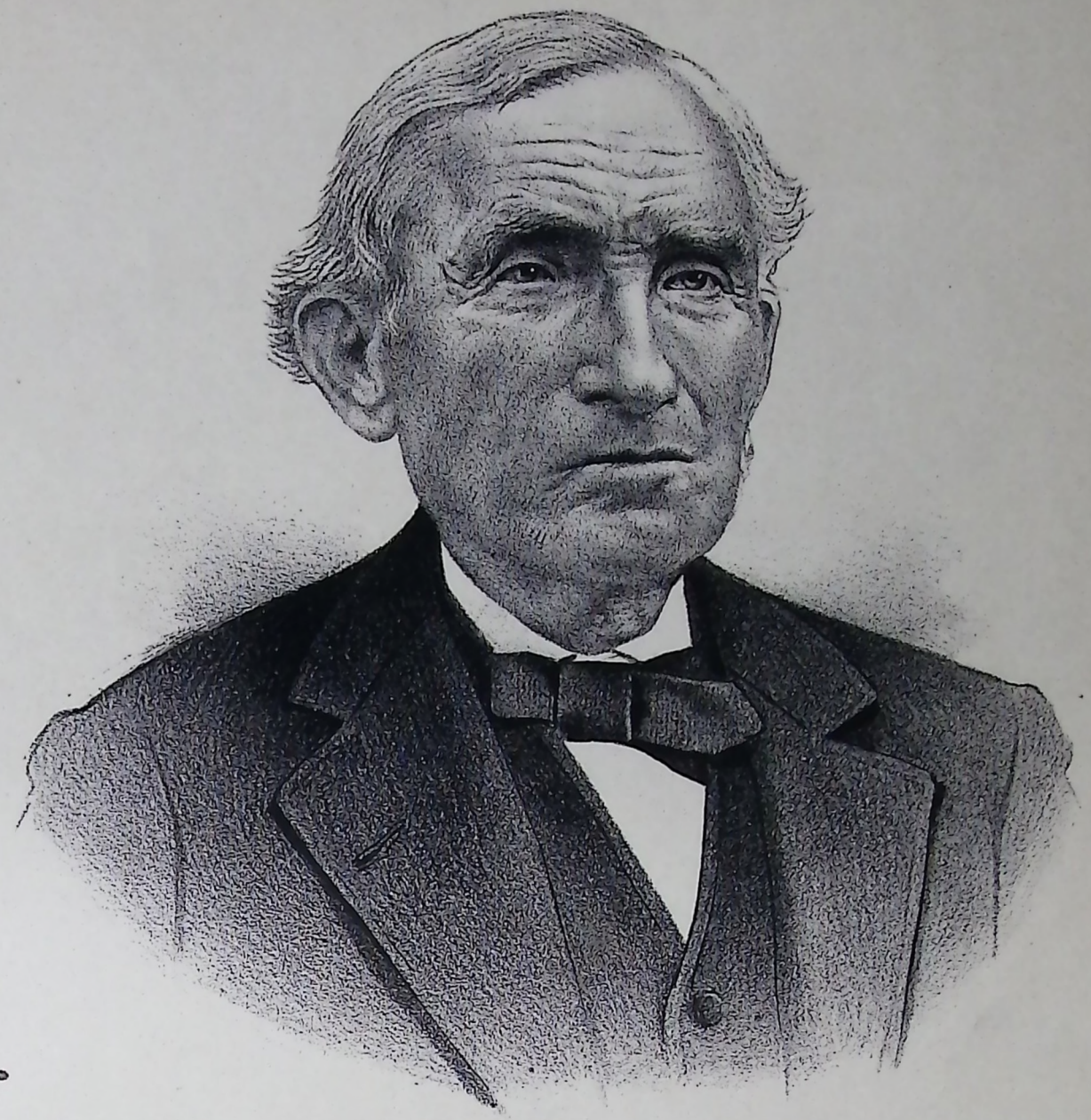
In 1825, Bill Conley came to the county and entered 320 acres of land near what is now Matson's Switch, at $1 per acre. With him was Mary J. Conley, now known as Aunt Polly Hoffman, who has lived in the county continuously ever since, practicing midwifery. Her first case was that of Mrs. James Alexander, now living in Missouri. This occured in 1828. Since that time she has been present at over 2,300 births.

Of those living in the county when Aunt Polly arrived (1825) Bluford and Wilford Gore, now residing near Cayce, are said to be the only representatives. In 1827, Isaac Barnett, now living five miles south of Hickman, came from Trigg County. About the same time came from Henry County, Ky., Andrew Shuck, still living on his farm some two or three miles from Matson's Switch, the oldest man in the county, being in his eighty-seventh year.

Other old settlers were: Simeon Ramey, Robert Tyler, Mr. Maddox, Billy Morris, Samuel Lamar, Billy Lamar, Mr. Weston, Samuel Hodges, Cornelius Grider, Henry A. Bush and others.

Game was exceedingly abundant, embracing bears, deer, wolves, panthers, foxes, raccoons

HENRY T. NORMAN.



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and squirrels. Panthers and black wolves killed hogs,thus compelling the closest guard ing of these animals. One day, in 1826, a colored woman, named Tilda Dooms, was down at a branch washing when she was attacked by a huge panther. Her screams attracted the attention of her husband, who came to her rescue with a large knife in his hand. He finally rescued his wife, but in the contest with the fierce animal received on his breast wounds which he bore to the day of his death.

Billy Morris, in 1825, taught the first school about a mile from Matson's Switch. He was a poor man, and his wife, to help establish a home, dug the well at their house, which stood where Luther Maddox now lives. John Pryne was the next to teach, near the present Sylvan Shade Seminary in what is known as Simmon's school house. Other teachers were Willis White (who performed pedagogical duties all told three weeks), George Fair, Finley Bynum, Mr. Singleterry, etc.

Some of the early Missionary Baptist preachers, resident and itinerant, were: Reuben Owen, J. P. Edwards, who built Poplar Grove Church, George White and Samuel Crider, who came over from Tennessee. The Regular or Hardside Baptists were represented by Fleming Cayce, Wesley Bowden, John Starks, Silas Cavender, Abram Cook, Conyer and McGowan. Methodists—Joshua Cole, Peter Sullivan, William Holifield, Finley Bynum. Cumberland Presbyterians—Collins Bradley, Dr. Bard, Hill, William Barnett and John Barnett.

The first society of the Methodist Church was organized, about 1825, at Martin Oliver's, about two miles east of Cayce Station. It is now called Ebenezer Church. The first church by the Missionary Baptists was the Poplar Grove Church, organized probably in 1828-29. Its organization has been continued to the present time. Another was established a little later near Reuben Owens', three miles south of Cayce Station; the first Hardside Baptist Church in the county, and by Aunt Polly Hoffman, said to be the first of any kind, was organized in 1826, on Mud Creek, and consisted of Elijah Creed, Mary J. Creed, Jesse Faley, Patsey Dunn and old Mr. Revel. Meetings were first held at Elijah Creed's. The Presbyterians organized about the same date at Mr. Samuel Hodge's. Worship is now conducted at Union Church, three miles east of Hodge's.

The census of 1880 gives Fulton County a total population of 7,977. The assessor's returns for 1883 show: Total number of acres in county, 104,358; valued at $975,100. Corn produced 498,600 bushels; wheat produced 91,465 bushels; hay produced 3,030 tons; tobacco produced 856,440 pounds. Mules 1,052, valued at $79,670; horses 1,630, valued at $102,955; sheep 2,210, valued at $4,565; hogs 7,520, valued at $17,445; cattle 2,531, valued at $21,000. Number of stores 87; pleasure carriages valued at $15,270; watches valued at $15,355.

In the presidential election of 1884, the vote stood: Cleveland, 987; Blaine, 307; St. John, 20.

The records show that Fulton County has been liberal in making appropriations for locating public roads and building suitable bridges. These have, in many cases, been kept in condition at heavy expense.

In 1853, the Hickman & Obion Railroad was projected, a charter secured in 1854, and the road completed in 1858 from Hickman to Union City. In 1856 the Nashville & North-Western road obtained possession of it, and changed its name about 1869-70 to the Nashville, Chattanooga & St Louis Railroad.

The Mobile & Ohio Railroad, passing through the county from north to south, was built about 1856.

The Southern Divison of the Illinois Central, passing through the eastern portion of the county and giving such superior transportation facilities between the North and the South, was built in 1873-74 from Jackson to Cairo, as the extension of the Mississippi Central Railroad.

The Chesapeake, Ohio and South-Western Railroad passes through the southeastern corner of the county, and was graded about 1860, reaching the town of Fulton in 1861.

It forms an important link in Huntington's Trans-Continental line.

Fulton County was, during the late Civil war, the scene of military activity by both the Confederates and Federals. In addition to the operations of the regular troops of the great armies, hordes of guerrillas swept over the country, destroying life and property indiscriminately.

The Confederate cause was represented by several organizations that did heroic service on many fields. Among these organizations the following are mentioned: The Alexander Guards, commanded by Capt. Edward Crossland, went to Virginia and participated in the first battle of Bull Run in 1861. Capt. John A. Lauderdale organized a company which went to Tennessee and joined the Fifth Tennessee Cavalry. He afterward became a Major and was assigned to the Quartermaster's department. Capt. Henry Campbell raised a company which went to Columbus, Ky., joined the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, and was subsequently mounted to operate with Forrest's Cavalry. Capt. Henry A. Tyler recruited a company that fought with Forrest's command through the war. Last but not least was a company of Home Militia organized in 1861 by Capt. Thomas R. McMahon to protect Hickman against the encroachments of the Federal gunboats. A Confederate flag floating from the banks of the river was supposed to be likely to provoke an attack from the gunboats passing up the river. McMahon's brave guards, armed with rifles, flint-lock muskets, pitchforks, battle axes, spears, spades and other hostile weapons, were ready to protect their flag or shed their last drop of blood, when lo! the boats steamed by without so much as even noticing the defiant banner supported by its valiant defenders.

The Union cause had few representatives in the county. If soldiers enlisted elsewhere no record of the same has been preserved, except in the Adjutant-General's report of the State and in the single case of Joseph Dougal, who served valiantly to preserve the National Union. His name deserves special mention.

Hickman, the county seat, is situated on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, thirty-eight miles below its confluence with the Ohio, at Cairo, 200 feet above low-water level. It consists of three divisions: West Hickman, East Hickman and Hickman. The main residence portion is high on the bluff, and is reached by a series of steps, the business part being found along the river front. "Prior to 1834," says Rev. Willis White, "the site where Hickman now stands was called Mills' Point, in honor of Mr. Mills, who settled there in 1819. The writer visited the place in the fall of 1824, and there was but one house in it. It stood near the Millet corner, and was occupied by John Doons, whose father Jake Doons lived about two miles on the bluff above Hickman near where the railroad now ascends the bluff. The river was about one half mile from the cabin where John Doons lived. The site on which Hickman stands was covered by a military survey, known and recognized as good. This was not questioned for several years after the first settlement of this country. Mr. G. W. L. Marr, who lived (it is said) in the Madrid Bend, and was quite a shrewd man, especially in land matters, became satisfied that the military title was not good; therefore, he entered the land as State land and then tested the military title by a suit of ejectment, and succeeded in getting possession of the land after a long and expensive lawsuit. The land in dispute embraced 3,000 or 4,000 acres, including the site whereon the town now stands."

The town of Hickman was laid out by A. S. Tyler, and by Mr. Marr called Hickman, in honor of his wife's maiden name. In 1837, the town was incorporated by an act of the legislature. Mr. Marr held his lots at high rates, and thus checked the growth of the new town. Several years later, he sold his possessions in and around Hickman to Samuel Wilson, which gave a new impetus to the village.

The first business house in the town is said to have been built by McIntosh and Drabblebreast about 1835, and was situated where the Hickman Lumber Manufacturing

building now stands. By some it is said that the first store was kept by Robert White, in a hewed log house. Aunt Polly Hoffman says, however, that a Mr. Green, who clandestinely married a daughter of Jacob Doons, kept a grocery store at an earlier date.

The first mayor under the new charter was Jesse Edmonson. Present mayor, John W. Cowgill, and present council, John Witting, B. Moore, B. C. Ramage, T. M. French, E. Case and H. C. Beck; R. E. Millet, clerk.

The first church edifice was erected about 1840, and was a frame building 20x40, used for school purposes also. It stood on the ground now occupied by C. L. Randle's residence.

The Baptists organized a church May 15, 1846, by John B. Rose, L. D. Stephens, Paul S. Jones, W. C. Drury, their wives and others. Rev. George White and Samuel J. Crider were the evangelists. Rev. Willis White, now living at Clinton, Ky., was the first pastor, and W. C. Drury the first clerk. The first edifice, a brick one, 38x52, was built in 1856, at a cost of $3,600, but was destroyed by fire January 27, 1879. Rebuilding began at once, and has continued to the present time, involving an expense of $1,700. The membership at present is some thirty-six, with E. Case, deacon, and Mrs. Lizzie Ellison, clerk.

The Methodist Church South was organized in 1846 by Gideon G. Bransford, circuit rider, and Jesse Edmonson, J. W. Edmonston, Robert Powell and others as charter members. The first meetings were held in the schoolhouse. The first edifice, a frame, was erected in 1848 by Jesse Edmonson, contractor, at an expense of $2,800. It was torn down in 1882, and replaced by the present brick structure, at a cost of $3,000. Present membership, 174, under the pastoral charge of Rev. W. G. Hopley.

The Episcopal Church was organized in 1843 by Rev. N. N. Cowgill, rector, and Mrs. Sarah Heron, Mrs. Susan Atwood, William Harper as charter members. The first house was a frame. It was torn down after the war, and the present brick structure was erected in 1872–73 at a cost of $3,500. The membership at present is thirty-five, and is under the charge of Rev. C. L. Pindar, rector. Rev. Cowgill died in 1876, and was buried under the chancel.

The Catholic Church was organized about 1850, and the house of worship built in 1856 at a cost of $1,500.

For years a Christian Church existed, but the property becoming involved in debt during the war, the organization was finally suspended, which is the present condition. Several colored churches are found in the outskirts of the town.

The *Commercial Herald*, neutral in politics, and the first newspaper in Hickman, was established May 6, 1841. It was published by Smith & Talbott, and edited by Mr. Dutemosier. After an existence of several years it suspended, and was succeeded by *The Hunter of Kentucky*, a Democratic sheet, managed by F. T. Keisacker. After a time, he was succeeded by J. W. Wingate in the control of the paper. In 1845 the *Commercial Herald* was revived, and the *Hunter of Kentucky* merged into it under the management and editorship of H. O. Beatty and J. W. Wingate. In 1846 the Herald was sold to Jesse Leigh, and the *Commercial Standard* (Democratic) established by him. In 1848, *The News Letter* (Independent), under the firm of Bullock, Kingman, Wingate & Washburne, made its appearance. The *Standard* suspended shortly after the appearance of the *News Letter*. In 1850 the *Argus* (Democratic) was published by C. W. Hutchins. The offices of the *News Letter* and the *Argus* were purchased by a Mr. Ford. The publication of the latter paper, under different managements, continued until 1860, when the office was destroyed by fire.

In 1854 *The Times*, Whig in politics, was established by Thad. W. Thomas, and after passing through one or two changes, suspended in 1858.

In 1860 *The Courier*, under the firm of Ed. K. Warren, George Warren & Tim Willis, begun its career. Its life was short, the office being destroyed by fire in 1861. George Warren purchased an office and re-

sumed the publication but, in a short time, was forced to suspend on account of the civil war. In 1865 he resumed the publication a second time, and is its present publisher and editor.

Hickman has always been disposed to foster both private and public schools. The present public school building is a frame structure, one story in height, 20x120 feet, and was erected, about 1870, at a cost of $1,500. The board of trustees consists of B. 'C. Caldwell, H. C. Beckman, and S. W. Lauderdale. The Hickman High School, under the control of Prof. B. C. Caldwell, continues during ten months of the year, and has an average enrollment of about sixty pupils of both sexes. It gives a good training in the higher branches.

The first postoffice was known as Mills' Point. The change was made with the change of the name of the village. The successive postmasters were H. A. Bush, James Gilson, Dr. H. C. Catlett, A. M. Ellison, W. G. Payne, J. H. Davis, H. H. Hardin, E. Case and J. T. Stephens, the present incumbent.

Owing to the absence of a bank in the town, the money-order business is very heavy. The records for 1884 show as follows:

Number of orders issued	$2,679
Value of " "	$66,276.56
Commissions on same	$425.68

The village has, at present, a population of about 2,000, although the census of 1880, owing to a mistake in the returns, indicates only about 1,200. There are three hotels, four dry goods stores, four drug stores, eight grocery stores, two hardware stores, one book store, two millinery stores, two barber shops, one bakery, two saloons, one livery stable, one marble yard, four saw-mills, one box factory, one plow and wagon factory, one pump factory, one flouring-mill, three meat markets, three fisheries and a lodge each of I. O. O. F., K. of H., Royal Templars of Temperance, four physicians and four lawyers.

Hickman is specially noted for its manufacturing facilities and enterprise. Hickman Lumber & Manufacturing Company, R. T. Tyler, president, and W. C. Johnson, secretary and treasurer, was organized in 1880; engaged in handling rough lumber and making rough boxes; employs fifty hands regularly; consumes 2,000,000 feet of lumber annually, in making boxes, netting about $35,000, and ships 6,000,000 feet annually, mainly to the northwest. Tributary to Hickman are eighteen saw-mills cutting an average of 12,000 feet per day, or about 40,000,000 feet annually.

Hickman Wagon Manufacturing Company, consisting of Hertwick, Baltzer and H. A. Tyler, was organized in 1858, now employs eighty-five men, and manufactured, during 1884, 2,500 wagons, which were sold mainly in the southern States.

Hickman Pump Factory, A. P. Smith, superintendent, has a capacity for making 300 pumps daily. The trade of 1884 was 8,000 wooden pumps. A general business is also done in making flooring, ceiling and weather-boarding material.

The fish trade has become an important industry of the place, representing in its shipments about seven-eighths of the express business of the station. Below are given a few statistics of the trade of several dealers during the year from July 1883 to July 1884:

		lbs.	
R. M. Metheney,	Shipped	240,352	
	Home Sales	10,000	
	Total		250,352
J. C. Burdick,	Shipped	232,160	
	Home trade	51,485	
	Total		283,645
F. E. Case,	Shipped	102,000	
	Home trade	31,000	
	Total		133 000
N. Powell,	Shipped	114,960	
	Home trade	27,350	
	Total		142,310

Yellow fever prevailed with great malignancy along the Mississippi, in 1878, from its mouth to its union with the Ohio at Cairo. Hickman was severely attacked, the first cases, Charley and Louisa Hendricks, occurring August 12th. Both died four days later. The epidemic continued to rage dur-

ing the remainder of August, through September and October to November 3d, with these results:

Total number of cases among whites	262
Total number of deaths among whites	132
Total number of cases among blacks	200
Total number of deaths among blacks	18
Percentage of deaths among whites	50
Percentage of deaths among blacks	9

Dr. Luke P. Blackburn, afterward governor of the state, came to the village and rendered heroic service in caring for the sick. Other physicians likewise came from abroad and labored with Samaritan spirit in ministering to the afflicted. Of the home physicians all died excepting Dr. A. A. Faris, who is still living in Hickman and practicing his profession. Capt. H. A. Tyler, E. Case and others remained in town throughout the dark days and ministered to the wants of the sick and dying.

About 1833 the cholera visited Hickman, resulting in some seventeen or eighteen deaths. About 1854 another epidemic, supposed by some to have been milk sickness, swept away quite a number of its citizens.

Fires have not been strangers to the town. In April 1861, December 14, 1872, and in September and November, 1884, conflagrations swept over the lower parts of the town, destroying untold thousands of dollars of valuable business, residence and manufacturing structures. About 3 o'clock P. M. of August 7, 1882, one of the boilers of the Gold Dust, a fine vessel of the Anchor Line, exploded and sank the boat about a mile above Hickman. The loss in killed, wounded and missing was upward of forty. The unfortunate victims were cared for by the hospitable people of the town.

Fulton is the second town in size and importance in the county.* The land upon which it is built was owned by B. F. Carr and Dr. G. W. Pascall, when the first survey for the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Road was made in 1850. The first house, a box dry-goods store, was built in 1861 by W. F. Wooldridge. F. M. Thomas built the first house on the Tennessee side, in January, 1861. The town was incorporated in 1872, and the following men were elected members of the first council: A. D. Collins, Dr. G. W. Pascall, T. C. Parker, John A. Wyatt, and R. M. Bullock.

The business interests are in good condition, being represented by two railroads, Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern, and the southern division of the Illinois Central; one bank, with stock of $50,000; one tobacco factory; one distillery; two wholesale saddlery establishments; two flouring-mills, with capacity of 100 to 200 barrels per day; two furniture factories; three planing-mills; one wagon factory; two cotton gins; one buggy factory; three saw-mills; one foundry and machine shop; ten dry goods stores; fifteen grocery stores; two hardware stores; one bakery; four hotels; three restaurants; five drug stores; one boot and shoe store; five barber shops; two butcher shops; one book store; two tinshops; two billiard halls; four furniture stores; one jewelry store; four milliners; one opera house; ten physicians; three brick yards; four blacksmiths; one photographer; three attorneys; two dentists; one lodge each of K. H. F. & A. M., and I. O. O. F.

The *Fultonian*, four-page, eight-column weekly paper, with more than average circulation, was established in 1879 by C. N. Walker. In March, 1882, it passed under the management of its present owner and editor, Alex N. Taylor, by whom it has been pushed to its present popular standing. It is Democratic in politics.

Baptist *Gleaner*, an eight-page monthly, was established in 1880, by Hall & Moody. It has a circulation of probably 5,000 and is Baptist in tendency.

There are five churches, viz.: Methodist Episcopal South, organized in 1873; it has a house costing about $2,000 and a membership of 160; Presbyterian, organized about 1882; it has a brick house costing about $1,500; Episcopalian, organized about 1879–80, with a frame house, costing about $1,500; Christian, organized about 1874, with brick house costing $3,600; Baptist, organized in 1874, with a brick house costing probably $2,000.

*It is proper to state, perhaps, that Fulton is partly in Kentucky and partly in Tennessee, nearly equally divided by the State line.

The schools of the place are said to be in good condition, and embrace one free school with three teachers, a female school and two mixed (white) schools. At present there is in process of erection a fine structure known as the Carr Institute and named in honor of Frank Carr, deceased. The building will cost about $11,000. The board of trustees consists of representative men as follows: A. B. Whayne, president; J. W. Boyd, secretary; E. B. Eddings, treasurer; William H. Beasley, J. E. Morris, J. N. Smoot, A. A. Haynes, A. J. Kirkland and J. M. Harpool. The beautiful site for the institute was donated by William Carr, of Fulton. The postoffice was established in 1862, the commission of F. M. Thomas, the first postmaster, bearing date November 15, 1862, and signed by Montgomery Blair, postmaster-general. After eighteen months Mr. Thomas was succeeded by E. B. Eddings. Since his time, Andrew Hall, W. F. Faygan and J. F. Hall, the present incumbent, have served.

Fulton has had but one mayor, Ed. Starks, the present incumbent, who has served from the time of incorporation. The present council consists of A. A. Haynes, E. B. Eddings, W. W. Meadows, J. M. Anderson, H. D. Murphy and J. T. Stubblefield. The population of the Kentucky and Tennessee divisions is about 1,500.

Jordan Station is a thriving little village on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad.

CHAPTER V.

GRAVES COUNTY.

GRAVES is the largest county of Kentucky west of the Tennessee River, and occupies the central part of the Purchase District, with the following boundaries: McCracken County on the north, Marshall and Calloway Counties on the east, Tennessee on the south, and the counties of Hickman and Ballard on the west. It is thirty miles long from north to south, eighteen miles from east to west, and embraces a geographical area of 540 square miles, or a fraction over fifteen full congressional townships.

Mayfield Creek is the largest and most important water-course. It rises in Calloway County and enters Graves in District No. 9; flows in a northwesterly course and crosses the northern boundary of the county from Section 6, Town 5 north, Range 1 east. The stream took its name from a Mr. Mayfield, one of the first settlers of the Purchase, who was drowned in its waters about the year 1820.

Little Obion Creek rises in Cuba District and flows in a northwesterly direction through Rozell's precinct into Hickman County. Clark's River flows through the northeast corner of the county in a northwesterly direction and forms the dividing line between Symsonia and Housman's districts. Brush Creek, Little Mayfield and Barn Creeks all rise near the central part of the county and flow in a westerly course. Blakeman, Terrapin and Knob Creeks are small streams in the southern part.

Graves County is marked by no striking topographical features, the general surface being slightly undulating, with a few ridges and hills in the northern and southern portions. The forest growth consists of the different varieties of oak, hickory and sassafras on what is known as the "barren" lands, while white oak, poplar, sweet gum, shag and white hickory, black and winged elm, laurel oak and a dense undergrowth of small bushes, vines, etc., are found skirting the water-courses. Fifty years ago the greater part of the county was almost entirely devoid of timber, the face of the country

being covered with a tall grass in which but few shrubs of any kind were to be seen, except along the streams. Cultivation has wrought marked changes since the land has been settled, and what appeared to the early residents a dead expanse of prairie is now mostly thrifty farms. The transformation has been brought about, not by physical changes alone, but by the natural effects of the farmer's occupation. In the timber, the change has been still more marked. The forest growth of hickory, oak, underbrush, etc., by which the uncultivated portions of the uplands are now covered, did not exist forty years ago. Then the timber, save along the streams, was marked only by a few scattered bushes and small trees, preserved by favored localities from the annual fires which swept over the country. The county is supplied with sufficient timber for fuel and other purposes, and while much of it is small or of a scrubby character, it has increased in quantity since the fires have ceased to run, and is rapidly growing into timber valuable for manufacturing purposes.

Graves is pre-eminently an agricultural county, and although the soil is not so well adapted for general farming as some portions of the Purchase district, yet for the cultivation of the tobacco plant it is unsurpassed by any other county in the State. The crop of this staple in 1880 was 8,901,434 pounds, which, by the census of that year, shows Graves to have been the second largest tobacco-producing county in the State—Christian County alone outranking it. In 1883 there were raised 6,553,475 pounds, a slight falling-off from the two previous years. In 1884 was the largest acreage ever planted in the county, and the crop for that year is estimated at not less than 12,000,000 pounds.

The principal products, aside from tobacco, are wheat, oats, rye, corn and the usual varieties of fruits and vegetables common to this latitude. But few attempts have been made to enrich the soil with commercial fertilizers, but where such have been made, very encouraging results have followed. The greater part of the county is found to grow clover successfully, and some are turning it under to give strength to a naturally weak soil, although these attempts can hardly be said to be expended in a systematic way by the farmers in general.

Maj. Benjamin Graves, in honor of whom this county received its name, was a native of Virginia, and emigrated to Kentucky when quite young. He resided in Fayette County and was engaged in agricultural pursuits. He was an amiable, shrewd and intelligent man, and represented Fayette County for several years in the legislature of the State. In 1812, when war was declared by the United States against Great Britain, he was among the first to volunteer his services in defense of his country's rights. He received the appointment of major in Col. Lewis' regiment, and proved himself an active, vigilant and gallant officer. He was killed in the ever memorable battle of Raisin, where his blood mingled with much of the best blood of Kentucky.*

The first settlements within the present limits of Graves were made a few years before the county was created. Michael Eaker and William Armstrong located on Terrapin Creek, in what is now Lynnville Precinct, about 1820, and are supposed to have been the first permanent settlers in the southern part of the county. They moved here from Trigg County, and were both members of the first justice's court. Mr. Eaker died in 1858. His son, Hon. John Eaker, came with his father to the Purchase, and was an honored citizen of the county until his death, which occurred at Mayfield, April 14, 1885. Another son, Dr. Eaker, was one of the earliest physicians of Calloway County, where he still resides.

Among the few settlers who came to the Purchase in 1820 was the Washam family, consisting of Peyton Washam, wife and eight children. The father and one son, Peter Washam, now a resident of Marshall County, came in the spring of 1820 to the banks of Panther Creek, in the eastern part of the county, leaving the family at their home near Princeton, their object being to

* Collins.

erect a cabin and plant a small crop. The following incident is given illustrative of frontier life at that time. While Peyton Washam, with his son, Peter, and another man, whose name could not be learned, were thus forming the nucleus of a new settlement, their stock of provisions became exhausted, and before their expected supply could reach them, they were compelled to subsist for six days on boiled corn, making a levy each day on the single half-bushel which had been reserved for seed. Peyton Washam did not live to see his family installed in their new home. He suddenly fell a victim to disease, and sent for his wife, who came with true wifely devotion to minister to his wants. Arriving in the vicinity late at night, she became lost in the cane-brakes, with which the country at that time abounded, and was compelled to remain at the base of an old tree until morning. We can only imagine her sorrow, when, on arriving at her destination, she found that her husband had passed beyond the reach of human aid, having died during the night. Mrs. Washam died in Graves County about the year 1825.

In Lynnville Precinct, near the State line, was an early settlement, and among those living there in 1822 were Col. J. C. Dodge and his son, Ulysses Dodge. Campbell Duncan came a little later, and cotemporary with him was Moses Oliver, who afterward moved to Hickman County. John and James Boyd were early comers to the Eaker settlement, and about the same time John Cook located near the present site of Boydsville, where he opened one of the first stores in the county. Others who settled in the southern part of the county from time to time were Elijah Bennett, Benjamin McGee, Benjamin and David Lewellin; John Adair, whose widow still resides on the home place; Capt. Samuel Story, a prominent citizen and leading business man; Joel Grammer, one of the first teachers; Dr. John Parkhill, an early physician; John Kelso, David Shultz, Henry Wheeler, James Andrus, John Lawrence; W. A. Bowden, a minister of the Baptist Church; Charles E. Hay, George Boozer; John and Jacob McEwan, who settled the land on which the village of Lynnville is situated; Thomas and Robert Binford and Joab Lassiter.

Later came Amos Chambers, Asel Jetton, Chesterfield Wilkins, John Clapp, Alfred Loyd, Mr. Guthrie, John Wilford, the Steele family, the Wade family, Wade Barton, Jesse Davidson, Samuel Hyatt, Littleberry Starks, the Gore family, William Brush, John Parks, Mr. White and Isaac Gray, the most of whom became residents of what is now Lynnville District. The Feliciana settlement, in the southwestern part of the county, was located in an early day, and among the first residents there were George Pirtle, Bryant Boone (father of Judge A. R. Boone, of Mayfield), Dr. Jonathan Wyatt, Obadiah Morse and sons (Nathaniel M., Thomas L., Samuel F.; Marcus and Ebenezer Morse), Dr. R. D. Lockridge, Hardy Jackson, James Duprew, James Reed, Henry Scofield, or, as he was commonly known, "Hurricane" Scofield, John Starks, Silas Cavender and Fleming Cayce (early Baptist preachers), John Frost, Jonathan Frost, Thomas Binford, John Fanville, John Roberts and others.

The earliest settlers in Mayfield and Mayfield District were John Anderson, Crawford Anderson, William Anderson, Ervin Anderson, John Cunningham, Col. R. L. Mayes, Jonathan Pryor, Oliver Perry, David Orr, James Dunbar, William Yandell, Joshua Shelton, Mr. Stephens, Arthur Jenkins, the Leach family, Henry Williams, Matthew Travis, John Galloway, William Fleming, Henry Coulter, Riley Anderson, Benjamin Stokes, Mr. Dodson, John Gardner, Joshua Gough, Joseph Hamilton, William Edwards, Bluford Gore and others.

Among the early comers to the northwestern part of the county were Samuel Mahan, the Fulgham family, Joab Keelan, Samuel Willett, John Peoples, Harvey Stephens, A. A. Atkinson, Zedekiah Adams and his sons "Jerry" and Benjamin.

Ezekiel Edens was one of the first pioneers in that part of the county known as Symsonia District, and after him came a number of families and located in various parts of the

county. The following settlers located in what is known as Wingo District in an early day: Fletcher Sullivan, William Hibbs, Levi Calvert and father, Thomas Copeland, Joshua Copeland, William Holifield, Jonathan Pryor near Pryorsburg Village, Thomas Watson, William Green and son Hezekiah, Lewis Odam, Willis Odam, James Goad, L. Y. Beadles, father of J. N. Beadles, James Chaney, Tolbert Wallace and Mr. Bleakley, all of whom, with many others, became residents of the county prior to 1840. Since that period the influx of population has been constantly increasing, and many of the old landmarks have forever disappeared.

The boundaries of Graves County were established by virtue of an act of the General Assembly, approved December 19, 1821, the territory at that time forming a part of the counties of Livingston and Caldwell. The same act designates the town of Mayfield as the seat of justice and appoints commissioners to lay off the same, but leaves the organization of the county to future legislation.

The permanent organization was effected by an act bearing date of December 17, 1823, the material part of which is as follows: "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky, that the county of Graves, bounded as described in the eighth section of an act forming the counties of Hickman, Graves, Calloway and McCracken, on the southwest of the Tennessee River, approved December 19, 1821, be, from and after the 15th day of January next, one distinct county known by name aforesaid. There shall be commissioned for said county ten justices of the peace, a sheriff and coroner, and the said justices of the peace shall meet at the town of Mayfield, laid off by commissioners appointed by before recited act, on Thursday succeeding the second Monday in January next; and after taking the oaths of office, which may be administered by any acting justice of the peace for Calloway County, shall proceed to appoint a clerk to whose permanent appointment a majority of all the justices in commission in said county shall be necessary, and the County Courts of said county thereafter shall commence on Thursday succeeding the second Monday in every month, except the month in which the courts are directed to be held. The said county shall form a part of the Seventh Judicial District, and the judge of the said district shall himself, or in conjunction with assistant judges, to be appointed by this act, hold Circuit Courts for this county on Thursday succeeding the second Mondays in February, May and November in each year, and continued three judicial days at each term if the business shall require it." The act further provides that the town of Mayfield shall be the permanent seat of justice, and that the county court shall, at its earliest convenience, cause to be erected on the public grounds in said town the necessary buildings according to law.

The duties of the sheriff, in regard to making certain collections of taxes and tithables listed for the year 1823, are defined, and Sections "6 and 8" provide for the appointment of two assistant judges, and designate the time for holding the general annual election.

The first court met at the residence of William Edwards, near the town of Mayfield, February 2, 1824. The following is a brief outline of its deliberations:

"Whereas, by virtue of an act, etc., etc., it was among other things provided that the justices of said county should meet at the town of Mayfield, in said county, on the 15th day of January, 1824; and whereas the said justices did meet on said 15th day of January, and the commissions of said county had not arrived; and whereas, subsequently the commissions have arrived, when in pursuance of the above entitled act, at the town of Mayfield on Monday, February 2, 1824, Ebenezer Killough, Ezekiel Edens, Joshua Shelton, William Armstrong, Crawford Anderson, Isaac Darnall, William Holifield and Michael Eaker, severally produced commissions from his excellency, John Adair, governor, etc., appointing them justices of the peace for said county, and thereupon Arthur H. Davis, a justice for Calloway County, administered to them the several oaths required by law."

John Anderson was appointed clerk *pro tempore* of the court and, with William Burk-

low and Ebenezer Killough sureties, entered into and gave a bond of $10,000 for the faithful discharge of his official duties.

Elijah Cravens produced a commission from the governor appointing him sheriff of the county for two years, and gave as sureties John Samples, Bennett G. Cartwright and Samuel Mason. The county was divided into four constabulary districts and the following constables appointed to wit: Aaron Roberts, John Edwards and John Killough; the name of the fourth not given.

The minor business of the court consisted principally in recommending to the governor certain persons for justices of the peace, for coroner and for trustees of the town of Mayfield.

The second county court was held at the residence of William Edwards, March 11, 1824, and the following justices of the peace were present, viz: Ezekiel Edens, Joshua Shelton, Frederick Farmer, Ebenezer Killough, Isaac Darnall, Matthew Travis, Alexander Anderson, William Armstrong and Michael Eaker. Henry Williams produced commission from the governor appointing him coroner, and Lewis Wood and B. G. Cartwright, William Edwards and Thomas Williams were appointed commissioners to locate a road from Mayfield to the Calloway County line. At this court one John Roberts produced credentials of ordination as a minister of the gospel, and, entering into a bond of £500, was granted license to solemnize the rites of matrimony.

The third term of the county court was held in Mayfield, April 15, 1824. Beyond appointing several road-viewers and a commissioner to obtain the list of taxables, no business of importance was transacted. Crawford Anderson was appointed treasurer of Mayfield at the June term, 1824, and at the July session of the same year John Anderson received his appointment as permanent clerk of the court, a position he held until his death in 1824.

The first tavern license was granted July 15, 1824, to William Edwards, and the first allowance by the court, amounting to $46.50 for supplies for clerk's office, bears date of September of the above year.

The first trial before the county court was on a charge of vagrancy against one John Julian, preferred by Benjamin McGee. A jury consisting of the following persons was made up to decide the case, to wit: George Hopkins, S. Carter, Drury Hodges, Spencer Standley, Rice Cobb, Henry Piercefield, Thomas Stokes, Samuel B. Larkin and Ervin Anderson. The charge not being sustained, Mr. Julian was allowed to go free.

John Anderson was granted license to keep tavern at his house in Mayfield at the April term, 1825, and at the same time Aaron Roberts was appointed tax-commissioner of the county. Ezekiel Edens was the second sheriff of the county, receiving his commission January, 1826, in which year Samuel Cravens was re-appointed surveyor. The levy for 1824 was 75 cents per tithable, and the delinquent list for the previous year contains the names of twenty-three persons. In 1826, the levy was 93 3-5 cents on each tithable, and the delinquents of the previous year numbered thirty-two. Joshua Gough was appointed sheriff in 1828, and one year later was succeeded by Joshua Shelton.

At the August term, 1844, the county was divided into twelve magisterial districts, but upon the adoption of the present constitution in 1851, which provided for the redistricting of the different counties, the number was reduced to eight. Subsequent changes have been made at intervals to suit the convenience of the people, and at the present time there are twelve districts and seventeen voting precincts. The following are their names in regular order, to wit: No. 1 Water Valley, No. 2 Cuba, No. 3 Lynnville, No. 4 Panther Creek, No. 5 Housmans, No. 6 Haynes, No. 7 Rozells, No. 8 Mayfield, No. 9 Farmington, No. 10 Boswells, No. 11 Symsonia, No. 12 Pilot Oak.

The first deed recorded after the organization of the county was by John Anderson, Joshua Shelton, Richard Reigar, Isaac Darnall and Crawford Anderson, trustees of the town of Mayfield, to Vincent Anderson

and John D. Anderson, conveying a part of Lot No. 1, in said town, for the sum of $18. This indenture bears date of June 17, 1824. The second deed is a conveyance of personal property by Martin Oliver to his children, dated August 19, 1824. The first will was made by Roland Hughes, bequeathing to his wife, as long as she remained his widow, the whole of his estate, which in case of second marriage was to revert to his children, and dated June 30, 1824. The first marriage in the county, after its organization, was solemnized April 15, 1824, the contracting parties being Burrell Williams and Stacy Pryor.

The first session of the circuit court was held on the 12th day of February, 1824, at the residence of William Edwards, and was attended by the Hon. John C. Dodds and John Sample, associates judges. John Anderson was appointed clerk *pro tempore* and gave the required bond, signed by Alexander Anderson, William Burklow and Jonathan Pryor as sureties. Benjamin Patton, James Breathitt, W. B. Fowler and James Calloway severally produced certificates of their qualifications as attorneys and counselors at law, and were regularly admitted to practice their profession in the courts of Graves County. The above being the whole proceedings of the term, court adjourned until May 13, 1824. At the second session, there were present the Hon. Benjamin Shackelford, judge of the Seventh Judicial District, John C. Dodd and John Sample, associates. John Anderson produced a certificate from the judges of the court of appeals, that he had been examined by their clerk, in their presence, and that they had judged him well qualified for the office of clerk. He was, therefore, appointed permanent clerk, a position he filled, with credit to himself and satisfaction to all concerned, for a period of eighteen years. At this session, a grand jury of inquest, consisting of nineteen men, was made up of the following citizens of the county: Bennett G. Cartwright, Justinian Cartwright, Zadok Adams, Dillon Ford, Thomas Gow, James Goad, Spencer Standly, Jeremiah Adams, Ralph Shelton, John Woods, George Hopkins, Robert Williams, Elias Edens, William Neal, Nehemiah Williams, James Pryor, Henry Edwards, William Burklow and Henry Jones.

The first cause on the civil docket was Thomas Griffey, plaintiff in case, versus William Green, defendant. At that early day tobacco was used as a circulating medium, and by reference to the old records we learn that the defendant in the above suit was awarded a judgment of 150 pounds of tobacco, at one penny per pound. The second cause was a case of debt—Jonathan Pryor vs. Henry Williams—continued until the next court.

At the November term, 1824, there were present the two associate judges already named. A number of cases were continued until future sessions and several indictments returned by the grand jury, the majority of them being for profane swearing, Sabbath breaking, affray and trespass. At the February term, 1825, James W. Calloway, was allowed $10 for engraving a seal for the use of the court. David McGoodwin and James A. Cartwright were admitted to the bar. The first trial by jury was a case in covenant, Jonathan Wyatt vs. Armstrong Noel, which was heard at the May term, 1824. The following is a list of the jurymen, to wit: Benjamin Stokes, William Holifield, Michael Atterberry, Henry Ford, John Cook, William Cook, Jonathan Pryor, Boswell Williams, Jeremiah Adams, S. H. Johnson, Abel Copeland and Thomas Copeland.

The second petit jury was impaneled for the November term of 1825 and consisted of the following gentlemen, namely: John C. Dodds, Joseph Downs, Rice Cobb, Maybery Chambers, Aaron Roberts, Nehemiah Williams, Jeremiah Adams, Thomas Stokes, Jonathan Pryor, Francis Dyson, William Bird and Miles H. Burklow.

A number of prominent attorneys have practiced in the Graves County courts from time to time, and the members of the local bar have ever been noted for their ability. The following list comprises the leading lawyers, resident and non-resident, who have practiced here since the organization of the county: Benjamin Patton, W. P. Fowler, James Breathitt, James Calloway, R. L. Mayes,

James Campbell, Rezin Davidge, R. K. Williams, W. R. Bradley, John M. Crockett, William Allen, Matthew Markland, David S. Patton, James W. Gibson, W. B. Jenkins, B. G. Dudley, John L. Murray, A. A. Kimball, P. H.Beckham, Lucian Anderson and A. R. Boone. The present bar consists of A. R. Boone, Lucian Anderson, W. W. Tice, B. A. Neal, D. G. Park, D. B. Stanfield, J. E. Robbins, C. C. Coulter, John A. Mayes, S. H. Crossland, J. T. Webb and H. J. Moorman. Lucian Anderson, A. R. Boone and Edward Crossland, residents of Graves County, have at different times represented the First Congressional District of Kentucky in the lower house of the national legislature, and R. K. Williams was for some time a judge of the court of appeals.

Among the first transactions of the county court was the appointment of William Burklow and John Cunningham commissioners, with full powers to contract for and superintend the erection of a building for court purposes in the town of Mayfield. In the meantime, the residence of William Edwards had been secured and courts were held at intervals therein until the November term of 1824, at which time the new temple of justice was reported complete and ready for occupancy. The building was a rude log structure, with but few conveniences, and cost the nominal sum of $139.

In the year 1832, Richard L. Mayes, Stephen M. Jenkins, John Anderson and Jesse Wells were appointed a committee to draft plans for a new house, more in keeping with the dignity of the growing county, which they did, reporting the same at the June term of 1833. These plans were not adopted, but a subsequent committee, appointed the same year, drew up satisfactory plans and specifications, which were let to Michael Eaker and Benjamin McGee for the sum of $5,400. The building was erected in 1834 on the public square. It was a brick structure, forty feet square, two stories high, and contained a large court room, two jury rooms and one grand jury room. In the year 1864, it was occupied by a detachment of Confederate troops, who burned it to the ground when they were compelled to evacuate the city.

At the April term of 1865 it was decided to erect a new building, and a committee was appointed to draw up the necessary plans and specifications. The following commissioners were appointed at the ensuing June term to adopt plans and let the contract, namely: John Eaker, Joshua Boaz, T. J. Puryear, L. B. Holifield, J. S. Thomas, C. H. Greer and A. Williams. The draft prepared by J. K. Frick, an archictect of Cairo, Ill., was unanimously adopted, and the contract let for $32,000, a sum which proved inadequate for the completion of the building. For the purpose of creating a building fund, an *ad valorem* tax of 15 cents on each hundred dollars worth of property was levied for the years 1865, 1866 and 1867. The house was completed and formally received by the building committee November, 1866. It is a two-story brick structure, contains a commodious court room, jury room, three county offices, and is a substantial and imposing temple of justice.

Graves County has had several jails, the earliest being rough log structures, with no definite architectural plans. They served well their purposes, however, and as time went by were replaced by a more substantial frame edifice, which was in use until the year 1875. At the October term, that year, the county court ordered that $15,000 be appropriated for the purpose of erecting a new jail, and Hon. G. W. Barton was appointed commissioner to obtain legislative enactments for the purpose of providing means for payment of the necessary expenses. Bonds to the amount of $9,000 were issued October, 1876, and the contract was let in the same year to Backus & Cosby, of Mayfield, for the sum of $7,950. The building was completed in 1877, and stands on ground donated for jail purposes by the town of Mayfield.

The first poor farm in Graves County was established in 1855. Up to that time the paupers were farmed out to the lowest bidder, and the records bear the frequent and somewhat startling statement of persons being "sold" at various prices. In April, 1855, a

tract of land was purchased for the sum of $250. On this was erected a frame building, which served the purposes of the county until 1870, at which time the entire property was sold. Since then, the paupers have been "let" at public outcry to the lowest bidder, the average price at the present time being $7 per head per month.

In 1884 the county purchased a tract of fifteen acres of land one mile west of Mayfield for a poor farm, and at the present time steps are being taken to erect the necessary buildings thereon.

The following is a list of the officers of Graves County as far as obtainable:

County Clerks.—John Anderson, from organization of the county until 1842; Ervin Anderson, from 1842 to 1851; William Beadles, from 1851 to 1858; J. M. Coulter, until 1862; John F. Bolinger, until 1865; J. H. Robbins, 1865 to 1866; L. F. Anderson, 1866 to 1868. James Austin, a few months by appointment; C. J. Whittemore, 1869 to 1878. The present incumbent is D. P. Coulter, elected in 1878.

Circuit Clerks.—John Anderson, Ervin Anderson, W. A. Turner, J. T. Wingo, D. B. Stanfield, James Austin and C. J. Whittemore, present incumbent.

County Judges.—S. F. Morse, A. R. Boone, W. W. Robertson, W. G. Blount, G. W. Barton, D. B. Stanfield, R. H. Williams and J. W. Hocker.

Circuit Judges.—Benjamin Shackelford, Rezin Davidge, J. Campbell, W. P. Fowler, R. K. Williams, C. S. Marshall, E. J. Bullock by appointment, A. R. Boone, W. W. Robertson, Edward Crossland, W. G. Bullitt by appointment and James Campbell, Jr.

Common Pleas Judges.—Edward Crossland and L. S. Trimble.

State Senators.—John Eaker, 1848-51; J. D. Landrum, 1863-67; H. S. Hale, 1871-75.

Representatives.—Richard R. L. Mayes, 1836–45; John Worthan, 1840-41; Joseph R. E. Wilkinson, 1842-43; John Eaker, 1844–47; John A. Board, 1846; W. M. Cargill, 1848; Alexander H. Willingham, 1849-51–53–55–66; John W. Cook, 1850–59–61; Lucian Anderson, 1855–57; S. F. Morse, 1857-59; A. R. Boone, 1861–63, expelled December, 1861, because directly or indirectly connected with and giving aid to the Confederate Army; succeeded by Richard Neal, 1862–63; E. W. Smith, 1863–65; William Beadles, 1865–67, resigned in 1866; W. C. Clark, 1868-69; Ervin Anderson, 1869–71; T. J. Jones, 1871–73; James D. Watson, 1873–75; J. H. Emerson, 1875–77.

Sheriffs.—The early sheriffs were Elijah Cravens, Ezekiel Edens, Joshua Gough and Joshua Shelton, all of whom served prior to 1830. Since 1851, the office has been held by the following persons, viz.: Samuel M. Lemon, P. B. Adams W. W. Galloway, T. J. Jones, T. J. Puryear, D. M. Galloway, H. S. Hale, R. T. Albritton, R. T. Davis, W. A. Yarbrough and J. T. Wilson.

School Commissioners.—One of the earliest school commissioners was Henry W. Coulter, who served prior to 1851. Since that time the following gentlemen have held the office: L. B. Holifield, J. S. Thomas, James M. Cosby, W. J. Gregory and M. T. Hargrove.

Surveyors since 1851.—John B. Allcock, A. L. Jenkins, L. Overby, D. S. Tartt, R. J. Grace, P. S. Tartt and J. E. Robbins.

Jailers since 1854.—Thomas C. Taylor, C. H. Greer, W. M. Cargill, D. M. Galloway, E. L. Browning, J. S. Thomas, H. S. Summerville, S. A. Walker, A. D. Cosby and Andrew Hamlet.

The honor of establishing the first newspaper in Graves County belongs to C. C. Coulter, who on July 7, 1860, issued the first number of the *Southern Yeoman.* This was an eight-column folio, intensely Democratic in politics, and within a short time acquired an immense circulation. It was regularly issued until some time during the war, when, not being able to procure the necessary office supplies, the enterprise had to be abandoned.

The *Jackson Purchase* was established February, 1869, by A. C. Caperton, who issued it until 1870, at which time E. K. Warren assumed editorial charge and changed the name to the *Mayfield Democrat.* R. J. Beaumont succeeded Mr. Warren in 1872 and ran the paper until 1876, at which time his sons, E. S. and M. F. Beaumont, be-

came editors and proprietors. In January, 1885, E. S. Beaumont assumed control, and is editor at the present time. The *Democrat* is an eight-column folio, and has a circulation of over 1,200. It is printed on the only steam press in the Purchase outside of Paducah.

The *Banner of Temperance* was established in 1873 by B. F. Briggs. It was a six-column quarto devoted to the temperance cause, and reached a circulation of 800. In 1875 it was merged into the *Mayfield Monitor*. This paper was started by Messrs. Briggs and Watson, who ran it seven months, at the end of which time the former purchased the entire interest, which he still owns. The *Monitor* is Democratic in politics and is quite a flourishing paper.

In 1880 Elders C. J. Kimball and W. L. Butler established the *Apostolic Church*, a religious paper devoted to the interests of the Christian Church of Kentucky. It was ably edited and became very popular, and at the time of its removal to Louisville, in 1884, it had 1,500 subscribers.

The *Mayfield Leader* was established in 1878, by R. S. Murrell and Ed. Watson. It was an eight-column weekly, democratic in politics, and reached a fair circulation. The enterprise did not prove a financial success, however, and died an easy death in 1880.

The *Rip Saw*, an independent but very personal sheet, was established in 1878, by J. W. Leech. It was a four-column folio and had for a motto the following terse sentence: "Saw to the line and let the dust fall where it may." But few numbers of the "*Rip*" were issued, the enterprise failing for want of patronage.

At the time of the formation of Graves County, and for a number of years afterward, the State of Kentucky was not blessed with the common-school system of to-day. Children were mainly educated at the expense of their parents in the old subscription schools, which were of a very inferior grade. The first schools were taught as early as 1828, or 1830, and, as already stated, were supported by private subscription. The heaviest expense then fell on the families containing the greatest number of children, and these were usually the families least able to sustain such expense; and, as a necessary consequence, in that early day the children grew up without the advantages of education. The first schoolhouses of the county were rude log dwellings, which had been deserted by some family that had found the hardships of settling the new country too great to be borne, or log dwellings, in which the family still lived, one corner of the room being fitted up with rude clapboard seats and desks. Testaments were frequently the first readers, and the ability to read, write and cipher constituted the sum and substance of a teacher's qualifications. Several schools were taught early in the thirties, although no substantial progress was made in the cause of education until many years later. The organization of the public schools dates from about the year 1850–51, at which time the county was laid off into districts to accommodate the greatest number. Prominently connected with the work was Henry Coulter, one of the early school commissioners, to whose efforts the county is largely indebted for the present success of the schools.

There are in the county, at this time (1885), 108 districts, 91 of which are for white children, and 17 for colored. There was received and disbursed among the white schools for tuition, for the school year of 1884 and 1885, the sum of $11,046. The tuition for colored schools for the same year amounted to $1,491.

There is in addition to the public schools a number of excellent private institutions of learning in various parts of the county, and at the present time a movement is on foot to establish a college, which is to be under the auspices of the Christian Church of Mayfield. A substantial building will be erected, and the institution, when completed, will be the largest school in the Purchase district.

The population of Graves County in 1860 was 16,233; in 1870, 19,398; 1880, 24,138; colored population, 2,851. The following is the population for 1880, by districts:

Water Valley and Wingo	2,375
Wingo Village	212
Cuba	1,761
Lynnville and Village	1,579
Panther Creek	1,419
Pryorsburg and Rozells	2,168
Symsonia	916
Housemans	1,520
Haynes	2,918
Mayfield District	3,578
Mayfield City	1,839
Farmington	1,692
Boswells	1,294
Dukedom	1,076

The following is a summary of the county for the year 1884:

Number of acres of land returned for taxation	311,308
Value of lands	$2,225,324
Number of town lots	698
Value of lots	$375,860
Number of horses	5,300
Value	$308,397
Mules	4,110
Value	$270,190
Sheep	5,371
Value	$7,098
Hogs	17,615
Value	$20,588
Cattle	7,921
Value	$26,905
Stores	133
Value of stores	$184,878
Tons of hay	427
Bushels of corn	1,022,851
Bushels of wheat	164,796
Pounds of tobacco for 1883	6,553,475

At the presidential election of 1884 there were 3,900 votes cast, divided among the four candidates as follows: Cleveland, 2,752; Blaine, 1,082; Butler, 18, and St. John 48.

During the early history of Graves County and prior to the war of 1861–65, the old military system, which had done such excellent service in all the Indian border wars, was in force throughout Kentucky. From the Indian tribes, depleted by protracted and periodical contests, no danger was apprehended, though the habits induced by a life spent amid the alarms of the frontier forbade the total relinquishment of organized bodies of militia, or the obliteration of that grateful sense of public security which their presence afforded.

But the wonderful strides of the State in population, and the absence of anything requiring the interference of arms, soon gave satisfactory assurance of general safety, and the old serviceable system was permitted to die out. It is true a partial organization was maintained and arms were obtained from the government of the State, but these organizations were little better than assemblages of young men for sport and frolic and had no feature in common with the rigid discipline that prevailed in the regular army. Among the early captains of these companies are remembered Crawford Anderson, Henry Piercefield, John Eaker and Daniel T. Cargill.

As far as known, but two of the early settlers of Graves County served in the Revolution. Willis Odam, one of the first residents of Wingo Precinct, served during that struggle, and at the time of his death was drawing a pension for such services. In January, 1829, one James Ross appeared in open court and applied for a pension, stating that he had served in the Continental Army from 1776 until 1779, having belonged to a North Carolina regiment. Quite a goodly number of the early residents were soldiers in the war of 1812, and in the war with Mexico Graves County furnished three companies, numbering in all about 207 men. John A. Board and J. N. Beadles raised a company of ninety men, which served for a period of six months, but participated in no engagements. A company of ninety-seven men, commanded by Capt. Charles Wickliffe, was recruited from Graves, Ballard and Calloway Counties, and Capt. Reed's company of thirty men was made up from Graves and Ballard Counties.

During the great civil war, Graves County was considered neutral ground, although the majority of her citizens sympathized with the Confederacy. The occupation of the Purchase by Federals prevented the active organization of troops for the Southern Army, although nine companies went from Graves County at different times, besides a number of individuals who enlisted at Union City, Camp Boone, and other places in Tennessee. The following is a list of Graves County Confederate companies, with the names of officers as far as obtainable: Company E, Sev-

enth Kentucky Regiment, commanded by Capt. Joel Cochran, David Hicks, E. W. Anderson and William Cochran, lieutenants. This company numbered about 100 men and served throughout the war. Company A, same regiment, James G. Pirtle, captain; Thomas Burnett, J. A. Collins and George T. Wilson, lieutenants. This company went to the front with about 120 men, and participated in many of the hardest engagements of the war. Company H, of the same regiment, was recruited in this county, Capt. H. S. Hale commanding. The lieutenants at the time of organization were C. W. Jetton, F. E. Dodd and Joel Rucker. This was a full company of about 100 men when it first entered the service. Company E, Third Kentucky Regiment, numbered 120 men, almost all of whom were residents of Graves County. The officers were J. M. Emerson, captain; W. M. Cargill, first lieutenant; S. P. Ridgeway, second lieutenant; and M. D. Emerson, third lieutenant. Company B, same regiment, consisting of 100 men, was raised by Capt. James G. Bowman. The lieutenants were Charles Machew and W. Stevenson. Company G, same regiment, commanded by Capt. C. C. Edwards; lieutenants were Staten and Bryant. These companies served during the war and took part in all the Western campaigns. A company of about 100 men was raised in this county by Capt. R. H. Fristow and attached to the Eighth Kentucky Infantry. The names of under officers were not learned.

One of the first companies organized in the county, if not the first, was raised by Capt. Lou Slayden. It numbered about ninety men and formed part of the Second Kentucky Regiment. Harry Rogers and J. A. Pryor were lieutenants.

One company of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry was recruited in Graves County. It contained the full quota and was commanded by Capt. George W. Clanton.

About 300 men from Graves entered the federal service; not all of them regular troops, however, some acting in the capacity of home-guards. Capt. L. A. Hanson raised a company for the Sixteenth Kentucky Regiment, while two companies, commanded by Capts. Purcell and Keyes respectively, were recruited for the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry.

A company of about sixty men, under Capt. Jones Gregory, was recruited for the federal service about the beginning of the war, and served for a period of three years, being attached to no particular regiment a great part of that time.

While Graves County was not the scene of any active military operations, the county was overrun from time to time by guerrillas and so-called home-guards to the great annoyance of the peaceable citizens, many of whom were mercilessly plundered of all they possessed, while not a few met with more cruel treatment.

Mayfield was occupied at different times during the war by the federals and confederates, a detachment of the latter burning the court house in 1864. In that year Gen. Payne assumed command of the Union forces of western Kentucky, with headquarters at Paducah. He caused a fortification to be thrown up around the public square of Mayfield, in which work the citizens, irrespective of class or sentiment, were compelled to assist. Such was the rigor with which he exercised his authority, that sixty-one persons in the Purchase, many of them entirely innocent, are said to have been executed during his short "reign of terror." His removal, in the latter part of the above year, was hailed with delight by the citizens of the town and surrounding country, many of whom had been subjected to the greatest cruelty on account of their suspected friendship for the Southern cause.

Payne's successor was Gen. Meredith, an officer of dignity and a true gentleman. His conduct was such as to win the confidence and esteem of the people, whom he treated with fairness and courtesy, and his occupancy of Mayfield was the beginning of an era of friendly feeling among all classes. He abandoned the fortifications constructed by his predecessor as useless in case of an attack, and in their stead threw up earthworks on an eminence in the southwest part

of the town, which commanded a wide range of country. He planted several batteries on these fortifications, but no enemy appeared to dispute his possession of the place.

Mayfield is situated a little north of the geographical center of Graves County, and next to Paducah is the largest town in the Purchase. Its history is coeval with that of the county, as the act of 1821 fixing the boundaries of Graves designates Mayfield as the seat of justice, although no survey of the place was made until after the county was organized in 1824. On the 27th of March, that year, the original plat, embracing an area of 160 acres, lying in Section 10, Town 3 north, Range 1 east, was duly recorded and signed by the first board of trustees, consisting of John Anderson, Richard Reigar, Isaac Darnall, Joshua Shelton and Crawford Anderson. The survey was made by John Anderson, and the plat shows thirty-five blocks, seventy-two lots and a public square, with nine streets crossing each other at right angles, five running east and west, and four north and south. Several additions have been made from time to time, the most important of which are West Mayfield, consisting of twenty-two lots, recorded May 24, 1867, and Williams' addition of fifty-six lots, July 26, 1878.

It is difficult to determine who the first settlers of Mayfield were, but among the early comers are remembered John Anderson, William Edwards, John Killough, John Tolbert, John M. Gardner, Frank Tolbert, Reuben Tolbert, Mr. Cravens, C. Smith, Jesse Wells, Dr. Wilkinson and James Edens, all of whom became identified with the village during the early years of its history.

The first stock of goods was brought to the place by John Anderson, who with his sons, Vincent and Davenport, soon established a fair trade in the sparsely settled county. Jesse Wells, Dr. Wilkinson and Paul Tolbert were among the early business men, and later came Joe Wilkinson, Lewis Wilkinson, Edmund Rogers, L. B. Holifield, Charles Smith, Michael Eaker, William Beadles and John Bolinger, all of whom sold goods prior to 1848.

The first hotel was kept by William Edwards, whose house stood a little east of the town limits, and in 1825, John Anderson was granted license to keep a tavern in the village. James Edens opened a public house very soon after the organization of the county and was one of the early merchants of the town, and perhaps its first manufacturer, carrying on the hatter's trade in connection with his other business. Bluford Gore kept a hotel a few years later, which was a favorite stopping-place for the traveling public.

The growth of the town, during the first dozen years of its history was rather slow, but as the settlement of the country increased, its importance as a business center became fully established, and as early as 1845 it had a population of several hundred, and was recognized as the most important inland town of the Purchase. At that time there were several substantial business firms in successful operation, besides blacksmiths, carpenters and the usual number of mechanics, artisans and idlers. The town had a school, and various religious organizations had been represented by pioneer preachers; lawyers and doctors had begun to cut a figure, and the portly figure and imposing dignity of a judge of the circuit court had become a periodical and expected sight. The town early became a tobacco market, and the handling of this staple was one of the first important industries of the place.

The completion of the Memphis, New Orleans & Northern Railroad, in 1854, gave new life and increased impetus to the town, and since that time its development has been substantial and satisfactory in every respect. New interests have been developed, manufactures have been established, and the general business has increased to such an extent that Mayfield is now the recognized commercial center of the largest and most fertile agricultural region of western Kentucky. The population, according to the census of 1880, was 1,839, but its very rapid increase since that period justifies us in saying that at least 3,000 persons live within the limits of the city at the present time.

The commercial interests of the town are represented by ten dry goods-stores, thirteen grocery stores, four drug stores, three confectioneries, three hardware stores, one book-store, two newspapers, one queensware store, two agricultural warehouses, two jewelry establishments, one saddlery and leather store, besides several stores, where general merchandise is handled. There is one large tobacco warehouse and a number of rehandling houses. There are three hotels, six livery stables, two large flouring-mills, one marble shop, a couple of furniture stores, besides a number of blacksmiths and wagon makers' shops.

In 1859 a branch of the Ashland bank was established at Mayfield, and continued here until 1864, doing a very successful business in the meantime. In the latter year it was removed to Paducah and reorganized as the First National Bank of that city.

The First National Bank of Mayfield was established May, 1875, with a capital of $100,000, which was increased two years later to $150,000. The officers of this bank are H. S. Hale, president; S. P. Ridgeway, cashier; W. W. Tice, D. B. Stanfield Thomas Ligon and S. B. Wright, directors. The net earnings of the bank since its organization, have been $112,916.

The Bank of Mayfield was established in 1883 by a stock company, with a capital of $100,000. The officers are Lucian Anderson, president; and J. N. Beadles, cashier. The following gentlemen are directors: L. Anderson, R. A. Mayes, R. M. Beadles, R. M. Rion and J. N. Beadles.

In 1865, a stock company, known as the Mayfield Manufacturing Company, was organized, and immediately thereafter a tobacco factory was started, which did not prove a success. It was afterward abandoned and the building used for a woolen-mill, which has been in operation ever since. The company finally disbanded, and the enterprise was purchased by private parties, who from time to time built additions to the main building, until now it is one of the largest and most successful factories of its kind in western Kentucky. It is operated at the present by Messrs. Hudspeth & Smith, who became sole owners in 1879.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church of Mayfield is the oldest religious organization in the city, its history dating from about the year 1832. The first services were held in private dwellings, and later in the court house, which was used as a meeting place for a number of years. The first ordained elders were John Anderson, Jesse Wells, John Cunningham and Henry M. Coulter. The following pastors have ministered to the church from time to time: Collins J. Bradley, C. E. Hay, Levi Calvert, John Ward, Finis E. Roberts, R. L. Calvert, W. D. Wear, J. G. Webb, I. B. Self, J. M. Herbert, R. G. McClesky, W. G. Dillon, H. D. Wiley and G. H. Sheldrake, present incumbent. The present house of worship is a brick structure, erected in 1868, and represents a capital of $4,000. There are 125 communicants at the present time.

First Baptist Church, of Mayfield, was organized July, 1844, by Revs. Milton S. Wyman and Henry Richardson, with a membership of fourteen persons, namely: John Boyd and wife, Thomas J. Puryear and wife, Thomas Ligon, Sr., and wife; J. B. Hurt and wife, Mrs. William Puryear, J. N. Beadles, William Beadles and Mrs J. B. New. The court house was used for a meeting place until 1858, at which time a brick house of worship was built. Nine years later the house was destroyed by fire. It was immediately rebuilt, and at the present time is valued at $3,500. The following are the names of the different pastors of the church, viz.: Thomas L. Garrett, H. G. Puryear, Willis White, D. B. Ray, John M. Harrington, E. W. Benson, A. C. Carpenter, T. H. Pettit, F. L. Dupont, R. S. Fleming and Ezra Smith. The present incumbent is Rev. W. C. Taylor.

The first services by ministers of the Christian Church were held about the year 1853, in the court house, and private dwellings, but it was not until 1857, that a permanent organization was effected. The first elders of the congregation were J. H. Robbins and Dr. J. D. Landrum. The society increased in number very rapidly, and eleven years

after organizing the present handsome temple of worship was erected at an expenditure of $8,000. Subsequent improvements have been made at a cost of $3,000, and the building is now the largest church edifice in the city. The following pastors have had charge of the society from time to time, Elders Trimble, Miles, Kibby, Butler, Howard, Kimball and Orvis. Present pastor, J. B. Briney. The church is in a flourishing condition, numbering 190 members.

The Mayfield Methodist Church was established some time between the years 1840 and 1845, the first services being held in the court house, which was used for public worship until 1853. In the latter year, a frame building was erected where the present structure stands, and at that time was the only church edifice in the city. It was in use until 1875, at which time the present handsome brick building was erected, which with the parsonage is valued at $5,000. The early pastors, who from time to time served the church, were the following, viz: J. R. Walker, Finley Bynum, Thomas Smith, Joshua Cole, Meredith M. Neal, Dr. Richmond, William H. Leigh, John Moss, Christenberry Lee, J. J. Brooks, Mr. Culpepper, Mr. Reid, J. H. Brooks, Elias Jackson and J. G. Acton. The pastor in charge at the present time is Rev. G. T. Sullivan. Present membership, 176. The colored people of Mayfield have two churches, Methodist and Baptist, both of which are largely attended and well supported.

One of the earliest settlements of Graves was made in the southern part of the county near the State line, and an outgrowth of that neighborhood was the village of Feliciana, at one time the most important trading point in the county. The Moss Brothers were the first business men of the place. They kept a good store and also opened the first hotel in the southern part of the county, which for many years was a favorite stopping place for such travelers as passed that way.

E. H. Gordon kept an early store, as did also Dr. Lockridge, the first medical man of the place. John Scofield sold goods for a number of years, and later came Dr. and William Alexander, who for some time carried on a very successful mercantile business. Among other early merchants were Edmund Rodgers, Mr. Gordon, Mr. January, Mr. Renfrow and W. C. Rodgers. William Patterson was one of the first mechanics, and W. C. Stovall and John H. Nichols were early physicians. From 1845 until 1850, the place enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity, there being at one time seven large general stores in successful operation, besides smaller establishments, and a number of shops of different kinds. The completion of the railroad in 1854, within a few miles of the village, proved its death blow, and no great time elapsed until its business interests were absorbed by new towns along the road. At the present time two old buildings are all that remain to show where this once flourishing village stood.

The village of Wingo is situated on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad in Water Valley and Wingo precinct, and occupies a part of Section 14, Town 2 north, Range 1 west. It is an outgrowth of the railroad, and dates its history from the year 1854, at which time German Wingo laid off several lots on his land, and brought a stock of goods to the place. A station was established and ere long other business men came in and opened stores, among whom were Wesley Stimson, Bird Gregory, James Frost and John Frost.

Wingo, next to Mayfield, is the largest place in the county. It has an energetic population and is a fine business point, its commercial interest being represented at the present time by nine stores. There are three churches, viz., Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist, all of which have good organizations and fair buildings. The Masonic fraternity and Odd Fellows have strong lodges, and the village school building is the finest in the county. It is a two-story brick structure, erected in 1882, at a cost of $7,000. The village has about 350 inhabitants.

Lynnville is situated in Lynnville precinct, Sections 8, 9, 16 and 17, Town 1 north, Range 2 east. It is the center of a fine agricultural region, which was settled in an

early day by a class of thrifty farmers from Tennessee and the Carolinas. The village has been incorporated by an act of the Legislature. There are four general stores, two physicians and a Masonic lodge. There is a large Union Church building, in which the Christians and Methodists hold services, both having strong organizations.

Farmington is situated in Farmington precinct, on Section 3, Town 2 north, Range 2 east. It was laid out December 24, 1841, and consists of 100 lots and a public square. There are eight streets crossing each other at right angles, four of which, North, Main, Johnson and South, run northwest and southeast, and West, Franklin, Washington and East Streets run northeast and southwest. The first trustees of the town were James Cochran, William Yandel, F. B. Brown, Robert Walker and Jesse Stokes. The village is surrounded by a fine agricultural region, and is a flourishing business point. There is one general store, one grocery store, one drug store, several shops, two church buildings and a fine school edifice.

Hickory Grove was laid out November 5, 1867, for J. W. Kemble, Jo. Johns and R. K. Williams, proprietors. It is situated in Sections 15 and 16, Town 4 north, Range 1 east, and is an outgrowth of the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad. The original plat consists of twenty-five blocks, and 160 lots traversed by the following streets: Shady, Railroad, Sophia and Hickory, running east and west, and Kemble, Price, Woodland and Sellars Streets, running north and south. The first trustees of the town were A. Kemble, O. M. Price and O. G. Sellars. There are several small stores in the town, but its close proximity to Mayfield prevents it becoming a trading point of any importance.

Water Valley is a railroad town situated south of Wingo village and Water Valley and Wingo district. The plat lies in Section 7, Town 1 north, Range 1 west, and consists of twenty-five lots of different sizes. The business of the place is represented by seven stores, one saw and flouring-mill, a tobacco rehandling house and several shops. The Baptists have a congregation and a good house of worship, in which other denominations hold service at intervals.

Boydsville is a small village situated on the State line, the northern half lying in Lynnville precinct, and the southern half in Tennessee. It early achieved considerable notoriety as the rendezvous of a set of hard characters, who gave the place an unenviable reputation, from which it has never entirely recovered. There are two general stores at the present time, which do a good business.

Symsonia, in Symsonia district, is a small country town, with a history dating from July 21, 1860, at which time it was surveyed for M. Lyles, proprietor. It is situated on Section 11, Township 5 north, Range 2 east, and consists of thirty-six lots, but few of which have been improved. It is a good trading place and supports four stores.

Dukedom is a small hamlet on the State line, part of it lying in Tennessee and part in Pilot Oak district. Its business is represented by a general store and blacksmith shop.

Pryorsburgh is situated in Rozells precinct, Section 36, Township 3 north, Range 1 west. It is an outgrowth of the railroad, and a place of some local importance. One general store, two grocery stores and one drug store is the extent of its business.

CHAPTER VI.

HICKMAN COUNTY.

HICKMAN COUNTY lies in the southwestern part of the State, and embraces a geographical area of 226 square miles. It is the seventy-first in the order of formation, and is bounded as follows: Ballard County on the north, Graves County on the east, Fulton County and Tennessee on the south, and the Mississippi River on the west.

The topographical features are varied, the general face of the country being gently undulating, with a few abrupt hills and deep ravines in certain localities. That part of the county bordering on the Mississippi River is considerably broken, the bluffs in some places being from 80 to 120 feet high, and of romantic boldness. From the summits of these majestic uplands, far above the water, a general view of the historical old river and the beautiful scenery for many miles along its banks can be obtained. On account of their peculiar brown appearance, the bluffs were early known as the "Iron Banks," so called by the early explorers, who supposed the country contained rich deposits of that useful mineral; the name proved a misnomer, however, as there is no vestige of iron to be found along the river, or in any part of the county so far as known.

A few miles below Columbus are the Chalk Banks, so called on account of their brilliant white surface, which greatly resembles chalk. They are composed of a fine white clay, much of which has been utilized in the manufacture of a superior kind of earthenware. The interior of the county is sufficiently undulating to afford ample drainage, without any, or but little, waste lands. The soil is generally a brown loam, but in some places sand or clay predominate, while the bottoms skirting the water courses are characterized by a porous black mould of great depth and fertility. All of these soils are rich in tree food, and the county was originally covered with a dense forest growth, oak, hickory, ash, poplar, maple, walnut and other large trees predominating on the uplands, while gum and elms of gigantic sizes grew along the various streams.

Hickman is an agricultural region, and there is scarcely a section of land that cannot be rendered capable of almost unlimited production. All the fruits and cereals indigenous to this latitude are raised in abundance, the staple crops, however, being corn and tobacco, for which the soil seems peculiarly adapted. Among the fertile portions of the county, deserving of special mention, is the region of country lying between Clinton and Columbus, and also a tract south of Moscow village, in both of which can be seen some of the best and most highly cultivated farms in the Purchase.

The water courses of Hickman County are Bayou du Chien, and Little Obion Creek, with their several tributaries. The former has its source in Graves County, and is a stream of considerable importance, affording ample drainage for a large scope of country. It flows through Hickman County in a semicircle, and enters Fulton County not far from the city of Hickman. Little Obion Creek rises in the southeastern part of Graves County, and flows in an irregular channel through the northern part of Hickman, describing a bend similar to the Bayou du Chien. Beside the above streams there are a number of smaller water courses in various parts of the county, but few of which are designated by any particular names.

Capt. Paschal Hickman, in honor of whom the county was named, was a native of Virginia, and emigrated to Kentucky when

very young with his father, Rev. William Hickman, and settled in Franklin County; served in most of the campaigns against the Indians, and was distinguished for his activity, efficiency and bravery. In 1812, he was commissioned captain, raised a company and joined Col. John Allen, who commanded the First Regiment of Kentucky Riflemen. He was in the memorable battle of River Raisin, where he was severely wounded, and, like many kindred Kentucky spirits, was butchered in cold blood by the savage allies of his Britannic Majesty.

It is impossible to determine at this remote period the exact year in which white men first visited the present territory of Hickman County, but from the most reliable information accessible, it appears to have been as early as the summer of 1780, the same year that witnessed the construction of Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi River, in what is now Ballard County. The soldiers stationed at the fort made several incursions throughout the surrounding country, and at one time a small detachment penetrated as far south as the present site of Columbus. It will be remembered that before the admission of Kentucky as a State, its territory formed a part of Virginia, although the country at that time was the undisputed possession of Indian tribes, who used it for a hunting ground. As early as 1783–84, the Legislature of Virginia authorized the "laying of land warrants" along the Mississippi, Ohio and other rivers for the benefit of the soldiers of that State who served in the Revolutionary war, and immediately thereafter surveyors visited the country for the purpose of "locating" said warrants; but owing to the hostility of the Indians they carried their operations no further than "establishing corners" at various points along the river. The first of these warrants was laid on the Mississippi River, in what is now Hickman County, and embraced an area of 4,000 acres, which served as a basis for all warrants subsequently located in this part of the State. A subsequent act provided for the division of this tract into town lots and the appointing of trustees to control and sell the same, and it was the cherished dream of the projectors of the enterprise to found here a large city, which should not only become the commercial center of the United States, but eventually the seat of national government as well. At the suggestion of the governor of Virginia, the new city was named Columbus, but no attempts were made to settle it for many years, on account of its remote location and the hostility of the Indians, who looked upon the encroachments of the whites in anything but a friendly spirit. The first building on the town site was a block-house, erected in 1804, and used as a fort by United States troops during Aaron Burr's conspiracy against the government. In the same house eighteen years later were held the first county and circuit courts in Kentucky west of the Tennessee River. A few hunters and other daring spirits, impelled by a love of adventure and a desire to secure some of the rich lands bordering on the Mississippi River, visited this remote outpost early in the present century, and "laid their land warrants," but the idea of a permanent settlement was never entertained until after the purchase of the country from the Indians in 1818. About that time, or perhaps a little earlier, William Tipton came to Columbus and purchased the old block-house, which he fitted up for a residence, and in which he lived until 1828. He was a true type of the pioneer, an intelligent man withal, and took an active part in the county organization. Other early settlers of Columbus were Samuel Lucas, Mr. Taylor, whose son William is still living in the town; Edmund Taylor, the Cook family, Pembroke Walker and his sons Jeff, Robert and Burns, and several others. An early settlement was made a short distance below the town near the chalk banks by Jasper Kerr, who came to the county prior to its organization; and about the same time came Rev. Samuel Gibson, who made improvements in the same neighborhood. A man by the name of Bowles was among the first settlers, as was also the Edrington family, consisting of Price, John and Henry L. Edrington and their father, whose name was not learned.

The Moscow settlement, so called from

Moscow village, is perhaps the next oldest community in the county. Among the first to secure homes in that locality was a widow lady, by name of Griffey, whose arrival antedates the year 1822. John and Adam Haynes came about that time, and the same year witnessed the arrival of Samuel McFall, on whose land the village was afterward laid out. Among those who came later were Thomas Griffey, Dr. Luten, one of the earliest medical men of the county; a man by name of Elliott, whose reputation was not above reproach; Anthony and Lycurgus Bartlett and their father, whose death occurred shortly after their arrival; James Webb, father-in-law of Thomas Griffey; Dr. Outlaw, Solomon Nevill, Col. Webb, whose widow is still living, Dennis Stubbs and Moses Morrow.

An early settlement was made in what is known as the Rock Springs neighborhood, Alexander precinct, and among the first comers there was Dempsey White, father of Rev. Willis White, who settled the place now owned by the Murkeson heirs, in 1823. Mr. White was a native of North Carolina, but moved here from Caldwell County, this State. He was a prominent citizen of the county, and died in 1841. His son, Rev. Willis White, has been an honored resident of Hickman County for a period of sixty-one years, and is as widely and favorably known as any other man in Western Kentucky. Absalom Farmer moved to the Rock Springs neighborhood in the winter of 1823, and a little later came Lawrence Everett, S. Wheeler, Nathan Jackson, and his son-in-law, Silas Clark, who is still living at an advanced age. Otho Hardin, Lewis Hardin, Jesse Walker, the Weatherspoon family, John Byrd, Benjamin Hamby, Elder Fleming Cayce, a Baptist preacher, and John Everts, were residents of the county prior to 1830. The Oakland neighborhood, north of Moscow, was settled in an early day, among the first arrivals being Thomas Davis, who is still living; William Cromwell located there as early as 1824, and about the same time a man by name of Scott settled in the vicinity. Others who came in, from time to time, were the McQuary family, Elkanah Fawlks, "Dink" Fawlks, William Blair and Dr. Caldwell.

Early settlements were made in the southeast part of the county by John Latta, Taylor Bards, the Bennett family, Benjamin Stokes, Sennett Laffoon, the McFadden family, Stephen Parker and son Ed. and the Ray brothers, Samuel, Stephen and Dennison Ray. A son of the last named, Dr. D. B. Ray, editor of the *Battle Flag*, of St. Louis, is one of the leading Baptist clergyman of the South. Near the Graves County line, in the east part of the county, there settled in an early day the Wilson family, Judge Cartwright, E. Sherfield, the Hayden family, William and John Tharp, Lewis Courtney, Watt Courtney, and a family of Woolseys.

Among the earliest residents in the vicinity of Clinton were Dr. J. S. Ringo, Coleman Ringo, who is still living in the city, Thomas Owsley, Jesse Hale, William Hale, the Spicer family, and on Cane Creek, a few miles from the town, were George and Pleasant Vincent, Joel Wren, Mr. Riley, father of Matt Riley, the Floyds, Van Pools and a number of others who came in later.

The death of Samuel Lucas at Columbus was the first event of the kind that occurred in Hickman County; he died about the year 1825. The honor of building the first mill in Hickman County belongs to David Menser, who erected a small structure on the Bayou du Chien about the year 1826. This mill was a very primitive affair, supplied with indifferent machinery, and was operated by horse power. It stood until the year 1827, at which time it was replaced by a water-mill, one of the first mills of the kind west of the Tennessee River. Among the first industries of the county was a tannery, operated by Willis White and Merritt Stephenson, six miles south of Clinton, in the year 1826. Conrad Huss started a tannery in the same locality a short time afterward, and operated it very successfully for a number of years.

"In 1827 occurred the great plague of squirrels, which swarmed over the country like the locusts of Egypt, utterly destroying the corn, and doing serious damage generally. They came from the West, swam the Missis-

sippi, and remained in the country several months. There was a lady washing clothes on the banks of the river at Mills' Point, now Hickman, on the day the little pests crossed, and with her clothes paddle she killed over seventy of them."*

The cause of Christianity was not tardy of introduction into the new country, though preachers were not so numerous then as now. The first church house built in the county was at Mount Pleasant, erected as early as 1826, by the Methodists. Among the first preachers were Revs. William Holifield, Fletcher Sullivan and Joshua Cole, all of whom came to the county about the year 1824. These old pioneers were earnest and faithful ministers, particularly Mr. Cole. "Through the efforts and influence of these grand pioneers of the cross, the Mobley Camp Ground near Water Valley was established, where hundreds of persons were converted to God. They also established Oliver's Camp Ground, in Fulton County, and one near Clinton Station, on the Mobile road, in this county, called Scott's Camp Ground. These stations were instrumental in doing much good in toning the morals of the people, the beneficial effects of which are still felt upon the community at large."

The Presbyterians followed the Methodists, and in a very early day Rev. Collins J. Bradley, of that denomination, held religious services in various parts of the country, preaching at the houses of the settlers, there being no church edifices in the country at that time. Elder Fleming Cayce, of the Old School Baptist Church, was a pioneer preacher also. He assisted in the organization of the Rock Springs Church in Alexander Precinct as early as 1828, and ministered to the congregation several years thereafter. Elder Silas Cavender, of Graves County, preached for this society during the early years of its history. This church is still kept up, and is one of the active religious organizations of the county. Other early societies are Scott's Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church, the Baptist and Methodist Churches of Clinton and the various congregations of Columbus.

*Rev. Willis White's Reminiscences.

The early roads of Hickman County were mere by-ways, or Indian traces, which being traveled for a number of years were afterward regularly established. In 1824 there was but one public road in the county, and that ran from Columbus to where the town of Milburn now stands. There was not a bridge of any kind in the county, and it will be readily seen that travel was exceedingly difficult, in fact impassable, during high water.

In February, 1822, Hickman County was established by a special act of the Legislature with jurisdiction over the entire Purchase. The town of Columbus on the Mississippi River was selected as the seat of justice, and it was there, on February 25, 1822, that the magistrates met, and effected a permanent organization. There being no court house, the justices occupied the private residence of William Tipton, near the ferry landing, known as the Block-House, it having been used as a fort, when Columbus was a remote military outpost.

The justices of the peace were John Anderson, of Mayfield; Andrew Bell, Arthur H. Davis of Marshall County; William Titsworth, who lived near Paducah, and Samuel Wilson, who resided near the village of Lovelaceville in the present county of Ballard. The oath of office was administered by Dickson Givens, of Livingston County, after which Culbert Anderson was appointed clerk; William Danks, coroner; C. A. Wilson, surveyor; and William Duncan, sheriff. Among the first deliberations of this court were the division of the county into four constable districts, and the recommending of several parties to the governor as fit persons for the office of justice of the peace. At the second session, February 26, 1822, William Tipton was granted license to keep tavern at his house in Columbus. Viewers were appointed to lay out and locate three roads, one from Columbus to the mouth of Clark's River; one from Reynolds' ferry on the Tennessee to Copeland's ford on Clark's River, and one from Copeland's ford to intersect the Love's ferry road.

The third session of the county court was held May 6, 1822, at which time Jacob Row-

W C Blair

n d, Joseph Edrington and William Cook were the justices. At that time Samuel Gibson and Jacob Rowland were granted licenses to solemnize the rite of matrimony, and William Tipton, William Cook, Thomas Barner and William Titsworth were appointed judges of the election held that year. Thomas Barner, William Tipton, William Cook, Samuel Wilson, and Joseph Edrington composed the court at the July term, 1822, and a part of the business then transacted was the tax levy of $347.58, to meet which the sum of 37½ cents was assessed to each tithable.

At the spring term of 1823, the following justices were present, to wit: Thomas James, Joseph Edrington, William Cook, Michael McQuary, Wiley Barner, Ebenezer Killough, William Armstrong, Ezekiel Edens, Joshua Shelton and Richard Reiger. The levy that year was $1.50 per tithable, and the records show that there were 499 tax payers then living in the county.

"The court appointed Richard Taylor, Samuel Gibson and William Edwards commissioners to contract for and superintend the erection of a court house, to be constructed of logs. A site for the building was fixed on a bluff, a little south of the fortifications built during the late war. The house was built of hewn logs, and was to be 22x18 feet, one story and a half high, with an upper room divided by a partition so as to form two jury rooms. The order appointing the commissioners did not authorize them to prosecute the work further than to erect the building and have it covered, but after the house was erected there was an order of the March term appointing the same committee as commissioners to have it chinked and daubed." *

"At the October term of 1823, the court appointed J. B. Gibson, Samuel Lucas and Benjamin Barner commissioners, to superintend the building of a jail in Columbus. The jail was to be built of hewed logs, fifteen inches square, and the structure was to be sixteen feet square and eight feet high, with three windows, each 10x10 inches. The door was to be made of two oak planks, well nailed together, and hung with iron hinges, with a bar extending across the door. The commissioners respectively reported the cost of the jail $294, and the cost of the court house $265."* These buildings answered the purposes until the removal of the county seat to Clinton in 1829. In 1826 the county let a contract for the building of a bridge across Obion Creek, on the road leading from Columbus to Moscow, near where the present bridge now stands. This was the first bridge built in the county by order of the court.

The first deed recorded after the county organization was made by Samuel Gibson and wife to John Clark, conveying fifty-two acres of land, lying on the north side of the Cumberland River, for the sum of $400, bearing date of March 14, 1822.

The first will probated was that of Frederick Skaggs, giving to his wife and children all of his personal and real estate. The date of this instrument is October, 1822.

The first marriage license was granted March 4, 1822, to Samuel Lancaster and Nancy McClendon. The second couple who applied for license were Benjamin Owens and Winifred Shields. One of the first instruments recorded in the county clerk's office is a bill of sale, bearing date of February, 1822, the material part of which is as follows: "Bill of sale—Wiley Barner to Edward Curd for $900, paid in Russellville branch bank, the following described negro slaves, to wit: One negro man, named Elijah, aged about forty-seven years, one negro woman, named Polly, and her child, a boy named George, aged about two years, and their increase, which said negro slaves for life are warranted, and forever defended against the claims of all persons whatsoever, the same slaves to be found sensible and healthy."†

The first circuit court in Hickman County was held at the house of William Tipton, in Columbus, March 12, 1822, by Richard Taylor and John Anderson, associate justices. John E. Taylor was appointed clerk of the court, and a grand jury com-

*White's Reminiscence.

*White. †Ibid.

posed of the following citizens was impaneled: Ebenezer Killough, Samuel Mahan, Zadock Adams, Henry Williams, Spencer Standley, James Pryor, Francis Taylor, John C. Gray, William Neal, Richard Cromwell, Caleb C. Irvine, Frederick Miller, James Bailey, Thomas Phillips and William Lamins. This jury returned indictments against Owen Thompson for manslaughter, and Charles Taylor and H. Gibson for various offenses.

The first trial by jury was for slander—Isaac Darnall *vs.* Peter Dozier. The following are the names of the jurors: William Rogers, James Garrison, Isaac Crowson, John Pryor, Charles Taylor, John Russell, W. B. Cook, Jesse Meshew, Sterling Vaughan, Benjamin McIntosh, William Brown and Moses Thompson. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff in the sum of $1,112.50. At the second day of court the grand jury returned bills against L. Williams, William Williams and Matthew McLean for felony, an indictment against John and Elizabeth Vandiver for murder, and a presentment against Matthew McLean for drunkenness.

In February, 1824, Thomas James and Peter Mahan were appointed associate judges. They both resigned, and Moses Thompson and Mr. Edrington were appointed. Edrington dying shortly afterward, John Miliner was chosen to fill the vacancy.

In about the year 1829 or 1830, the Legislature formed a new judicial district, which was composed of Caldwell and Livingston, and all the counties west of the Tennessee River. Rezin Davidge, who lived at Princeton, was appointed judge in 1830.

Judge James Campbell was appointed in 1838 to fill the office of judge. He soon resigned, and W. P. Fowler was chosen in his place; he presided until 1850. Since then the following judges have presided, to wit: R. K. Williams, C. S. Marshall, A. R. Boone, W. W. Robertson, Edward Crossland, W. G. Bullitt and James Campbell, Jr., present incumbent.

The county seat remained at Columbus from 1822 until 1829. The Legislature, at its session in the winter of 1827–28, passed an act granting the citizens the right to open a poll and take the vote in favor of a removal of the seat of justice from Columbus to the center of the county. Dr. J. D. Martin, of McCracken County, Joseph Gough and Henry Wheeler, of Graves County, were appointed commissioners to select the site for the county seat as near the center as practicable, in the event that a majority voted for a removal. The vote was taken and a majority favored the change; the commissioners were notified; they came, and after mature deliberation chose Clinton as the proper place. The land which was selected belonged to Stephen Ray, and was at that time covered with a dense forest of large trees. Ray donated the public square to the county, and certain proceeds arising from the sale of lots in the newly laid out seat of justice.

In moving the county seat, the commissioners did their duty faithfully, and without partiality, yet it did not give satisfaction. Moscow, by this time, had become a village of considerable note in the country on account of its trade and commerce. The friends of Moscow claimed that it was the proper place for a county seat, and when the commissioners met for the purpose of fixing upon a site, the claims of Moscow were urged. Columbus still entertained the hope that the advantage of the Mississippi River would induce the people to move the county seat back to that place. Thus there were three parties contending for the county town. The Moscow party was headed by Samuel McFall, who was the proprietor of that town. Drs. Luten and Ashburn also wielded a powerful influence in favor of that place. There were a good many in favor of the center of the county, as that would be just and fair to all citizens. The Clinton party was headed by Judge James, aided by such men as Col. Robert Moore, William Walker and other prominent citizens living in the village. The contest was carried on with unabated interest for a number of years, Clinton maintaining her supremacy in the meantime. The controversy led to the formation of Ballard County in 1842, and the county of Fulton two years later.

The first court house in Clinton was a rude log structure erected on the public square the year after the county seat was relocated. It served its purpose until 1832, at which time an order for a new building more in keeping with the increasing wealth and dignity of the county was made, and work on the new house commenced at once. The commissioners appointed to superintend its erection were Owen Glatz, Stephen Ray, H. L. Edrington, Thomas L. Owsley and William Jordan. The building was of brick, forty-five feet square, two stories high, with the court room below and three jury rooms on the second floor. At the time of its completion, it was the only brick house in Kentucky west of the Tennessee River. It was used for court purposes until 1883, at which time it was condemned as unsafe, and a new one ordered built. At the August term, 1883, the following commissioners were appointed to examine plans and contract for the new building: N. P. Moss, John T. Moore and R. H. Nancy. The contract was awarded W. L. & T. J. Landrum of Mayfield, for $20,845, and under the efficient management of John A. Scott, superintendent, the work has been pushed rapidly forward. The building is brick, and when completed will be one of the finest and most imposing temples of justice in the Purchase. It is 92x78 feet, contains four offices and a library room, two petit jury rooms, one grand jury room and a circuit court room 46x74 feet, with a seating capacity of 700 persons outside the bar. The building is finely finished, and with its beautiful tower, 112 feet high, is an object of which the citizens of both city and county may be justly proud.

The first jail in Clinton was ordered built in 1832. It was an indifferent log structure, but answered the purpose for which it was intended, for a number of years. The present jail was built in 1878 at a cost of $6,500. It is a substantial brick structure, strongly made and sufficiently capacious for the criminals of the county for years to come.

Prior to 1873, the paupers of Hickman were supported by certain allowances made by the county, but in December of that year a poor farm of 100 acres was established four miles southeast of Clinton. This was not a successful venture, the farm not proving self-supporting, and at the present time steps are being taken to dispose of the farm and purchase a smaller place nearer the city.

The first newspaper published in Hickman County was the Columbus *Enterprise*, established about the year 1852–53, by W. D. Lannom. It was a small sheet, had a limited circulation and ran its course in four years. It was succeeded by the Columbus *Crescent*, a weekly paper, established by Messrs. Bullock & Elliott, a short time before the breaking out of the war. This paper was issued but a short time, the war proving its deathblow. The next paper was started, in 1866, by Robert Summers, and was known as the Columbus *Messenger*. This was a seven-column folio sheet and was regularly issued until 1876.

The Columbus *Sentinel* was established, in 1877, by Charles R. Cravens of Anderson, Ind., who published it for about one year when the office was purchased by Messrs. Gray & Walker, who changed the name of the paper to the Columbus *Times*. The *Times* was issued by Gray & Walker about six months, at the end of which time, the office was purchased by Ed B. Walker and Luther S. Taylor, who ran it for one and a half years. Later E. B. Walker established the Columbus *Beacon*, a small paper which enjoyed an existence of about nine months.

In December, 1882, Luther S. Taylor established the Columbus *Herald*, which he published at Columbus until May, 1883, at which time the office was moved to Union City, Tenn. In 1883, F. H. Thurman moved the Wickliffe *Tribune* from Wickliffe, Ballard County, to Columbus, where he issued it for a part of one year. He afterward returned to Wickliffe, where the paper has since been published.

The Clinton *Democrat* was established in Clinton, in 1876, by John Shields who still edits it. The paper is a seven-column folio, Democratic in politics, and has a large circulation.

The Hickman County *Times* was estab-

lished at Clinton, January, 1884, by Jacob White, who published it until the winter of 1885, at which time he sold out to Wimbish Henderson. Henderson moved the office to Columbus, where the paper has since been issued.

The early schools of Hickman County, like those of other parts of Kentucky, were of a very primitive character, and supported by private subscription. Among the first teachers are remembered James Fair, Mr. Singleberry and a man by the name of Kimball, all of whom wielded the birch prior to 1830. The first schoolhouse in the county was a small log structure built in 1825. It stood near John's Bridge on the Bayou du Chien Creek and was first used by Mr. Fair, who taught a six months' term the winter after its erection.

In 1846, the first high school in Kentucky, west of the Tennessee River, was established at Clinton, and a frame building erected on the ground now occupied by the Clinton Academy. The school was liberally patronized and under the efficient management of Prof. G. W. Ray of Owensboro it did much toward awakening an interest in behalf of education throughout Hickman County. The building was destroyed by fire in 1852. In 1851 the present public school system went into effect, at which time the county was divided into districts, and a commissioner of schools appointed. The first man to fill the office was Douglas Zimmerman. The people manifested but little interest in the free schools, in fact some of the most influential citizens of the county were pronounced enemies to the system, and a number of years elapsed before the schools obtained a substantial footing. Richard Moss was the second school commissioner. He was succeeded by Rev. Willis White, who has filled the office for thirteen years, doing much during that time to advance the cause of education in the county. There are fifty districts in the county at the present time, forty-one of which are for white schools and nine for colored.

In 1854 the legislature authorized the sale of certain lands in Hickman County belonging to the State, the proceeds to be devoted to the building of a female college in Clinton. The sale was effected, and there being nothing in the charter prohibiting the attendance of male pupils, the institution was established as a mixed school under the name of Clinton Academy. A frame building was erected in 1854, and the first session taught the latter part of the same year by Prof. G. W. Ray. The school is still in progress and is well patronized.

Clinton College is a superior institution of learning, and was established in 1873 under the auspices of the West Union Association of the Baptist Church. The movement originated with the Rev. Willis White, whose untiring industry in its behalf culminated in the above year by securing a charter, and steps were at once taken to erect a building. Donations were made by the brethren and friends about Clinton and throughout the West Union District, and a building fund amounting to several thousand dollars was soon obtained. The main part of the present building was erected in 1874 at an expenditure of $12,000. It is a two-story brick structure, and stands in the midst of a beautifully shaded lot of five acres, in the eastern part of the town. The first session was taught the winter of 1873, in the Baptist Church of Clinton, by Prof. T. N. Wells. Prof. Wells served until 1880, at which time he resigned and was succeeded by Miss A. M. Hicks, who has since remained in control. Under her efficient management the school has continued to increase in interest, and the course of instruction, the discipline, and thoroughness of teaching have been the subject of frequent commendation. The patronage of the college has been young ladies and gentlemen representing the best families in the county and the surrounding country of the Purchase. The attendance for the year 1884–85 was 220. Seven teachers are employed and the school is continually growing in interest.

The Marvin College building was erected in 1884 under the auspices of Paducah District of the Methodist Church South, and is the finest school edifice in Hickman County. It is a beautiful two-story brick structure,

situated on a commanding eminence in the northern part of Clinton, and cost the sum of $12,000. The school will be opened with a full corps of instructors, September, 1885.

Hopes of securing railroad facilities were entertained by the citizens of Hickman as early as 1848, but it was not until several years after that date, that any definite plan was urged. About that time the line of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad was surveyed through the northern part of the county, and later the citizens were called upon to assist the enterprise, which they did by voting a tax of $50,000 in its behalf.

The Illinois Central Railroad was built in 1873, the county contributing nothing towards its construction through her territory. It passed through the county from north to south and has been of incalculable benefit in developing the county's resources and building up the town of Clinton.

When the great civil war of 1861 was precipitated on the country, the sympathies of Hickman County were found to be largely with the South, and during that bloody struggle over seven hundred of her citizens fought in the army of the Confederacy. The town of Columbus was the scene of active military operations, and being a prominent point on the river, was early in the war taken possession of by the Confederate forces, under Gen. Polk, who threw up strong fortifications and garrisoned the city with about 20,000 troops. Opposite Columbus, at the town of Belmont, Mo., was fought, on the 7th of November, 1861, a bloody battle between the Federal forces, under Gen. Grant, and a detachment of Polk's army, commanded by Gens. Pillow and Cheatham, resulting in the retreat of the former to his transports about seven miles up the river. The loss on both sides was considerable, the Union forces suffering greatly while boarding the fleet. With the fall of Fort Donelson in 1862 all western Kentucky fell into the hands of the Federals. Immediately after the evacuation of Columbus, the Union forces marched into the city. They held it until the close of the war, making one of the chief depots of flotilla supplies on the Mississippi River. The fortifications were strengthened, heavy batteries were planted on the bluffs, so as to command the river, and at no time did the garrison number less than 2,500 men.

Clinton remained an unimportant outpost during the war, although it was occupied by Federal troops at intervals, the first force taking possession of the town early in 1863, and remaining for a period of ten months. Near the town in 1864 occurred the only skirmish that took place in the county during the war, resulting in the death of three Confederates out of a detachment of eighteen or twenty that rode into an ambush of New Jersey troops, then in possession of the town.

The following is a list of the companies recruited in Hickman County for the Confederate Army: Company A, First Kentucky, consisting of about one hundred men. This company was organized at the breaking out of the war, and served in Virginia for a period of one year. Company A, Second Kentucky Regiment, was organized in 1861 and left for the front in July of that year with 114 men. Officers: James W. Moss, captain; T. M. Horn, first lieutenant; Fountain Lester, second lieutenant, and L. C. Moss, third lieutenant. This was the first company sworn into the Confederate service for three years or during the war. It formed a part of the First Kentucky Brigade, which participated in all the bloody battles of the southwestern campaigns, and of the 115 men that first went out, only three or four returned uninjured at the close of the war. Company B, of the Seventh Kentucky Regiment, was recruited early in the war, and numbered about sixty or seventy men. This company served in the western campaign under Corps Commander Forrest, and took part in a number of hard-fought engagements. W. D. Lannom was captain; C. J. Rinford, first lieutenant; H. C. Watson, second lieutenant; and H. Henderson, third lieutenant. Besides the above, several hundred persons entered the service in different regiments, the majority of them enlisting at Camp Boone and Union City, Tenn. A few irregular soldiers were raised in the county for the Federal Army, but they

were attached to no particular regiment, their operations being confined to a kind of guerrilla warfare, which made them very unpopular with all classes of citizens. Such was their conduct, that on one occasion Gen. Payne, commander of the Federal forces in the Purchase district, caused an entire company of them to be put in the guard house for their depredations and outrages.

County Clerks.—Culbert Anderson, first clerk, *pro tempore.* The first one regularly appointed was Benjamin Barner, then follows in regular order Henry Edrington, John Shaw, W. H. H. Taylor, G. W. Rennick, E. R. Ray, Thomas M. Kemp, Thomas G. Poore, Smith R. Taylor and James L. Moss.

Circuit Clerks—Richard Taylor, Jr., W. H. H. Taylor, G. W. Rennick, Thomas G. Poore, S. W. Rennick and John R. Kemp.

County Judges—William S. Jordan, William F. Boone, Willis White, G. J. Binford and E. C. Hodges.

Sheriffs—William Duncan, Isaac B. Gibson, Mr. McQuary, Joseph Edrington, Richard Reiger, Francis T. Taylor, Samuel Gibson, Jarrett Willingham, Dempsey White, A. S. Tyler, William Holeman, E. T. Wright, L. Scarce, W. E. Wright, William Robinson, W. S. Jordan, Wiley Weatherford, E. Crossland, L. M. Lee, S. W. Rennick, William Cromwell, C. C. Bowman, elected but did not serve; W. M. Samuels, A. S. Arnold, J. F. Rennick, C. M. Vaughn, W. R. Johnson, R. H. Johnson and Thomas B. Johnson.

Representatives.—Hugh McCracken, Samuel P. McFall, R. N. Lewis, Edward George, John Shaw, B. G. Dudley, N. E. Wright, G. W. Silverstooth, expelled December, 1861, for giving aid to the Southern Confederacy, re-elected in 1669; Edward Crossland, W. D. Lannom, Elisha Beazly, F. M. Ray, W. R. Bradley, A. S. Arnold, W. M. Jones, Henry Campbell, C. M. Vaughn, Jos. R. Luten and G. J. Binford. Price Edrington represented Hickman and Fulton Counties in 1851–53. Richard Alexander represented them in 1855–57.

County Attorneys since 1851.—Robert D. Bowman, George W. Oldham, R. W. Walker, William Lindsy, R. A. Galbraith, N. P. Moss, T. J. Hess, E. C. Hodges and W. G. Ray.

Surveyors.—Constant A. Wilson, James W. Gibson, Jessie Cook, F. M. Ray, C. R. Iliff, H. C. Brown and T. L. Atwood.

Assessors since 1851.—D. H. Harry, I. N. Lawrence, F. M. Ray, J. G. Kennedy, C. D. Davis, H. A. Tarver and John W. Gore.

Jailers.—John Salmon, Samuel Williams, Price Edrington, B. F. Edrington, Tucker Williams, William Ward, B. F. Chambers, A. P. Hall, William Woodward, G. W. Miller, F. M. Woodward, J. J. Clark, James Zimmerman, J. H. Field, H. C. Watson and H. H. Winter. The present incumbent is H. C. Watson.

The population of Hickman County in 1830 was 5,198. In 1840, 8,968; 1850, 4,791; 1860, 7,008; 1870, 8,453. The following is the census of 1880 by districts and towns.

District No. 1, including Columbus	3,042
Columbus City	1,338
No. 2, including Clinton	2,519
Clinton City	506
Hayes district, No. 3	1,460
McCalister, No. 4	1,460
Moscow district, including Moscow Village	1,828
Moscow Village	288
Spring Hill, No. 6	622

The present site of Columbus, as stated, formed a part of the first land warrant located in western Kentucky. The history of the town, however, dates from the spring of 1821, at which time the tract alluded to was surveyed into lots and deeded by the Legislature of Virginia to trustees appointed to control and sell the same. The natural advantages of the site, and its superior geographical location, induced the projectors to lay out the town upon a very extensive scale, and original survey shows a plat of 894 lots, varying in size from 100x200 feet to over forty acres. A public square, a lot for a college building, and a tract for a public cemetery, the whole embracing an area of 4,000 acres. The survey was made by Richard Taylor, who was also a member of the first board of trustees; the other members of the board were Joseph Underwood, William Montgomery and a Mr. McKee. The first sale of lots took place early in 1822, and

among the first purchasers was William Tipton, who bought Lot No. 1, on which the old block-house previously referred to had been erected. In this building Mr. Tipton kept the first tavern in Hickman County, and it was also used as a court house during the year 1822. The first stock of goods was brought to the town by Mr. Cook early in 1822, and shortly after his arrival, Baker Woodruff engaged in the mercantile business, which he continued for several years.

Other early residents of the town were William Robertson (who kept a hotel near the river), Samuel Lucas, Henry Edrington (the first county clerk), Frank Taylor, Edmund Taylor, Dr. Hugh Nelson (one of the first physicians), John Edrington, Owen G. Cates (attorney), and others. Among the early business men were John E. Taylor, W. J. and J. P. Walker, W. Cook and R. E. Cook, all of whom sold goods prior to 1840. Later came Rector & Brown, John Cressap, Hanson Cressap and A. F. Flournoy, the last named having been one of the most prominent business men of the city. The early medical men of the town were Drs. Nelson, Fowler, Swain, Young and Dorsey.

A serious obstacle to the early development of Columbus was the old land warrant system, the lands immediately around the town having been located and held by non-residents, who refused to sell or dispose of them, thus driving the early settlers to the interior of the county. In the face of this hindrance, however, the town continued to grow apace, and as early as 1845 it was one of the prominent trading points on the Mississippi River between St. Louis and Memphis, and the chief source of supplies for the greater part of the Purchase district. The completion of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad to the town in 1854 marked a new era in the history of the place, and from that time until the breaking out of the war its growth was substantial and rapid. The war interfered with its prosperity to a considerable degree. Early in 1861 the town was occupied by the Confederate Army under Gen. Polk, who caused it to be strongly fortified. It was evacuated by the Confederates after the surrender of Fort Donelson, and from that time until the close of the war, the Federal forces remained in undisputed possession, making it one of the principal depots of army and flotilla supplies on the river.

In 1860 the town had a population of 963, and ten years later that number had increased to 1,574. The population in 1873 was estimated at something over 2,000, and the business interests that year were represented by eighty mercantile establishments, whose annual sales exceeded $800,000. From 1873 until 1884, the city seems to have experienced a general decline, but with the advent of the latter year, its business interests began to revive, and at the present time the town is making rapid strides toward regaining its former prosperity. Three railroads and the Mississippi River afford easy communication with all the principal cities of the south and southwest. The railroads are the Mobile & Ohio, which connects by transfer ferry across the river to Belmont with the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern, and the Nashville & Chattanooga, which runs daily trains from Union City, Tenn., to Columbus, over the Mobile & Ohio track.

The following is a list of the business for the year 1885: 3 dry goods stores, 6 grocery stores, 2 furniture stores, 3 confectioneries, 2 boot and shoe stores, 2 millinery stores, 1 gents' furnishing store, 2 hotels, 2 blacksmith shops, 2 large wood working and manufacturing establishments, 2 potteries, 1 flouring-mill, 1 livery stable and several dram shops.

There are six church organizations, with as many houses of worship, viz.: Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Catholic, colored Methodist and colored Baptist. There are two schools in the town, one supported from the public fund and the other, Columbus College, receiving its support from private subscription. The population at this time is estimated about 2,000.

The town of Clinton is situated near the geographical center of the county, in Section 4, Town 2 north, Range 3 west, and dates its history from the year 1828, at which time the site was selected by the commissioners appointed to relocate the seat of justice.

The original plat was laid out on land owned by Stephen Ray, who donated the public square for county purposes. The records were moved from Columbus in 1829, in which year several small buildings were erected, among them being a couple of temporary structures used for the different county offices. Lots were at once placed upon the market, and as early as 1830 there were several families located in the new town, among whom are remembered Mr. Oliver, Mr. Chambers, William Walker, who built the court house, J. Sublitt and his sons, W. E. Taylor and John Sublitt. The first stock of goods was brought to the place by William Walker, who carried on a very successful business until the time of his death in 1835 or 1836. Other early merchants were I. R. Dodge, who sold goods until 1850; Samuel Moore, Robert Moore, and the Sublitts, all of whom were identified with the business interests of the town for a number of years. The agitation of the county seat question operated very injuriously to Clinton for several years, and until the matter was finally settled, in 1845, no permanent growth took place. The first frame house in the village limits was erected by O. G. Gates, about the year 1834, and twenty years later the second frame house was built by Rev. Willis White, the buildings erected in the meantime being log and board structures. In 1860 there were 264 people living within the town limits, and during the ten years following, that number was increased by the addition of only eight persons, the census of 1870 showing a population of 272.

The year 1873 witnessed the completion of the Illinois Central Railroad through the county, and from that time the growth of the town has been steady and substantial. The road gave new life and impetus to the business interests, which have increased to such an extent that Clinton is now the most important trading and shipping point in the county. Several additions have been made to the original plat, and at the present time the town claims a population of about 1,200. Its business is represented by 6 dry goods houses, 12 grocery stores, 2 drug stores, 2 large flouring mills, 2 cabinet shops, 1 stove and tin store, 1 agricultural store, 1 harness shop, 1 chair factory, 1 bakery, 1 restaurant, 2 blacksmith shops, 1 saw-mill, 1 hotel, 1 boarding house, 1 gents' furnishing store, 2 butcher shops, 1 jewelry store, 2 barber shops, and 1 tobacco stemmery. There are 7 resident physicians, 5 of whom are in the active practice of their profession.

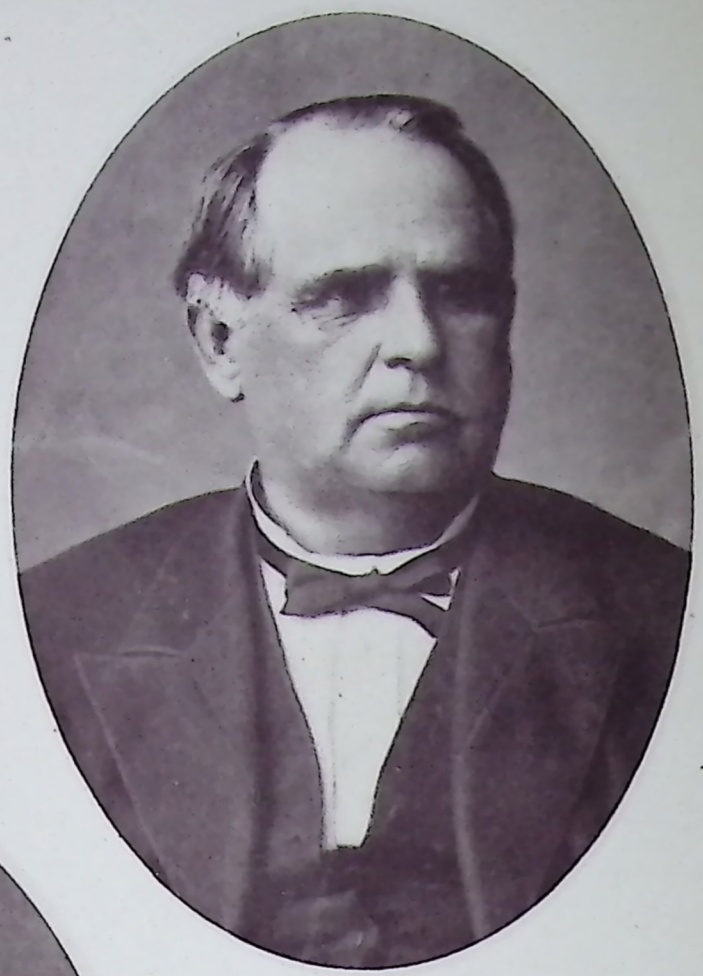
"Clinton has always had a good class of citizens, from the early settlers to the present inhabitants. They have ever been men of energy, industry and enterprise; when a measure was proposed, having for its object the furtherance of a common weal, they lent a helping hand, and gave it cordial support."*

Among the prominent residents of the town from time to time can be named J. S. Ringo. W. S. Jordan, Allen Caldwell, James Sublitt, Hiram Egbert, Coleman Ringo, Charles Ashley, Willis White, I. R. Dodge, Robert Moore, Michael Ward, Hudson Johnson, William Bugg, and others, all of whom have stamped the impress of their characters on the town and country. "These great and good men, at an early day, turned their attention to the cause of education. They founded in Clinton the first high school that was opened in the Purchase, and from this small beginning, in 1846, Clinton owes its present character of being the 'Athens' of west Kentucky, as regards educational interests." In addition to the seminary, there was built, in 1874, a large, commodious brick building, known as Clinton College, and in 1884 Marvin College was erected under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church. (For accounts of these institutions, see general history of the county.)

Clinton has several church organizations, the oldest of which is the Baptist Church, established in 1833. Their house of worship was erected in 1854. The congregation is ministered to at the present time by Rev. T. B. Johnson. The Methodist Episcopal Church of Clinton was organized as early as 1833. Their first temple of worship was built in 1857, and stood until 1876, at which time it gave place to the present brick edifice.

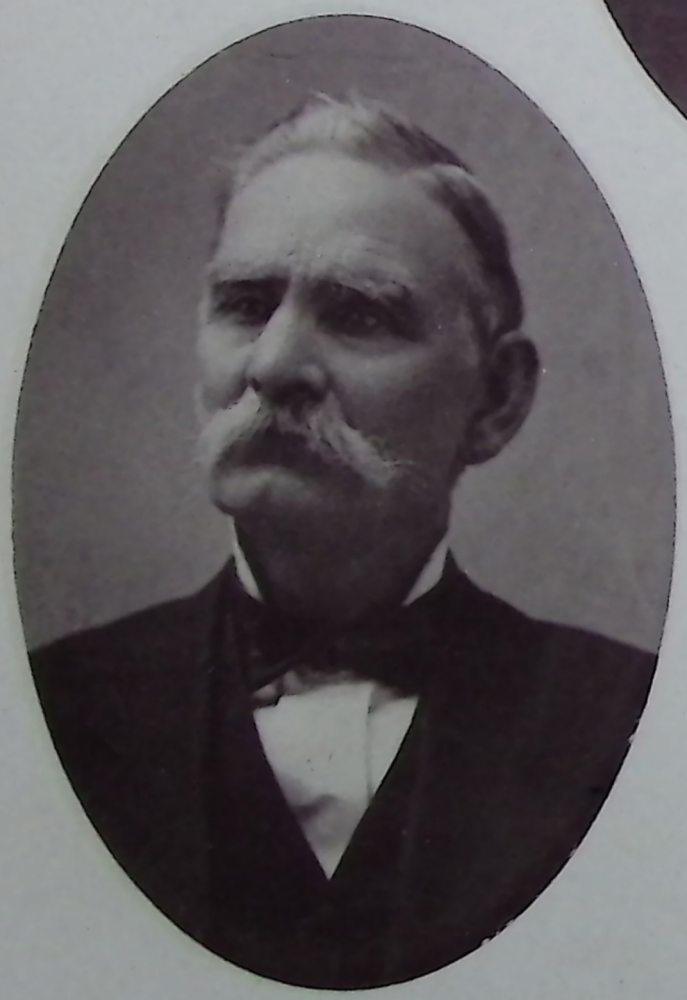
* White.

L. D. HUSBANDS.



J. M. BIGGER.

C. S. MARSHALL.



P. D. YEISER.

J. W. BLOOMFIELD.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BAR, PADUCAH.

The membership of the church numbers about 125; pastor, W. C. Sellers. The Christian Church was organized about the year 1852. This society has a beautiful house of worship erected in 1877, and is ministered to at the present time by Elder D. M. Breaker. The Presbyterians have a good congregation and a comfortable house of worship. There are also three colored churches, namely: Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian, all of which have frame meeting houses.

The Moscow settlement, which was early formed on the Bayou du Chien about six miles south of Clinton, developed into a well defined village in 1830, and one year later the town was incorporated by an act of the General Assembly. The original plat, consisting of 128 lots and public square, was surveyed in 1834, and embraces parts of Sections 25 and 36, of Town 2 north, Range 4 west. The proprietor of the town was Samuel McFall, who opened the first hotel in the place, and who was also one of the earliest merchants. The Dunlaps were among the first business men, and contemporary with them was William Griffey, who sold goods for a number of years. Solomon Nevill came to the village in an early day, and erected the first brick business house. He was a successful man, and accumulated a handsome fortune by merchandising and general trading. Another early merchant was James Patton, who was identified with the business interests of the place for several years.

Moscow early disputed the leading place in county influence with the towns of Clinton and Columbus; and for several years maintained a determined and successful struggle to secure the seat of justice. Failing in this endeavor, the village remained comparatively obscure until the construction of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad in 1854, which improvement opened up new possibilities, and the town became a good trading and shipping point. It is surrounded by a fine agricultural region, and with a population of some 400, and its complement of good stores, churches and private residences, is a pleasant village, but has no great probability of large growth.

Baltimore, situated about fourteen miles east of Clinton, was incorporated in 1856. It is a mere hamlet, containing one store and a few small residences. Obion, four miles northeast of Clinton, Oakville, a station on the railroad, and Wesley, twenty miles southeast of the county seat, are small villages.

CHAPTER VII.

McCRACKEN COUNTY.

McCRACKEN COUNTY, named in honor of Capt. Virgil McCracken, a brave officer in the war of 1812, was authorized to be established by an act of the General Assembly of Kentucky, approved December 17, 1824, with bounds described in an act approved December 19, 1821. It was formed from Hickman County with an area of 237 square miles. The act of December 17, 1824, had a number of sections providing as follows: Section 2—for the selection of nine justices, a sheriff and a coroner; the justices to meet at the house of Isaac Lovelace on the third Monday of January, 1825, to choose a county clerk; Section 3—for the appointment of Jonathan Shelton, James Ashby, W. Titsworth, George Lovelace and Charles Plummer as commissioners to locate the county seat in Town 6 north, Range 2 west; Section 4—for the laying out of a town on said site; Section 5—for granting $2 per day for such services, and Section 6—for the Hickman courts to continue jurisdiction for the present.

In pursuance of the foregoing authority we learn from the county records that "a-

Isaac Lovelace's, in the county of McCracken, in the year of our Lord, 1825, Isaac Lovelace, Jacob King, Philip Williams, Arthur P. Thompson, George Adams, Joseph Daniel, Samuel Hunsaker, William Hazard and Jesse Doolin severally produced commissions from his Excellency Joseph Jesha, Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, appointing them justices of the peace for the county of McCracken, agreeable to the provisions of an act of the assembly establishing the county of McCracken on the southwest of the Tennessee River, approved December 17, 1824. Whereupon Ebenezer Kellough, Esq., justice of the peace, in and for the county of Graves, administered to said Isaac Lovelace, *et al.*, the several oaths required by law, whereupon a county court was held for the county at the place and on the times aforesaid."

Braxton Small was appointed clerk, Isaac Lovelace administering the several oaths of office, and gave a bond for $10,000, with Ebenezer Kellough, Philip Williams, Hiram Hall, John Hunsaker, Elial Henson, William Hazard and John Hill as securities.

The further business of the first court consisted of: (1) The swearing in of James Martin as sheriff; (2) the appointment of Hiram Hall as deputy clerk; (3) the recommending to the governor of William S. Davis and Andrew Lovelace as suitable persons for county surveyor; (4) the laying off of certain constable districts and the appointing of John McElya, Andrew Newman and John Field to fill said places; (5) the recording of certain ear marks; (6) the ordering of future courts to be held at Luke Swetman's, in Wilmington.

The township aforesaid (No. 6), not containing a suitable site for a county-seat, an act of the assembly, approved December 9, 1825, appointed a new board of commissioners with instructions to fix same in Town 7, Range 1 west, or elsewhere, if their judgment so indicated. This board consisted of James Martin, Joseph Daniel, Isaac Lovelace, Jonathan D. Martin and Jesse Doolin.

McCracken County has the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers as parts of its boundary and a source of drainage. In addition, its soil is drained by Clark's River and Island Creek, tributaries of the Tennessee; Mayfield Creek, which flows into the Mississippi, and Massac, Willow, Newton's and Perkin's Creeks, and Spring Bayou, which run into the Ohio.

The land of this county is not so fertile as that of some of its neighbors of the Purchase. On the hills, the soil is washed away by the rains and snows, leaving deep gulches. In the river and creek bottoms, a richer soil is found that yields abundantly. Much of the land might be made more productive by giving attention to under drainage, deeper plowing and proper fertilization.

The timber along the streams is good in quality and abundant, embracing such varieties as may be found in other counties, viz.: oak, gum, poplar, ash, hickory, cypress, birch, elm, maple, etc.

In various parts of the county are to be found Indian mounds of considerable interest. One of these near Paducah has a residence placed on top of it, with an excavation from it for a cellar. On the bank of Massac Creek, on the property of Mr. Robb, is a chalybeate spring containing chloride of magnesium and probably some chloride of sodium. The water is said to have some medicinal virtues. In the absence of limestone and other forms of rock of dense character, a "Cement Rock" or conglomerate is found in immense quantities and serves a superior purpose for paving streets and roads. It is used also for walling wells, underpinning houses, etc. Its general use throughout the county for road purposes deserves to be encouraged.

Opposite McCracken County, on the Illinois bank of the Ohio River, is Fort Massac. It is thus described in Collin's History of Kentucky: "The late Gov. John Reynolds, in his Life and Times, says that Fort Massacre (usually known and styled Fort Massac) was established by the French about 1711. It was also a missionary station. Until 1756, when it was greatly enlarged and strengthened, it was only a small fortress.

In 1855 its outside walls were 135 feet square, and at each angle strong bastions were erected. The walls were palisades, with earth between the wood. Three or four acres of walks, in exact angles, and beautifully graveled with the pebbles from the river, were made on the north of the fort, on which the soldiers paraded. A large well was sunk within the fortress, and the whole appeared to have been strong and substantial in its day. It was here that the Christian (Roman Catholic) missionaries instructed the southern Indians in the gospel precepts; and it was here, also, that the French soldiers made a resolute stand against the enemy. In 1800 it was the only white settlement between the mouths of the Wabash and Mississippi. A few families resided near the fort and were dependent on it, and two companies of the United States Army were stationed there.

"Soon after its establishment, probably before 1720, a military road was opened by the French, when they had dominion over the country, from Massacre to Kaskaskia. The numbers of the miles were cut in cyphers, on trees, with an iron, and painted red; and were still plainly visible in 1800. The road made a great curve to the north, to avoid the swamps and rough country on the sources of Cache River, and also to attain the prairie country as soon as possible. Another road extended from Fort Massac to Cape Girardeau, in the then Spanish country."

County Clerk.—This position was held and its duties were faithfully performed by Braxton Small, from the organization of the county, January 17, 1825, to September, 1858, a period of more than thirty-three years. It is a matter of happy fortune that so experienced a hand began the official records of the county. He was followed in regular succession by Philip H. Wallace, 1858–62; Thomas D. Grundy, appointed to fill out the unexpired term of Wallace (only a few months); James Spence, October, 1862, to September, 1863; J. K. Leeman, September, 1863, to September, 1866; James Spence, 1866 to 1878; W. P. Nichols, the present incumbent, aided by Mr. Spence, who has so thoroughly mastered the details of the office.

Circuit Clerks.—February 7, 1825, Henry L. Edrington qualified, giving a bond for $10,000, with John E. Taylor and Thomas James as sureties. On Monday, February 6, 1826, Robert Fletcher was appointed his deputy. November 6, 1826, Edrington resigned and was succeeded by Braxton Small, the county clerk, who was appointed "during good behavior." He discharged the duties of the office faithfully up to the time of his death, in March, 1868, when J. Q. A. King was appointed to serve till October of the same year. October 6, 1868, E. B. Jones qualified and served till September 5, 1874, when D. C. Wilcox, the present incumbent, assumed the duties of the office.

The first grand jury was impaneled February 7, 1825, with Charles H. Plummer, foreman, to try the case, Commonwealth *vs.* Melinda McIntosh, for "Forfeited Recognizance."

Sheriff.—This responsible position was held in succession by James Martin, 1825–27; Isaac Lovelace, 1827–29; Archibald W. Naylor, 1829–33; Epps Allen, 1833–36; Philip Williams was commissioned during this period, but failed to qualify, and Allen took his place; Robert Fletcher, 1837–39; Philip Williams, 1839–41; James Ashley, 1841–42; James C. Calhoun, 1842–47; during this period John McElya was in office about a month, when he resigned and Calhoun filled out the term; George Smedley also held about a month; Samuel Rice, 1849–51; Joseph Cannada and George H. Morrow both served in succession from January, 1851, to September, 1851; James C. Calhoun, 1851–53; George H. Morrow, 1853–55; H. S. Lewis, 1855–59; George B. Grundy, 1859–63; George W. Ratcliff, 1863–64; R. A. Bacon was elected but never qualified; James C. Calhoun, 1865–71; Thomas D. Grundy, 1871–74; Wood Morrow, 1874–75; A. J. Ogilvie, 1875–79; J. W. Sauner, 1879–82; T. C. Finley, 1882, died 1883, John P. Zelner, appointed to fill out time from January to September; George W. Ratcliff, 1883, is the present incumbent.

County Treasurer.—By special act of the legislature, a county treasurer is chosen.

Dr. A. B. Kinkead qualified March 27, 1871, and held till January 22, 1885. His successor, W. F. Bradshaw, is the present incumbent.

Coroners.—William Glover, the first officer, qualified October 17, 1825, and held till 1828; John Smith, 1828–1851; John R. Pidgeon, 1851–54; David C. Peters, 1854–57; George Dunn, 1857–58; David S. Lovelace, 1858–60; T. L. Jacobs, 1861–67; R. H. Shanklin, 1867–73; W. M. Sheppard, 1873–79; R. H. Shanklin, 1879–82; M. Nance, 1882, is the present incumbent.

Trustee Jury Fund.—The County has had but two incumbents for this office, the first the faithful Braxton Small, appointed March 20, 1838, and holding till his death in 1868; the second a worthy successor, James Spence, appointed August, 1868, and the present custodian of these funds.

Jailers.—Jonathan D. Martin, appointed May 10, 1830 and resigned September, 1831; James B. Husbands, 1831–34; George Dunn, 1834–54; B. R. Harris, 1854–58; P. C. Smedley, 1858–62; A. S. Jones, 1862–70; John Ewell, 1870–74; Thomas E. Ashbrook, 1874–75; Henry C. Ewell, to fill out time from death of Ashbrook in May to September; T. C. Edwards, 1875–82; J. W. Sauner, 1882, the present incumbent.

Surveyors.—William S. Davis, qualified July 18, 1825 and served till 1827; Jonathan D. Martin, 1827–34; James B. Husbands, 1834–36; John Hardin, 1836 till the time of his death in 1847; Ezekiel E. Calhoun, 1847–51; Samuel B. Caldwell, first under present constitution, from June 2, 1851, to resignation December 12, 1853; Samuel B. Rice, 1853–62; M. W. Holland, 1862–69; W. P. Nichols, 1869–78; S. B. Caldwell, 1878–82; J. B. Williams, 1882 to time of his death in 1884. No successor has been appointed, the duties being performed by W. P. Nichols, county clerk.

County Attorneys.—James W. Gibson, 1825–27; James B. Husbands, 1829–31; John L. Murray, 1831–33; Joseph Young, 1833–34; James B. Husbands, 1834–35; James O'Bannon, 1835–36; James B. Husbands, 1836–40; Horatio T. Harris, 1840, and served only six months; Lafayette Flournoy, 1841–46; W. M. Lambdin, 1846–47; Matthew Markland, 1847–49; L. S. Trimble, 1849–50; L. D. Husbands, first attorney under present constitution, 1851–54; W. H. Jones, 1854–58; Ward Boyd, 1858–60; A. F. Williams, 1860–62; George H. Morrow, 1862–70; S. C. Bryce, 1870–78; W. F. Bradshaw, 1878–82; J. W. Eden, 1882, the present incumbent.

County Judges.—Under the old constitution the following justices held court: Isaac Lovelace, Philip Williams, Samuel Hunsaker, Thomas J. Flournoy, Robert Fletcher, John McElya, John Hardin, James Ashley, A. Morgan, J. Daniels, Samuel Rice, John Crice, John B. Hicks, George Smedley, John F. Harris, William Jones, Joseph Cannada, J. D. Martin, Robert Buckler, Kirby Jones and Hiram Hall.

Under the present constitution, the following judges: John Milliken, 1851–53, was killed at Mayfield in 1861; R. S. Ratcliffe, 1853–54; G. A. Flournoy, 1854–70; George H. Morrow, 1870–77; W. R. Reed, 1877, about one month; D. A. McGonagil, 1877–82; J. L. Bethshares, 1882, is the present incumbent.

County School Commissioners.—March 11, 1850, Alexander McClure, David Morrow and George Dunn were appointed commissioners. Their bond was fixed at $1,000. The amount received from the state superintendent, December 9, 1851, for school purposes was $1,677; Alexander McClure, and Charles A. Campbell, appointed March 9, 1852. The amount received for school purposes in 1852, was $561; in 1853, $709.10; John Ewell, appointed December 12, 1853, vice McClure resigned. Having refused to act, G. A. Flournoy, was appointed January 10, 1854, to fill vacancy. Amount of school fund, in 1854, was $653.10, in 1855, $1,080.80.

July 14, 1856, Charles A. Campbell was reappointed for two years, with compensation of $1 per day the first year, and $2 the second. Amount of funds in 1856 was $904.60; 1857, $1,957.74; 1858, $1,789.38. Campbell was paid for his service afterward as follows, for 1861, $10; 1862, $12; 1864,

$12; 1865, $8; 1866, $25. The tax for school purposes in 1865 was $1,192.60.

S. B. Caldwell qualified November 15, 1866. Amount of school funds in his hands June 10, 1867 was $2,538.16. At the court session November 9, 1868, he was allowed for service $44.67.

D. D. Thomson was elected November 11, 1868. The school fund in his hands, May 11, 1869, was $2,819.52; in 1870, $2,473.73; 1871, $6,614.35. Served till 1872.

George C. Thompson, 1872-74; W. R. Reed, 1874–76; J. W. Eden, 1876-78; D. C. Hogan, 1878–82; F. M. Houser, 1882 to 1884, when he was chosen the first superintendent under the revised law. This position he holds at the present time.

Circuit Judges.—Under the old constitution James Campbell, Sr., was the only judge from McCracken County. Under the new constitution the following gentlemen served: W. G. Bullitt and James Campbell, the present incumbent.

Commonwealth Attorneys.—J. B. Husbands, L. D. Husbands, A. P. Thompson, Thomas H. Corbett, P. D. Yeiser and Charles Thomas have at various times performed its responsible duties.

Members of Senate.—James Campbell, 1829–32; John Q. A. King, 1855–59; Dr. John M. Mason, 1859–63, expelled February 15, 1862, "for leaving his seat and taking position in the rebel army"; W. T. Chiles, 1863–67, resigned 1866, and succeeded by J. M. Bigger, 1866–67; John W. Ogilvie, 1882–86, present incumbent.

Representatives.—Gustavus A. Flournoy, 1835; Charles C. Russell, 1839; Robert Fletcher, 1841; James Campbell, 1842–43; John W. Crockett, 1846; George H. Morrow, 1850; Lawrence S. Trimble, 1851–53; L. D. Husbands, 1859–61; John Q. A. King, 1861–63, expelled December 21, 1861, for "giving aid and comfort to the Confederate Army"; J. W. Boone, 1862–63; T. J. Birchett, 1863–65; John W. Ogilvie, 1865–69, 1871–73; Thomas E. Moss, 1869–71; B. G. Bidwell, 1873–77; J. M. Bigger (speaker), 1877–81: Thomas H. Corbett, 1881–83; Josiah Harris, Jr., 1883–85.

Members of Congress.—Linn Boyd; Lawrence S. Trimble.

Pioneer life is fraught with peculiar hardships. The effort to rescue a region of country from the depredations and fear of the untutored savage is scarcely less arduous than the earnest, patient industry required to sweep away gigantic forests, to build bridges, to establish roads, churches and schoolhouses, and to inaugurate social and civil institutions. No ordinary spirit is sufficient for these things. Intelligence must combine with an indomitable will and self-sacrificing spirit.

About 1820–21 Charles Ferguson, John Rollins (father of Capt. W. H. Rollins, now of Paducah) and James Davis, with his sons, Isaac, Robert S., James and Jacob, settled near the present site of Paducah, and became the progenitors of large and influential families. Between this date and 1826, settlements were made in or near old Wilmington by Luke Swetman, Dr. J. D. Martin, James Martin (father-in-law of the preceding), Braxton Small, Frederick Harper, William Titsworth, Greenup Titsworth, John McElya, John Webb and others.

A little later there lived south of Paducah Jesse Yandel, near Eden's Hill; Robin Wilkins and family, near Florence Station; in the vicinity of the Wilkins' lived Kirley Jones, William Tanner, James Houser, Edmund Forrester, Jerry Elrod, Tom Johnson, Thomas Harris, Rev. Samuel Johnson, William Dent, John and James Potter, Jeremiah Morrow, Duncan Moore, Benjamin Bourland and others.

At a very early date, somewhere between 1820 and 1830, Lovelaceville had a group of settlers consisting of Isaac, Thomas, Andrew and Archibald Lovelace.

The early settlers in and around Paducah embrace such well known families as the Davises already mentioned, Francis Harrison, John T. Harris, Thomas J. Flournoy, Rodney Case, James B. Husbands, James S. Long, James Walters, Abel Sullivan, James C. Calhoun, George F. Hendren, the Enders, Valentine Owens, Robert Buckler, the Ogilvies, the Pells and others mentioned in the

poll book of 1834, and in other connections.

Wilmington, the first seat of justice in the county, was laid out in January, 1827, into 108 lots, embracing 102 acres, one rood and twenty-four perches. It had four streets running north and south, viz.: East, Water, Main Cross and West; also four running east and west, viz.: Clark, Main, Jefferson and South. It had, also, a public square centrally located.

On the first Monday in January, 1827, there were sold forty-two lots ranging in value from $2, the lowest, to $23, the highest, and aggregating $458.62½. The following men were purchasers: Gordon & Wells, and Samuel Smedley, of Smithland; John Field, William Jones, John M. Dinkin, Luke Swetman, Braxton Small, Philip Williams, Isaac Lovelace, William S. Davis, David Brown, J. D. Martin, James Ashley, Andrew Newman, Thomas Davis and Charles Ewell. On May 10, 1828, additional lots were sold to Jonathan Parker, John Smith, Martin J. Fletcher, A. W. Naylor, Valentine Owen, John McElya and others. Of the foregoing, Thomas Davis was the father of Dr. F. T. Davis, of Paducah, and James Martin was the father-in-law of Col. James B. Husbands, so well known to the people of the county.

October 12, 1829, a plan for a court house was reported; Frederick Harper was employed to construct the same. March 8, 1830, a committee was appointed to inspect the court house, and reported, May 10th, as follows: "Said court house is finished and completed in manner and form as by the plan thereof designated." The report was accepted, and future sessions of the court ordered to be held in it.

The jail near by consisted of two rooms of different sizes, the west one being about 16x18, the east one about fourteen feet square. Between the two was a hall about sixteen feet wide. The walls were made of hewed logs twelve inches square, thoroughly notched and fitted at the ends to give strength and security. It, too, was a story and a half in height. These structures are both standing at this date (1885) in an open corn-field, belonging to Henry Quarles.

First court was held at Isaac Lovelace's about four miles from Wilmington. The next session was held March 21, 1825, at the house of Luke Swetman, in Wilmington, and subsequent ones were held there till October 15, 1827, the rent for a session being $2.00. The session of December, 1827, was held in the new court house, and future ones also, till February 13, 1832, when the county records were ordered to be removed to Paducah.* Isaac Lovelace signed the first record at Wilmington, and John Hardin the last.

By an act of the General Assembly, approved December 10, 1831, as follows:

WHEREAS, It is represented to this general assembly that it would be greatly to the interest of the people of the county of McCracken to remove their seat of justice from Wilmington to the town of Paducah, therefore,

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That so soon as the people of Paduca shall, by subscription or otherwise, raise and secure to the county court of said county the sum of six hundred dollars, which shall be appropriated in aid of building the necessary public buildings in said town of Paduca, and provide a house to hold court in; it shall then be the duty of the county and circuit court clerks, to cause all the public papers and records belonging to said courts to be removed to the said town of Paduca, within twenty days thereafter; which shall be and remain the permanent seat of justice for said county, and the county and circuit courts shall be held in said town.

The destiny of Wilmington was sealed. The public property was sold by Braxton Small, commissioner for the purpose, January 1, 1833, realizing together with lots in Paducah donated by William Clark, the sum of $945.

At the March term of court, 1825, it was ordered that the tavern keepers in this county be allowed the following rates and no more, to-wit:

For Breakfast, Dinner and Supper, each...	25 cts.
" Lodging, per night,.....	12½ cts.
" Whisky, per half-pint, ...	12½ cts.
" Rum and French Brandy, per half pint	25 cts.
" Wine (Medeira) per half pint,.....	25 cts.
" Peach Brandy, per half pint,.....	18¾ cts.
" Horse, per night,.....	25 cts.
" Horse feed,.....	12½ cts.

* The records were brought from Wilmington to Paducah by Braxton Small in a skiff, owing to the high water of the great flood of 1832.

The first deed recorded in the county was made June 18, 1825, by Andrew Frazer, of Livingston County, to W. M. Darby, the consideration being $100 in cash for lot number 59, in the town of Pekin, McCracken County. The first mortgage was executed August 12, 1830, by Francis A. Harrison to Thomas J. Flournoy, for $689.66, on lots 5, 43 and 44, in the town of Paducah.

Some of the early constables appointed at Wilmington for the county were John McElya, Andrew Newman, John Field, William Doolin, William Price, David Dial, John L. Henderson, Timothy Blocker, Alexander S. Henderson and Elial Henson.

Owing to the scarcity of ordained ministers in those days, the court ordered that Samuel Hunsaker, Philip Williams, Isaac Lovelace, William Hazard, H. L. Edrington and others at a later date be authorized to solemnize marriages. The first marriage in the county was solemnized by Philip Williams, March 24, 1825, the parties being Duncan Henderson and Sarah Glenon, a widow, the license bearing date March 21, 1825.

Some of the early attorneys who practiced in the Wilmington court were James W. Calloway, John Miller, James W. Gibson, James B. Husbands, who seemed to be ready and qualified to discharge the duties of any office assigned to him by the new county; William Piles and John L. Murray, of Wadesboro, who represented the district in Congress.

It is said that during those primitive days farmers would ride their mares to the county seat, but leave the colts at home. Then local option permitted the honest yeomanry to indulge quite freely in the various drinks sold at low rates by the tavern keeper. When evening came, the intoxicated farmer's only safe plan to reach home through the tall cane was to mount his mare and give her free rein. The animal's desire to return to her colt would lead her master safely home, and thus open a path for future traveling. This novel way of establishing trails, let it be remarked, was not wholly uncongenial to the frontiersman.

The early settlers were fortunate in finding the dense forests well supplied with game, such as deer, turkeys, squirrels for subsistence. In addition, however, wolves, bear, and panthers were found, a terror to flocks and herds.

The first settlers were not content to go into the new country and devote themselves exclusively to secular pursuits. Religious interests were not forgotten. "The groves were God's first temples," and they were brought into requisition for such purpose by the faithful pioneers. Private dwellings, barns, and, when bad, schoolhouses, served to afford the early Christians suitable temples in which to pour forth praise and supplication to the Infinite One.

In 1835, Wiatt's Camp Ground (Methodist), near what is now Florence Station, was organized by Rev. Achilles Wright. The ground included some five acres, and belonged to James Wiatt, who located in 1831. On those grounds were held annual meetings for a series of years under the direction of James Wiatt, John Bird, Hymen Richardson, Kirby Jones and others. Some of the early preachers were: Revs. George Cayce, Finley Bynum, Joshua Cole, Thomas Joiner, John Futrell, Thomas Smith, John Witt and James McCutchen. The house used was a hewed-log structure about 30x40 feet. Out of the Camp Ground Church has sprung the Lebanon Church, whose house of worship, a frame building 40x60 with a Masonic hall above, was erected in 1869 by W. C. Clark at a cost of $2,000. Its preachers were: Revs. Lane Fawcett, R. L. West, Edward Stewart, Charles Hilyard, Josephus Evans, Graves and J. W. Naylor.

The regular (Hardside) Baptists had, according to reliable testimony, a congregation about four miles southwest of Paducah as early as 1828. A Mr. John Webb was a prominent member of it. This was the first organization in the county. The next was the Island Creek Baptist Church, organized about half a mile from Florence Station in about 1832 by Rev. Isaiah King, and Mrs. Tims, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Bolin and others. The first place of worship was a log schoolhouse. The organization is still in existence and has a box frame—one of the best in the county,

with a membership of twelve members. It has James Houser and C. S. Houser as deacons; J. T. Jones, clerk; Rev. T. F. Harrison, pastor.

The names of some of the early Baptist (regular) preachers are: Durin Allcock, Isaiah King, Philip Austin and Young.

Presbyterianism was advocated by Rev. Samuel Johnson; as Cumberland Presbyterian by Revs. Collins Bradley, Winslow, David Morrow, John Bonds, John Ward, Parson Russell and R. G. McClusky.

The Christian Church occupied the field at a much later date. Its preachers were Elders John R. Mecoy, James Jones, Joshua Shelton, Jonathan Shelton and his son, Jessie.

The schools at first were sustained by subscription. Some of the early teachers were John Cunningham, James McFaddin, John B. Hicks, James Mefford.

Among the early physicians of the county were Robert Fletcher, J. D. Martin, Seybold, a German refugee, John Heisler, W. W. Lay, K. Brownell, Samuel Withers, Williams, Newton Lane, O. G. Bullitt, H. L. Jones, W. W. Phillips and Reuben Saunders.

The description of the Wilmington buildings has already been given. It remains to describe those at Paducah. On March 12, 1832, G. A. Flournoy, Milton Perry and Braxton Small were appointed commissioners to draft plan for building on the public square a brick court house two stories high and not to exceed thirty-six feet square. June 11th the contract was let to Jesse Yandel for $3,049. It served its purpose for about twenty-five years.

On July 13, 1857, L. D. Husbands and J. C. Calhoun, commissioners of the court, reported the sale of the lots formerly used for public purposes, the amount being $30,501.86. The lots sold for from $83 to $153 per foot front. These same commissioners, with John H. Terrell added, contracted, September 15, 1857, for the site and structure of the present court house as follows:

Block No. 28, the present site, was bought of Braxton Small for $6,000. The building, as per contract with John F. Hendren of Louisville, cost $27,830.

The first jail in Paducah was erected about 1834, and was a log structure standing about thirty yards from the old court house. The second was built in the south corner of the present court house square, in 1857, at a cost of $5,400. It was regarded unsafe and was torn down. The third structure was built of brick in 1868 on the same site, but being considered unsafe, it was replaced in 1882 by the fourth and present building at an aggregate cost of $19,900, George G. Davis superintending the construction. It is regarded a safe and convenient structure, well adapted to its purpose.

On August 1, 1855, John Mott sold to the county twenty acres in Town 6, the consideration being $600. This was used for county purposes till February 11, 1879, when a new site was bought of Charles H. Adams living near Paducah. This tract, consisting of forty-four acres and ninety poles, cost $1,000. It, with the buildings upon it, is now used as a home for the indigent of the county.

Various efforts have been made to secure railroads to Paducah and McCracken County. March 1, 1853, the board of trustees of Paducah, William Nolen, chairman, and William Grief, clerk, passed an ordinance authorizing the subscribing of $200,000 worth of stock to the New Orleans & Ohio Railroad Company, to be constructed from Paducah to a point near Union City, Tenn., sixty-two miles distant. The company was organized under the name of the New Orleans & Ohio Railroad. In the following year the board of trustees subscribed $200,000 and the county $100,000. To procure the money they both issued bonds, which were sold in the Eastern money markets. The building of this road was the commencement of a new era in the material prosperity of the city.

In 1872 the Paducah & Elizabethtown Railroad was completed. It at once opened up a valuable territory to the business men of this city, a fact that they were not slow to take advantage of. In 1881 both the Paducah & Elizabethtown and Paducah & Memphis (formerly New Orleans & Ohio) fell into the hands of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad

Saml. B. Caldwell

Company, and was made a part of the Huntington system under the title of the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railway. Before the close of the present year the line controlled by this company will reach from Newport News, on the Atlantic, through Louisville, Paducah, Memphis, Vicksburg, New Orleans, thence west to the shores of the Golden Gate and the Pacific.

In 1884 were established at Paducah the railway repair shops to refit the rolling stock of the entire line from Louisville to Memphis. These shops, together with the old ones, require about 200 employes, and have a monthly pay roll of $15,000. Value of buildings, $45,000; value of machinery, $47,000; During 1884, the number of cars repaired was 2,665; locomotives 26.

On January 15, 1884, the Chesapeake, Ohio & South-Western Railway Hospital was established in the King property on Southwest Broadway, with the following organization: Dr. Joseph W. Thompson, president and chief surgeon; J. A. Dew, secretary; S. Young, treasurer; Dr. E. D. Scrugham, druggist; F. L. Hoover, assistant secretary. During 1884, it received and treated 200 indoor and over 800 outdoor patients. It has charge of the whole line from Louisville to Memphis, along which it employs forty-one local surgeons.

McCracken County, in common with its sisters of the Purchase, was not uninterested in the military operations which have affected the country.

Lieut. Easton, of the regular army, formed a company of about ninety men for the Mexican war, who, during their period of recruiting, boarded at the Fisher Hotel in Paducah. Many of the men finally became teamsters under Capt. Gholsom, of Ballard County, and belonged to various counties. Of those thus enlisted from McCracken County, and who are still living in it, the names are M. M. Connor, proprietor American Hotel, Paducah, and Richard Laughlin and T. B. Davidson, farmers, living near Florence Station.

The following men enlisted from other counties but are living in McCracken at present: Capt. T. C. Edwards, who was also a veteran in the Texan Revolution; Maj. E. T. Woolfolk, First Infantry; O. M. Calkins, Third Indiana Infantry; Jefferson Tyer, Third Tennessee; H. A. Kane, sergeant-major, Fourth Kentucky; Fayette Schroeder.

The troops went from Paducah to Little Rock, then *via* San Antonio, Laredo and Monclova to Mexico.

The anomalous position of armed netrality taken by Kentucky during the civil war did not save Paducah and the Purchase from the conflict of arms and its consequences.

Says R. B. J. Twyman: "When the telegraph announced that South Carolina had seceded from the Union, there were not half a dozen out-spoken secessionists in Paducah, but as State after State went out and took their stand by the side of South Carolina, the secession element gained strength, and one by one the people turned over to the side of the Southern Confederacy.

"The Union party, however, maintained the ascendancy in Paducah until the military forces of South Carolina fired upon Fort Sumter, on April 14, 1861. As soon as the wires flashed the news of the surrender of this fortification throughout the country, the war was considered as having commenced, and all were wild with excitement. Men and women seemed really to go mad. The proclamation of President Lincoln, issued soon after, calling upon the States for 75,000 troops to defend the Federal capital and enforce the laws, increased the excitement and madness of the hour; and calm, sober discussions were no longer tolerated. 'Are you for the South, or are you for the North?' was the test question speciously put to all, thus appealing directly to the strongest passions of the heart, and at the same time attacking the weakest points of man's nature.

"Few, very few, were able to withstand the tempest of excited public sentiment. The weak and wavering were irresistibly borne down and along with the great flood of secession fanaticism, scarcely knowing how or wherefore, and, taking advantage of the trepidation they had strategically produced in the public mind, the leaders and man-

agers of the Revolution pressed on the issue of resistance to the Federal Government. Men who were wildly declamatory about vindicating their rights against the government, in moments of calmness acknowledged that the government had never assailed their rights." The result was the sending of many young men into the Confederate service—an effect greatly increased by the reverse which the Federal arms sustained July 21, 1861, in the battle of Bull Run.

On the 4th of September, the Confederate Gen. Leonidas Polk took possession of Columbus. To checkmate this movement, Gen. Grant came from Cairo and took possession of Paducah on the 6th of September, bringing with him the Ninth Illinois, Col. E. A. Paine; Twelfth Illinois, Col. J. McArthur; Eighth Missouri, Col. M. L. Smith; also four pieces of Smith's Battery, Lieut. Millard.

Arriving at Paducah, Gen. Grant found great consternation among the people. Men and women fled wildly to the country, fearing great harm from the Federal soldiers. Sending for J. W. Sauner, mayor of the city, he gave him for publication a proclamation as follows:

PADUCAH, KY., September 6, 1861.

To the Citizens of Paducah:—I have come among you not as an enemy, but as your fellow-citizen; not to maltreat or annoy you, but to respect and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy, in rebellion against our common government, has taken possession of and planted its guns on the soil of Kentucky, and fired upon you. Columbus and Hickman are in its hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy, to assist the authority and sovereignty of your government. I have nothing to do with opinions, and shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear. The strong arm of the government is here to protect its friends and punish its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves and maintain the authority of the government and protect the rights of citizens. I shall withdraw the forces under my command.

U. S. GRANT,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

On the same day, Gen. Grant issued the following order:

BRIG. GEN. E. A. PAINE, Commanding Ninth Illinois Volunteers.

Upon my departure, you will assume command of the troops at this post, and make such disposal of the forces as will best enable you to obtain possession and control of the city. A portion of the troops can be quartered at the Marine Hospital. You are charged to take special care and precaution that no harm is done to inoffensive citizens; that the soldiers shall not enter any private dwelling, nor make any searches unless by your orders, and then a detail shall be made for that purpose. Exercise the strictest discipline against any soldier who shall insult citizens, or engage in plundering private property. * * * * *

By order of Brig.-Gen. Grant,

WILLIAM S. HILLYER,
Capt. & A. D. C.

The following dispatch sent to Maj. Gen., John C. Fremont, St. Louis, Mo., is self-explanatory:

CAIRO, Sept. 6, 1861.

Have just returned from Paducah; found secession flags in different parts of the city, in expectation of greeting the arrival of Southern Army, said to be sixteen miles off, 3,800 strong; took possession of telegraph office, railroad depot and Marine Hospital; found a large quantity of complete rations and leather for the Southern Army,

U. S. GRANT,
Brigadier-General.

The command assigned to Paine was but a temporary one. On September 14, 1861, Gen. C. F. Smith, a regular army officer, was in command of the United States forces at Paducah. Gen. Paine was given command of the First Brigade, and Col. W. L. Sanderson, Twenty-third Indiana Volunteers, of the Second Brigade. Gen. Smith sent these two brigade commanders with their forces on an expedition to threaten Columbus. In this moment, Gen. Paine transcended his authority, and was severely censured for his course by Gen. Smith. Gen. Smith's administration of affairs is favorably spoken of by people generally. A few spirits, however, who assumed to control military affairs, succeeded in making such representations at Washington, as secured his removal. Gen. Smith was ordered to the front and injured at Fort Donelson; died subsequently at Savannah, Tenn.

The next movement of any importance was the arrival of thirty-six transports of soldiers and of seven gunboats, all under the direction of Gen. U. S. Grant, preparatory to the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson on the

Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers respectively. These forces, together with troops collected at Paducah, ascended the Tennessee and took the forts mentioned, thus breaking the strong line of Confederates extending from Columbus to Bowling Green.

Following the battle of Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), Paducah became a vast hospital for sick and wounded soldiers. The Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopal, Christian and Methodist Churches, the Female Seminary, the court house and other public and private buildings were taken possession of for such purposes, and some of them continued to be used thus till the close of the war.

Paducah was a military station during all of the war subsequent to Grant's first occupation. Nothing out of the regular routine occurred, however, until the spring of 1864. Grant's campaign in the East was decided upon. Gen. W. T. Sherman, having been assigned to the command of the military division of the Mississippi, was gathering his forces for the great Atlanta campaign. On March 25, 1864, to create a diversion, Gen. N. B. Forrest, the dashing cavalry officer of the West, with a command consisting of the Third Kentucky, Lieut.-Col. G. A. C. Holt, Seventh Kentucky, Col. Ed. Crossland, Col. Wilson's Tennessee regiment and two pieces of twelve-pound artillery, made his appearance in Paducah. By a forced march from Dukedom, Tenn., with a command numbering from 1,500 to 1,900 men, Forrest reached the picket line about 3, P. M.

The Federal force at the time consisted of some 800 or 900 men as follows: First Battalion, Sixteenth Kentucky Cavalry, Maj. George F. Barnes commanding; probably one or two independent companies, and several companies of the Eighth United States Colored Artillery under command of Col. R. D. Cunningham. They were all under the command of Col. S. G. Hicks of Illinois, and were quartered in Fort Anderson.

Gen. Forrest sent in a flag of truce and demanded a surrender of the fort. Col. Hicks replied that he was placed by the government in the fort to defend it, and was determined to heed his instructions. The Union officers in the fort, fearing the fate that befell Fort Pillow, warmly supported Col. Hicks in his refusal to surrender.

The attack was made by the Third and Seventh Kentucky Regiments under the command of Col. A. P. Thompson, who gallantly led his forces, numbering about 1,000 men, against the fort, with the evident intention of capturing it, though Gen. Forrest subsequently claimed that he had ordered Thompson simply to threaten the fort while his other forces destroyed government stores and captured supplies. Under the galling fire of the Federal gunboats, and the constant discharges of the troops in the fort, Col. Thompson was leading his men to the final assault, when a thirty-two pound cannon ball, carefully aimed by Sergt. Tom Hayes of the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry, tore the brave commander's body to pieces within 100 yards of the coveted prize. Col. Crossland, the senior officer, took command only to receive a severe wound. He was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Holt, who ordered a retreat. This was done none too soon. The assaulting force had lost many excellent men in killed and wounded. The garrison, too, had suffered severely in killed and wounded, many of the gunners having been picked off by sharpshooters in the adjoining houses. The loss in killed was eleven; wounded thirty-nine; total fifty.

During the progress of the fight Gen. Forrest destroyed the depot, containing an extensive supply of whisky and commissary stores; also several buildings at the foot of Broadway with their quarter-master stores. While this was going on, as well as during the night, the gunboats patrolled the river, shelling the city violently. Many buildings were penetrated by shells, marks of which may yet be seen along the streets.

On the morning of the 26th, all the houses within a radius of several hundred yards of the fort, except two or three that were almost miraculously saved from the flames, were destroyed by the garrison. The reason and the authority for this action are given in a personal letter from Col. Hicks, dated Salem, Ill., June 25, 1868, and addressed to Peck & Mattison, attorneys at

Evansville. Here it is: "The way I came to burn, or rather order the property around the fort burned, was: the enemy, headed by Maj. Gen. N. B. Forrest of the Confederate forces at that place, attacked me March 25, 1864, with an overwhelming force, and they took possession of all the houses in gunshot of the fort. We repulsed the enemy, and beat them back all day. I saw I must be attacked again, and the better to protect myself against their sharpshooters, I issued special order No. 53:

'HEADQUARTERS, POST PADUCAH, }
PADUCAH, March 26, 1864. }

Maj. George F. Barnes, Sixteenth Kentucky Cavalry, will take a portion of his command and burn all the houses in musket range of the fort from which the sharpshooters of the enemy fired upon us yesterday.

By order of Col. S. G. Hicks.

A. F. TAYLOR,
Post Adjutant.

Instead of renewing the attack the next morning, Forrest retired during the night, taking with him his wounded, consisting of Col. Crossland, Lieut. Const. Roulhac and others. His loss in killed included Col. Thompson, Lieut. Lewis, Private Edward Moss and others, whose names were not secured. The Union loss probably exceeded that of the Confederates.

The following letter from Maj. Gen. W. T. Sherman, dated Nashville, April 3, 1864, needs no comment:

COL. S. G. HICKS, Paducah: Your defense of Paducah was exactly right. Keep cool, and give the enemy a second edition if he comes again. I want Forrest to stay just where he is, and the longer the better. Don't credit any of the foolish and exaggerated reports that are put afloat by design. I know what Forrest has, and will attend to him in time. Whenever you get a chance strike any small detachments.

But a few weeks had elapsed before Paducah was visited a second time by the Confederate forces, then under the leadership of Gen. Abe Buford, the object being to capture a number of government horses kept in the upper part of the city. With a force of about 600 to 800 men, he caused a panicky feeling among the citizens of the place, and a collecting of the feeble Federal force in the garrison, while he carried off the coveted horses.

The commanders of the Federal forces were Gen. Smith, of whom mention has already been made; Cols. Olney, Ransom, Martin, Dougherty and Hicks. Following these came the administration of Brig.-Gen. E. A. Paine, who, actuated by a vindictive spirit and influenced by some unscrupulous advisers, inaugurated a reign of terror in the district. Unnecessarily harsh in his methods, he made enemies of those who, under judicious treatment, would have been warm supporters of the government, and engendered life-long prejudices in citizens who might long ago have recovered their love for the general government, instead of nursing a hatred for that government in its maladministered forms. The period from September, 1864, to February, 1865, is lacking in pleasant memories to the people of the Purchase.

Gen. Paine was succeeded by Gen. Sol. Meredith, who was mild and just in his government, and made friends for his government quite as rapidly as his predecessor had sacrificed them. "By his generosity and merciful treatment during his command of the district, he brought back to their allegiance more Confederates and Confederate sympathizers than all his predecessors."

As already intimated, McCracken County, like her sister counties of the Purchase, furnished a good number of soldiers for the Confederate service. Among these was Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, born in Maryland in 1817, and a graduate of West Point in 1836; a soldier in the Mexican war; a civil engineer upon the Panama Railroad in 1849, and subsequently upon the Baltimore & Ohio, Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania Central, East Tennessee & Virginia, and New Orleans & Ohio Railroads; commander of the Kentucky "State Guards" in 1861, most of whom he took into the Confederate service, having established a camp for recruits at Clarksville, Tenn., and formed the Third Kentucky Regiment; promoted from colonel of this regiment to be a brigadier-general, in which capacity, after a vigorous defense, he surrendered Fort Henry, February 6, 1862, to Admiral Foote; a prisoner for a year at Fort Warren, Boston; a gallant commander afterward in the cam-

paigns around Vicksburg, and finally killed, May 16, 1863, at Champion's Hill, near the Big Black River. He was a brave and vigilant officer.

In addition to the forces under the command of Tilghman, Capts. Bob G. Grundy and James Pell organized a company each, which were recruited from Paducah and McCracken Counties. They were made part of a battalion under command of Maj. H. C. King, and of which John C. Noble was quartermaster, after its union with its regiment. This battalion united with several Tennessee companies, and formed a regiment, of which Thomas Cleburne was made colonel, King having resigned.

Most of the troops for the Confederate service operated at Shiloh, around Vicksburg, and in the raids made into Kentucky. Some of the prominent business men of Paducah at present were in these commands. Among them may be mentioned Mayor Charles Reed, Dr. J. W. Thompson, W. H. Brian, J. M. Ezell, F. W. Thomas and others whose names do not now occur.

The Union service had also some valuable representatives. In the autumn of 1863, Maj. George F. Barnes recruited several companies for the Sixteenth Kentucky Cavalry. Of this battalion, Company A, commanded by Capt. Charles. Bachman, with Lieuts. M. M. Pierce and Henry Bunting, was made up largely of McCracken men. Company B, Capt. John E. Williamson, with Lieuts. E. J. Pendrick, H. H. Hamilton and S. B. McAfee, consisted at first of 115 men. Rejections and other causes depleted the ranks to eighty-one men at the time of muster in 1864. These two companies, together with Companies C and D, commanded by Capts. W. C. Hurt and Thomas P. Carter, respectively, formed the First Battalion, Sixteenth Kentucky, which was subsequently consolidated with the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry. Its first actual service was performed in defending Fort Anderson, Paducah, against Forrest's attack, it occupying one-half the fort. It served next at Cynthiana, Ky., where it resisted the attack of Gen. John H. Morgan's forces, June 12, 1864, and where the present representative in Congress, W. J. Stone, lost his leg in Morgan's command while making the attack. The battalion served in the Atlanta campaign, and subsequently with Gen. Gillem in East Tennessee, being present when Gen. Morgan came to his death. Its term of service expired in August, 1865, when the survivors returned to their homes to engage with their opponents in the pursuits of civil life, realizing that "Peace hath its victories no less renowned than war."

Between these old soldiers, Union and Confederate, the most amicable feelings exist. True men always admire bravery even in an opponent whom they consider the champion of an unjust cause. The writer has not met a single Confederate soldier who would have restored the ante-bellum condition of things in the South which induced the late Rebellion. The past is to be forgotten, and the problems of the future are to be solved under the Stars and Stripes of the old government.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CITY OF PADUCAH.

PADUCAH, the capital of the county, and the metropolis of the Jackson Purchase, is pleasantly situated on the south bank of the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Tennessee, and twelve miles from the mouth of the Cumberland. It is 167 miles from Memphis and 225 miles from Louisville by the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad. Its location is such by nature as to indicate that it was intended to be a commercial and manufacturing center. Its close proximity to the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Mississippi, the Wabash and other small streams with their tributaries, so richly supplied with timber, ores, mineral and grains, unmistakably indicates this.

Concerning the origin of the name Paducah (spelled Paduca in the act of the General Assembly fixing it as county seat), several theories are advanced; but the one which, owing to its romantic character, seems to have commended itself most thoroughly to popular credence, is the doctrine that in the olden time an Indian chief was buried on the banks of the Tennessee, near the present Jersey, a suburb, and that his name was given to the beautiful town. The romance which surrounds this hypothesis will not be willingly sacrificed by the average Paducahian.

According to the testimony of Robert S. Davis, who came to the county with his father from Harrison County, Ky., in 1821, and is still a resident of the city, the first house on the present site of Paducah was a round-log cabin, about sixteen feet square erected by James and William Pore, brothers, in April, 1821, at the foot of Broadway Street. At that time there were only four families in the place, viz.: the two Pores, J. D. Martin and one other whose name is not recalled.

The father of Davis came down the river, bringing on the flat-boat a year's supply of provisions, together with cattle, hogs and horses. He built near the site of the present Richmond House a shanty, which he occupied a few months and then erected a cabin near the old barracks.

The first hotel was a log building kept by Francis A. Harrison on the site of the present Richmond House. The lot, 47x173, was bought by John Fields, in 1831, for $12.00. About the same time a Mr. Goldstein built a cabin, and shortly afterward Joe Daniel another.

The first frame house was erected about 1826 by a Mr. Mays, and was usually called the Fox House. The first business house was a frame store and ware-room, erected about 1826 by Harris & Flournoy, on the site now occupied by Capt. Fowler's store-room, corner of Main and Broadway. Including the basement, it was a two-story structure and was used for dry goods and commission purposes. The first brick structure was a little hotel, called the "Indian Queen," on Main Street just below the present Richmond House. It was erected about 1826 by Enders & Hinds, and kept by them for several years.

Paducah was laid out and platted May 26, 1827, and the plan recorded by Robert Fletcher, as agent for William Clark, of St. Louis, Mo., June 18, 1830. On January 11, 1830, it was regularly incorporated. The plan of the original town embraced 12 blocks of 12 lots each, the size of the lots being 57½ feet front by 173 feet deep, together with 24 lots of smaller dimensions lying along the river. The town embraced from the river to Oak Street, including the following: Water, Main, Locust and Oak; and from Clark to Jefferson, including Clark, Wash-

ington, Court, Broadway and Jefferson. The streets were laid out sixty-six feet wide. Additions have been made as follows: (1) First Addition, (2) Upper Town, (3) Lower Town, (4) First Addition to Upper Town, (5) Given's, (6) Harris, Flournoy, Trimble and Norton's, (7) Enders', (8) Woolfolk's, (9) Jersey City, (10) Marouse's, (11) Norton, Ware and Jones', (12) Pool's, (13) Bowman & Williams', (14) Robertson's, (15) Watt, Given and Campbell's and (16) Woodward's.

On May 2, 1831, the first election for trustees was held at the house of George Dunn, resulting as follows: F. A. Harrison, chairman; George Dunn, Robert Enders, Dr. Robert Fletcher and Thomas J. Flournoy. Organizing, they appointed these officers: Reuben Laughlin, clerk and assessor; James C. Calhoun, collector; and Valentine Owen, overseer of streets.

The minutes of the council session of May 5, 1831, contain these items; "All persons be required to move their fences and houses out of the streets, and keel boats to be prohibited from landing in front of the town." "Gen. Clark, having given the town several lots, was exempted from taxation." "Value of taxable property, real and personal, including slaves, for the year 1831, $29,270; tax levied for all purposes, 18¾ cents on the $100; poll tax, 50 cents. The assessor was allowed for services as clerk and assessor for the year $2.50; the collector for his services $3.80. Total expenses for assessor, clerk and collector, $6.30. Total tax, $45.50." Henry Burnett's report: "The value of lots at this time was very low. The lot on which the Richmond House now stands was sold for $40, and the one on the southeast side of Broadway, opposite the Richmond House, brought $24."

As showing the jealousy with which the early citizens of Paducah watched the actions of their officials, the following memorial in 1833, when the entire revenue of the town was but $113.48, is inserted:

To the honorable Board of Trustees of the Town of Paducah:—It is with feelings of regret that your memorialists approach the character and standing of any public officer; but being compelled by the highest obligations which can operate upon freemen, by daring usurpations and strides of power of your supervisor, in withholding the public revenue and property of your citizens from the treasurer, their lawful place of deposit, and placing the same in local banks or private mercantile houses, the solvency or insolvency of which the good people of the town of Paducah cannot from the nature of those private institutions ascertain, thereby endangering the liberty and property of your memorialists; assuming power and authority not delegated by the board of trustees, and trampling upon the rights and sovereignty of your citizens; breaking down all corporate powers and capacities, and concentrating in the hands of one man the power of supervisor and treasurer, contrary to all precedent in the history of town corporations, and adopting the rules of the administration of our present government,* and extending it down through every avenue of constitution and law, down to town corporations and bodies politic; and further your memorialists would recommend an investigation into the conduct and acts of your supervisor, and inquire of your president whether the public monies were placed in local receptacles or banks upon the president's own responsibility, making use of the supervisor as the sure agent by which it was done, thereby violating all law and precedent, and transmitting down to posterity precedents of a dangerous character and destructive to the best interests of a free, high-minded and patriotic people; and further your memorialists would recommend the public monies to be withdrawn from these private banks and placed in the hands of the treasurer, the only lawful depository of the same, and your memorialists will ever pray." Signed:

G. A. Flournoy,	P. B. Moseley,
Samuel A. Withers.	Thomas A. Flournoy.
J. M. Harshaw,	Charles Pell,
J. C. Calhoun,	J. B. Husbands,
John S. Gaulden,	John C. Enders,
John A. Harper,	A. Burnam,
John Armistead,	George Smedley,
Joseph Farant,	J. G. Cole, and

K. Brownell.

June 2, 1834, an election for trustees was held at the court house, at which Alexander Burnam, G. A. Flournoy, John Hynes, Braxton Small, George Dunn, James Walters, Bradford Barbee, John Moseley, James McPherson, George Smedley and A. W. Naylor, were candidates. The first five were elected. At this date the poll book shows eighty-three names of persons having voted, most of whom are dead:

*Andrew Jackson.

William Piles, Joseph Merrell, Jesse K. Bell, S. W. Henson, Isaac Davis, James R. Turner, Thomas Wozencraft, E. R. Dillingham, Henry Enders, William Enders, Demarcus Enders, A. D. Coffield, John W. Wilson, William J. Flournoy, James Young, James C. Calhoun, J. S. Gaulden, James T. Long, James Owens, W. B. Padget, C. C. Russell, A. P. Stewart, D. O. Thrift, Hugh McCrary, J. H. Adkins, James Walters, William Southers, Robert Enders, B. W. Thomas, George Dunn, Peter B. Moseley, Randolph Thompson, George W. Ingram, Caleb Smith, Reuben Laughlin, John Moseley, James Howe, H. B. Walters, Bradford Barbee, J. G. Cole, Adam McPherson, G. A. Flournoy, John Hynes, Joseph Pickering, John Betts, David McFarland, G. F. Hendren, J. C. Heath, Alexander Burnam, John M. Harshaw, Isaac A. Massey, Thomas Hynes, F. A. Harrison, James McPherson, Joseph Y. Jordan, Augustus Garrett, Edward Holly, Levi Chapman, George Smedley, Levi Stewart, Simon Haywood, Randolph Lewis, Samuel A. Withers, Joseph Daniel, Larkin Spradlin, Elias McWorthy, Robert Elkins, Valentine Owen, Abel Sullivan, John Baker, William Talbert, Benjamin Carter, John W. Rogers, William Creason, John Edwards, Peter Jordan, Thomas R. Gorham, Lilburn Ramage, Harvey Worthington, Alfred Edwards, John F. Harris, David Smith and W. W. Lay. Many of these citizens became the public men and fashioning spirits of Paducah.

Paducah was incorporated as a city March 10, 1856. On the 25th of the ensuing August, an election was held to adopt the new charter making it a city, with the following result, For, 209 votes; against, thirty-five. At the first election under the new charter J. H. Gardner was chosen its mayor, and the several gentlemen mentioned hereafter were selected as councilmen: First Ward—A. G. Lee and D. A. Given; Second Ward—J. C. Walden and George A. Allen; Third Ward—William Enders and Gabriel Kay; Fourth Ward—O. G. Bullitt and Daniel Fourshee; Fifth Ward—T. J. Atkins and J. K. Leman; Sixth Ward—George Langstaff and W. H. Slack; George Smedley, police judge; W. L. McGary, assistant judge; John W. Sauner, marshal; W. L. Fuqua, deputy marshal; Q. Q. Quigley, attorney; Charles H. Bonnin, clerk; William F. Swift, assessor; M. W. Cole, treasurer; D. A. Maxwell, physician.

At the first meeting of the city council, held May 11, 1857, the following officers were chosen: Henry S. Lewis, railroad tax collector; J. W. Sauner, city tax collector; George Dunn, market-master; Henry Adams, wharf-master; J. S. Long, sexton.

By an act of the General Assembly, approved February 11, 1871, the charter of the city was materially revised. This with subsequent legislative acts modifying certain features of the same is still in force.

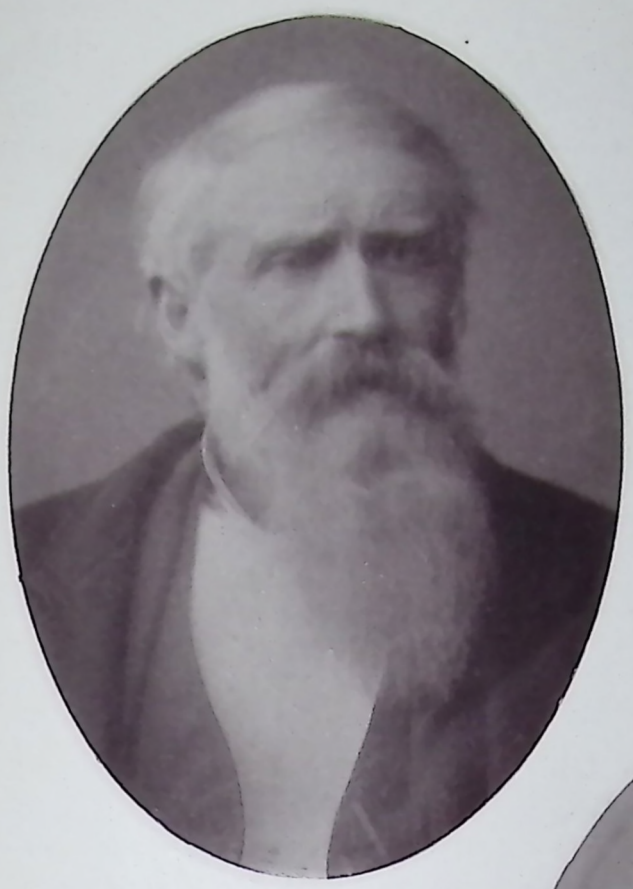
The city has had five different mayors, as follows: J. H. Gardner, 1857-59, two years; J. W. Sauner, 1859-63; 1867-71, eight years; J. G. Fisher, 1863-67, 1875-77, six years; M. Weil, 1871-75, 1877-81, eight years. Charles Reed, 1881, is the present incumbent.

The present city government embraces the following officials: Mayor, Charles Reed; clerk, Henry H. Houston; treasurer, Henry W. Rankin; auditor, William H. Patterson; judge of city court, James C. Calhoun; attorney Emmet W. Bagby; civil engineer, John W. Hopkins; street inspector, William Wheelis; collector of taxes, A .Sidney Terrell; market-master, James Collins; wharf-master, Given Fowler; weigher, Charles Pell; superintendent of schools, D. C. Culley; licnese inspector, Frank H. Harlan; physician, J. H. Wheelis; sexton, John Porteous.

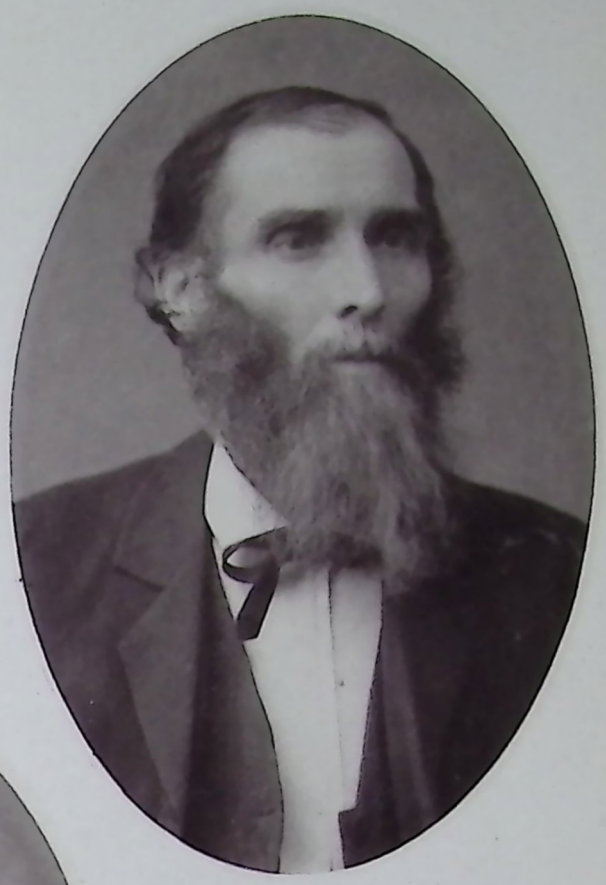
Councilmen.—First Ward—John E. Williamson and S. C. Vaughan; Second Ward—J. G. Brooks and J. M. Bigger; Third Ward—T. F. Terrell and J. N. Fisher; Fourth Ward—J. R. Smith and F. Kamliter; Fifth Ward—J. M. Ezell and C. S. Marshall; Sixth Ward—W. E. Augustus and J. S. Smedley.

Chief of Police.—Charles Reed; assistant, James Geary.

Patrolmen.—James Collins, Frank H. Harlam, D. C. Wallace, F. W. Schroeder; William Ferrell, F. H. Smedley, W. Mount, T. J. Patter and Alex McCune.

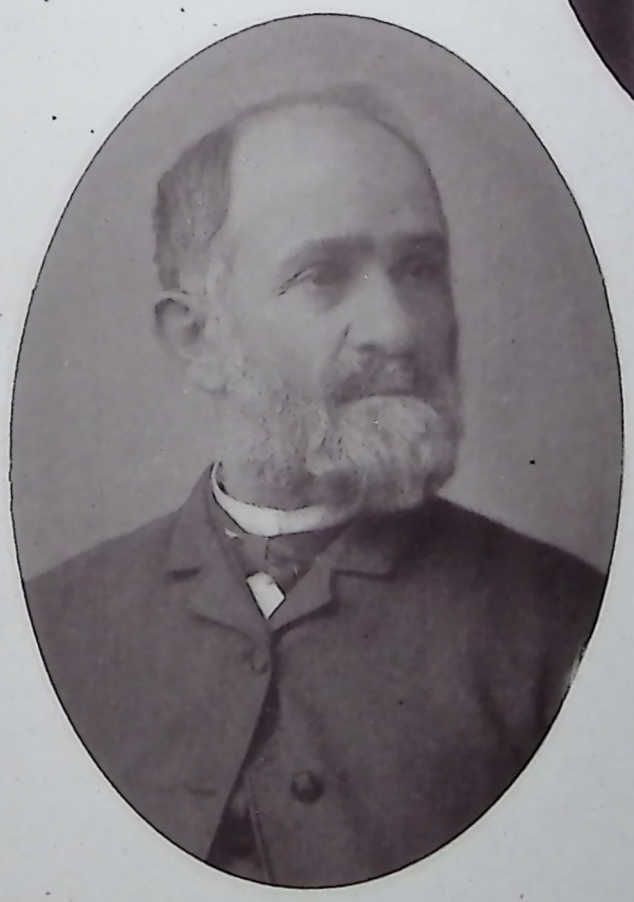


D. A. MAXWELL.



J. W. THOMPSON.

R. SAUNDERS.



J. W. BECKER

F. T. DAVIS.

PROMINENT PHYSICIANS OF PADUCAH

Keeper City Prison.—W. P. Venable.

Chief Fire Department.—C. C. Etten.

Like other towns Paducah has had her fiery ordeals through which to pass. In 1838, while yet in her infancy, the fire fiend swept away all the houses on Front Row, between Broadway and Jefferson Streets. Phœnix-like, from ashes sprang substantial three-story bricks, which stood until they were bombarded by the Federal gun-boats in 1864, the occasion of General Forrest's visit to the city. The Chicago conflagration of Paducah occurred, however, on April 2, 1852. The fire originated in J. G. Cole's livery stable on the corner of Main and Court Streets, and crossing Main, spread along the northern half of the entire square, consuming nearly every store and house that was at that time in the village. The two houses saved were Radcliffe's corner and a store belonging to Judge Campbell.

On the 9th of August, 1851, a tornado from the west destroyed the boats Dover and Caledonia, and badly crippled the Cherokee, America, Nashville, Globe, Elk, and the John Simpson. It tore the roof from the wharf boat belonging to Watts & Given, blew away the belfry and roof of the Methodist Church and removed the roof of the Marshall (now Richmond) House, and threw in one of its gables. Nothing so destructive has since occurred.

On the 2d of April, 1862, another storm struck the city, blowing the roof from A. R. Lang's tobacco stemmery, the St. Francis, (now Richmond) House and other buildings, and throwing in the gable of the Methodist Church. It destroyed no inconsiderable amount of property.

Education in Paducah has not been neglected. At a very early date, the people established subscription schools. Some of the pioneer instructors were Rev. John Shear, Presbyterian minister, who taught in the seminary as also in his own residence between Court and Washington; Rev. William Knox, a Baptist preacher, who taught in the seminary; William Curtis, James Brown, William J. Flournoy, now living several miles in the country; James Roscoe, J. H. Harvey, Lucian C. Graves, Rev. A. Wheeler Campbell, said to have been a cousin to the distinguished Alexander Campbell, and a brother of Judge Campbell; Rev. Robert Ball, Baptist minister, who taught in the old seminary; Rev. Caleb Dow, Episcopal clergyman; Timbrel, an Englishman, who added dancing to his course of study; John B. Hicks, who inflicted corporal punishment quite freely; William Graham, and Rev. R. M. Ford, who conducted the seminary and gave it a deserved popularity as an institution of learning. Many of the ladies of Paducah look back with pleasure to their training and graduation from this school.

About the year 1836, special interest was manifested in educational matters. By act of the legislature, the people of Paducah were authorized to establish a lottery by which to raise a fund of $100,000 for general purposes, which was to be distributed as follows: One-half for establishing and maintaining a male seminary; one-fourth for a female seminary, and one-fourth for a public wharf. About $60,000 was realized from the scheme.

John W. Jones donated, for the male seminary, about four acres, and a building was erected on the same, on the corner of Contest (now Churchill Avenue) and Broadway Streets. It was under the direction of a special board of trustees, but seems never to have been permanently successful. During the war, the building was accidentally destroyed. In the year 1871, its successor appeared on a new site bought on Broadway beyond the railroad, as Paducah University, the structure costing some $28,000. For several years this building was used for public school purposes, but was finally given up because of its distance from the center of population. Private schools have at various times been conducted in it by Profs. Thomas, Norton and others.

The female seminary, though not so bountifully endowed, has had a more successful career. Its site was donated by Gen. William Clark. Its board of trustees not only kept it running successfully, but assisted by loan to protect the university, and built the public

school in the First Ward at an expense of $10,000. It was run as a seminary till 1871, since which time it has been used for public school purposes. By act of the General Assembly, approved March 9, 1882, it was declared "that hereafter the trustees of the public schools of the city of Paducah shall be trustees of the male university and female seminary of said city, and all acts or parts of acts in conflict with this section of this act are hereby repealed."

Paducah grants to white and colored children equal primary instruction in separate schools conducted during an equal length of time. The board of education is erecting, for colored children, a new brick edifice of good dimensions and suitable equipments. If colored youth are not educated, the fault lies not with the city authorities.

In 1881, a case of much legal and educational interest occurred in Paducah. Suit was brought by the sheriff of McCracken County, in the name of the commonwealth, against Jesse Ellis (colored) to recover of the defendant a capitation tax of $1, assessed against him by virtue of an act of the Kentucky Legislature, entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of common schools for colored children in this commonwealth." E. W. Bagby, attorney for defendant, having secured the transfer of the case from the county court to the United States circuit court, argued the case on constitutional grounds. The decision at the spring term of 1882, by Judge Baxter of the circuit court and Judge Burr of the district court, was favorable to the defendant, and became the basis of all subsequent school legislation in the State, equalizing school taxation and privileges between white and colored youth.

The thorough training of colored teachers, so that they may properly instruct their own children, seems to be a crying necessity. Training schools for colored teachers will do more for their mental, moral and physical elevation than any other agency that can be set on foot.

The influence of the press as a factor in the development of society cannot be too highly appreciated. As an agency in imparting instruction to the masses and forming their sentiments and correcting their tastes, it transcends in importance all forms of oral communication. A reading community is always a thinking community, and consequently easily governed. Paducah has been prolific in this means of public enlightenment. Newspapers have appeared as "thick as autumnal leaves in the valley of Vallambrosa."

The pioneer paper of the town was *The Express*, published in about 1834–35, by R. R. Wills, editor and proprietor. It was a Whig weekly, but failed for want of patronage. In its office William Grief learned his trade as a printer.

In 1844, McKay Lambdin started another Whig journal, the *West Kentuckian*, but, after a short time, sold it to William Grief, publisher, and L. M. Flournoy and John W. Crockett, editors. When the latter, a nephew of the celebrated pioneer David Crockett, retired from the editorship, his place was filled by J. R. Alexander. In 1849 this paper was sold to H. M. McCarty and R. W. Perry, who changed its name to the *Paducah Journal*. In 1855, they sold the new paper to J. Stoddart Byers and Rev. W. W. Dodd, who, after continuing it a short time, leased it to D. W. McCarty and F. W. Thomas. They continued it a year longer and allowed it to depart to the "sweet by and by."

In 1851, the *Paducah Democrat* was launched by C. C. Riley, to advocate the principles of genuine Democracy, at $2 per year. Finally, R. B. J. Twyman became its sole editor, and prolonged its existence for several years. The *Democrat*, however, was not permitted to monopolize journalistic honors. In 1853, a vigorous competitor arose in *The Pennant*, a Whig paper published by Samuel Pike, and held on in the even tenor of its way till 1854, when it passed into the hands of George H. Morrow. After a short time he transferred his right to Perry & McGoodwin, who changed its name to the *Paducah American*, and made it the exponent of Know-nothingism.

About the same time John D. McGoodwin bought the outfit of the *Journal* office and

published the *Paducah Sentinel* as a Whig paper for a year or two. Contemporary with these secular papers, Elder J. R. Howard, of the Christian Church, published *The Christian Banner* for about ten months, when he concluded that his subscribers had obtained "value received," and proclaimed its valedictory.

The *Paducah Herald* was started in 1857, by the Nestor of the Kentucky press, John C. Noble, and as a stanch advocate of Democratic principles continued it till 1861, when he entered the Confederate service. The material was largely destroyed during the war. In 1865, the paper was revived by him as a daily, tri-weekly and weekly, and continued till 1871, when the news department was sold to the *Kentuckian* started by Saunders and Martin, and the job department to Ballard and Thompson, of the *News*. About 1874, Col. Noble bought a new outfit and again revived the *Herald*, but ran it only a few months.

About 1859 *The Commercial*, an exponent of Whig principles, was published by William Rollsten for about two years, and suspended.

Probably about 1857, W. L. Geary published *The Dollar Times* a year or so and then sold it.

During the war *The Federal Union*, a patriotic paper, was published for several years, first by Howard and then by Howard & Pickett. By the latter was published also, *The Gazette*, *The Commercial* and *The Sun*.

For several years succeeding 1873, *The Paducah Tobacco Plant* was published by E. K. Warren, but was finally destroyed by fire and never revived.

The *Paducah Enterprise*, by John B. Gaines, struggled successfully for about two years following 1880. The *Baptist Herald*, edited by Rev. G. W. Dupee, "battled with its evil star" about three years, and then submitted.

In 1883, H. M. McCarty, now assistant secretary of State of Kentucky, and one of the oldest editors living in the State, returned to Paducah and revived *The Sunday Journal* and continued it one year, when it was bought by the Leigh Brothers.

The only representatives of the press in Puducah, to-day, are the *Paducah News* and *Paducah Standard*. The *News* is a seven-column quarto, daily and weekly, Democratic in politics, established in February, 1871, by Ballard & Thompson. The daily has a circulation of 1,350; the weekly about 3,200. Connected with the *News* are an extensive job office supplied with all modern improvements and a book-bindery, fully equipped. Steam power and good presses make it an efficient newspaper office.

In February, 1881, the firm of Leigh Brothers, now editors and proprietors of the daily and weekly *Standard*, was established as a third-story job office. Hard labor and pluck enabled the firm to absorb, in process of time, the *Paducah Beacon*, *Daily Enterprise*, *Daily Times* and Martin's job office. The *Paducah Daily Standard* was launched April 6, 1884, as a small five-column folio. Shortly afterward the outfit and good-will of the *Sunday Journal*, established in 1884, was purchased and the name changed to *Paducah Weekly*. Both editions have gained a wide circulation throughout western Kentucky and west Tennessee.

The four great factors of modern civilization are the family, the school, the church and the press, important in the order of their enumeration. Of these we have to do, at present, with the church in its various forms, commencing with the veteran pioneer organization, the Broadway Methodist Episcopal Church South, corner of Broadway and Poplar Streets. It was organized in the year 1834, in a schoolhouse on the corner of Broadway and Locust Streets, on the lot now occupied by the First National Bank, the Revs. George W. Martin and George W. Cayce officiating. The first board of trustees consisted of Joseph G. Cole, S. S. Givens, Henry L. Jones, James B. Husbands, James Browne, David C. Peters and M. Markland. The present board consists of James B. Husbands, A. G. Lee, George C. Crumbaugh, D. J. Fraser, A. H. Nunnemacher, W. R. Reid, James L. Bethshares and H. F. Lyon. The stewards are George C. Crumbaugh (superintendent Sunday-school), J. W.

McKnight, V. O. Sweatman, J. L. Bethshares, P. G. Reed and A. R. Lang.

The congregation has been served by the following preachers: Revs. G. W. Martin, G. W. Cayce, J. Custer, Finley Bynum, G. W. Kelso, J. D. Henning, J. W. Jones, E. W. Williams, E. W. Yancey, J. P. Stanfield, George E. Young, E. L. Raglin, James Young, David J. Allen, Joseph H. Brooks, H. H. Montgomery, E. M. Nichol, W. C. Robb, J. W. Knott, John Moss, A. H. Thomas, J. F. Walsh, William H. Leigh, J. G. Acton, Lewis Davis, Amos Kendall, James M. Scott, Guilford Jones, E. C. Slater, Isaac Ebbert, William T. Harris, J. H. Evans, Robert H. Mahon, S. W. Moore, N. P. Ramsey, S. B. Surratt and J. C. Hooks.

The old edifice was built in 1842, the first church in town, and the new one in 1875, at a cost of $10,000. Of the first building Kirby Jones was contractor; of the second, George G. Davis. The present membership is 484.

The Presbyterian Church, now worshiping near the corner of Locust and Court Streets, was organized October 29, 1842, at the residence of James Campbell, by the Rev. A. W. Campbell aided by William Allen, Mrs. E. B. Allen, Mrs. E. B. Calhoun, James Campbell, Mrs. Mary Campbell, George A. Flournoy and Mrs. Margaret Flournoy.

The original officers were: pastor, Rev. A. W. Campbell; elders, James Campbell and G. A. Flournoy. The present corps embraces: pastor, Rev. W. E. Cave; elders, T. A. Baker, E. T. Jones, H. L. Jones, C. H. Reike, Jr., George Seibert and D. A. Yeiser; deacons, A. A. Trimble, George O. Hart, L. M. Reike and W. H. Reike.

The pastorate has been filled, in succession, by the Revs. A. W. Campbell, J. D. Matthews, F. Senour, L. H. Vandoren, J. T. Hendricks and W. E. Cave. The congregation has had but one house of worship, which was built in 1846. Beneath its floor was buried its builder, Rev. A. W. Campbell, who died January 9, 1848, in his forty-sixth year. The membership at present is reported as being 398.

The Cumberland Presbyterians had a congregation which, for years, maintained worship in a house on Locust Street, between Washington and Clark. The congregation, unable to continue the support of a pastor, sold its house in 1883, its members seeking homes in other congregations.

The Protestant Episcopal Church was organized in 1846 by Rev. W. M. Cowgill, who died and was buried at Hickman, Ky., aided by Adam Rankin, P. Marouse, L. M. Flournoy, A. Slee, Jacob Baker, Dr. O. G. Bullitt and John W. Jones, the first vestry.

The congregation has used three different places of worship: The old court house on Court Street; then a one-story frame, 30x60, on Market Street, between Washington and Clark, erected in 1848, at a cost of $2,000. It was torn down in 1872, and the present brick structure, 60x100, with a seating capacity of 600, was built in 1873-74, at a cost of $30,000.

Since its organization, this congregation has been served by the following rectors: Revs. Daniel Deacon, Nash, C. N. Dow, Presbury, Frederick Boyd, T. J. Pickett, F. A. Jury, W. M. Pettiss, Andrew Drummond, R. E. McDuff and George Rogers. The present vestry consists of Q. Q. Quigley, T. B. Leonard, Dr. J. W. Becker, W. H. Slack and George Langstaff, Jr.

The Christian Church was organized in the spring of 1849 by Elder Robert Rice, with the following charter members: Dr. S. F. Singleton, John F. Allard and wife, John Milligan and wife, Mrs. Kittie Wolfolk and Mrs. Fannie Jones.

For about a year the congregation met in the Enders' building on Water Street. A frame house was then built on Market between Washington and Clark, Mrs. Wolfolk furnishing the lot and Dr. Singleton, by subscriptions taken, erecting the house at a cost of about $600. In 1859, the present brick structure was erected at a cost of about $5,000.

The following preachers have served the congregation as pastors: Elders John Waldren, I. B. Grubbs, John B. McGinn, James Cook, Joseph Brown, T. W. Caskey, George E. Flower and George B. Peak.

Of this number, I. B. Grubbs is now professor in the Bible College, at Lexington, Ky.; George E. Flower served from 1872, with little interruption, till the time of his death, September 5, 1884. During his pastorate, which was universally acceptable, the best development of the congregation occurred. The present official board consists of Elders William Robertson, J. K. Bondurant and J. Pettus; Deacons Samuel Murrell, R. C. Utterback, E. W. Vaughan, S. M. Huston, Thomas Chalk and Henry Smith. Elder George B. Peak is Sunday-school Superintendent. The present membership is about 385.

The German Evanglical Church was organized in August, 1874, by Jacob Karsh, president; Henry Hueby, secretary; and P. Mattill, treasurer, and Charles Smith and William Nagel, members. These also constituted the first board of trustees.

The pastors have been Revs. D. Eshenbrenner, N. Kies, and J. E. Digel.

The present edifice is a school building erected by the German School Association at a cost of $5,000, and afterwards sold to the church for $2,500. The membership consists of thirty families, numbers being counted thus rather than as individuals. The present church board embraces G. W. Oehlschlaeger, J. H. Bayer, P. Mattill, George Rock and Charles Smith.

Methodist Episcopal Church North was organized about 1866 by Rev. J. H. Bristow with the assistance of such charter members as T. J. Birchett, J. W. Allen and wife, William Howe and wife, Mary Merritt, C. C. Etter, Rebecca Ray, Abraham Harris and others to the number of thirty all told. For a time meetings were held in the engine house and then in St. Clair's Hall. Finally a brick house, 45x60, and costing about $2,500, was erected by T. J. Birchett. The following named preachers have labored for the congregation; Revs. J. H. Bristow, Dodson, Brown, Pender, Kilgore, Orr, Gill and Martin L. Center.

In 1863 a Hebrew organization for cemetery purposes was formed, consisting of A. Goldsmith, Jacob Weil, L. Harris, M. Leiber, I. Bodenheimer, D. Wolff and others. In 1867 the same members were organized, for purposes of worship, into a congregation known as K. K. Yeshuron. In 1871, after some litigation as to the propriety of appropriating money raised for cemetery purposes to congregational uses, the present synagogue was built at a cost of $2,500. The rabbis have been: Wolff, L. Leopold, David Eigenbrun, M. Tupenhaus, and Gustave Ensel. The present membership is some thirty-five. Several benevolent associations, two male and one female, are connected with the congregation.

The Locust Street Methodist Episcopal Church South was organized October 11, 1883, by Rev. W. H. Leigh, with trustees J. W. McKnight, D. J. Fraser, G. C. Crumbaugh, A. R. Lang, and A. L. Robertson; stewards J. A. Greer, L. B. Breedlove, W. H. Qualls, W. H. Beard, J. B. Patrick, J. H. S. McMellon and J. W. Orr; Sunday-school Superintendent, D. C. Culley. At present the trustees are J. A. Grier, W. H. Qualls, T. M. Simmons, R. J. Wilkins and C. H. Schwanecker; stewards, Greer, Qualls, Beard, Patrick, Styers and Schwanecker. Rev. W. H. Leigh has been the only pastor of the congregation.

August 22, 1883, the edifice now used was purchased from George Langstaff for $750, and was repaired at an additional outlay of $250. The present membership is eighty-six.

The Catholic Church was organized by the Rev. Elisha Durbin, of Uniontown, Union County, the following persons associating for that purpose: Adrian Grief and wife, Frank, John and William Grief, sons of the foregoing, Mrs. Mary F. Fisher, Sebastian Glauber, Mark Lydden and Benjamin Austin.

The first meetings were held at John Grief's residence. The first building was a brick, now the rear of the present structure, erected about 1848-49. The present front was added in 1869.

Baptist Church was organized in 1839 by Rev. James P. Edwards, with S. M. Purcell and John McElya as deacons. The first services were held in the old county court house at the crossing of Market and Court

Streets. The first house for worship was built in 1842 on Broadway between Oak and Locust Streets at a cost of about $8,000. It was erected by J. D. Wainscott and John Smedley, and was used for worship until October, 1861. After the war, in 1866, worship began in the present house corner Jefferson and Chestnut Streets.

The following pastors have served the congregation in succession: James P. Edwards, W. R. King, James P. Edwards, A. W. Meacham, Thomas L. Garrett, Willis White, Colin Hodge, Joel E. Grace, D. E. Burns, R. J. Ash, D. Butler, W. B. Walker, George C. Lorimer, A. B. Miller, R. W. Norton, C. C. Chaplin, K. B. Tupper, J. B. Moody, Dr. L. H. Shuck, present pastor.

The deacons at present are Wilson, Thompson, V. A. McCutchen, R. H. Briggs and J. R. Puryear, The membership is 309.

German Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in 1871-72 by F. Hummel and others. The house of worship was erected about the same time at a cost of some $3,000. The pastors have been Revs. Daily, Sigel, John Ansorge and A. Knappe, the present incumbent.

There are several churches for the colored people; one Methodist Episcopal, two under the control of the Missionary Baptists, and one belonging to the Christian Church. They are all doing efficient work.

The ground for Oak Grove Cemetery, some thirty-six acres, was purchased April 19, 1847, at $3 per acre, Hiram Smedley, J. Campbell and W. McKay Lambdin being a committee of the council appointed for that purpose. It was surveyed and platted by Adolph Miller. The lots were valued at $5 each. Ornamentation of the grounds began about five years ago. The first grave on the ground was dug prior to its purchase for cemetery purposes, it being that of Pierce Jones, who was killed in 1837 by a man named Cooksey. The people of the living city feel justly proud of their "city of the dead."

The City Hall was erected in 1882–83 at a cost of $20,000, with $4,000 additional for furnishing, the city issuing bonds for the same. D. A. McKinnon was the architect and George G. Davis the contractor.

In 1849–51 the General Government built on the right side and near the foot of Oak Street a marine hospital, 88x110 feet, four stories above the basement, at a cost of $76,000. The superintendent of construction was W. J. Dinwiddie; and the assistant, G. G. Davis, at present a contractor and prominent citizen of Paducah. Its purpose was to supply a temporary home and requisite attention to boatmen and others living on the Ohio River and its tributaries. In the fall of 1862 it caught fire and was destroyed. The basement at the time was filled with ammunition, which was successfully removed by the soldiers in the fort.

In 1882 began the erection of the United States Custom House; it was completed in May, 1885, at a total cost to the government of $145,000. The architect was Hon. James E. Hill, Washington, D. C., and the superintendent of work, Maj. George Garfield, cousin to President Garfield. It contains a number of excellent offices and business rooms: postoffice under the management of James H. Ashcraft, postmaster; customs directed by John W. Cobbs, surveyor; revenue Robert D. Happy, deputy collector; United States Circuit and District Court, John W. Burr, judge, and John R. Puryear, clerk.

The postoffice has been filled by the following gentlemen: Francis A. Harrison, who kept it in his hotel back of the Richmond House; G. A. Flournoy, who used his storeroom; John Millikan; John C. Noble; Charles T. Bronson; Captain T. J. Pickett; Dr. J. M. Best, who from the roof of his residence signaled Federal gunboats where to fire during the Confederate attack on Fort Anderson, sharpshooters at the time occupying the lower part of his building; and Major J. H. Ashcraft, the present incumbent. The money order business from January 1, 1884, to January 1, 1885, was as follows:

Number of orders issued, 4,423; value, $132,352.84; commissions, $547.30; value of orders paid, $170,152.84, being $37,800 in excess of receipts.

The city hospital was established in March, 1872, and a building erected at a cost of $3,317.63. The first steward was R. B. Williams, who held his position for eight years, and was succeeded by the present superintendent, J. N. Flowers, who was appointed in May, 1880. The institution has done an excellent work, having had an average of about sixty patients annually.

The Ohio has been subject to annual rises, being wholly dependent on the floods supplying its tributaries. The following years are memorable: 1815, 1822, 1828, 1832, 1867, 1883 and 1884. The two periods of greatest height were 1815 and 1884, the water being of about same height. During the latter year, the flood, occurring in February, swept over a large part of the city, the water rising as high as Chestnut Street. The flood of 1867 was next in extent.

Paducah has been visited several times by the cholera, but never by yellow fever as an epidemic. The first appearance of cholera was in 1832, when the steamboat "Freedom" landed with seventeen dead bodies. Fortunately the disease did not spread. In 1840 there was another mild attack. In May, 1851, Mrs. Belcher, of Lovelaceville, got off a steamboat, and, going to Fisher's Hotel, died of cholera. The father and mother of J. G. Fisher both died. All told, there were some ten cases. Drs. Jones, Bullitt and Brownell were active in its treatment. The latter lost a daughter. Mr. Buckler and daughter also died. On May 18, 1873, the steamboat, "John Kilgore," came up from New Orleans. Though it was denied by the officers, the boat had several cases of cholera. William G. Baldwin, a tobacco clerk, went on board and mingled with the hands. He was taken sick and died. Following him was E. P. Calhoun, who recovered. Then Mrs. Mary W. Bechtold, R. S. Cobb and Henry Fletcher took it in succession and died. The disease raged through May, June and July, and resulted in some sixty deaths. The physicians of the city were all active, but none of them died. Dr. R. Sanders introduced a new mode of treatment, which became very popular.

Small-pox and scarlet-fever have raged at times, but never in epidemic form, and have been easily controlled.

Paducah had, prior to the war, some extensive banking institutions. Among them were the Branch Bank of Louisville, with James Campbell, president, and Adam Rankin, cashier, which was established about 1845 with a capital stock of $200,000, and continued till the forming of the national banking system; the Commercial Bank of Kentucky, with L. M. Flournoy, president, and James M. Dallam, cashier, was founded about 1852 with a capital stock of $2,000,000, and closed about 1867. In addition to these, William F. Norton and Watts, Given & Co. began about 1850 to discount paper. The latter firm failed in 1867 with heavy liabilities.

At present three national banks represent the commercial interests of the city, viz.: First National Bank of Paducah, with J. N. Beadles, president, and S. P. Cope, cashier; incorporated October 25, 1865, with a capital stock of $125,000.

American German National Bank, with Henry M. Gilson, president, and George C. Thompson, cashier; was incorporated in 1872 with a capital stock of $100,000.

City National Bank, S. B. Hughes, president, and Elbridge Palmer, cashier; was incorporated in 1873 with a capital stock of $200,000.

Paducah is the center of a very extensive business in tobacco. In fact, tobacco being king in the Purchase, this trade represents the heaviest industry of the city. The following statistics are only approximate: number of hogsheads sold in 1884, in the market, about 12,000; average weight about 1,600 pounds each, total being 19,200,000 pounds. Of this amount about 3,000 hogsheads were packed in Paducah by eighteen tobacco packers or rehandlers. The remaining 9,000 hogsheads were handled by commission merchants. One man packs 500 hogsheads of strips anually to be shipped to foreign countries.

The average price of tobacco may be fixed at 8 cents, showing the value of tobacco

handled to be $1,536,000 per year. The number of hands employed in the city is 200 to 300. Many additional ones are needed in producing the crops.

The natural advantages for manufacturing are not to be excelled anywhere. The Ohio, with its tributaries, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Wabash, the White, and others of less size, together with the great Mississippi, afford superior facilities for transferring the raw and manufactured material. In addition to this water communication, the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railway reaches points of distribution east and west, north and south. Hitherto too much reliance has been placed on natural advantages. Competing towns and cities have improved their opportunities and taken much of the trade that rightfully belonged to Paducah, and would have been enjoyed by her, had all possible means for pushing her interests been improved. "The mill never grinds with water that has passed." The present, however, remains and may be wisely improved.

In October, 1843, a contract was made between Paducah and Elijah Murray, of St. Louis, for the purchase of the right to use his patent, and to construct a marine railway in the town. The consideration was $1,000 for the patent, and $500 dollars for superintending the construction. Thus was established a permanent industry which gives employment to many hands. Its officers are John W. McKnight, president; S. B. Hughes, secretary, and George C. Hughes, manager.

Paducah Ship Yard Company was incorporated in April, 1882, by E. C. Murray, J. J. Hammer, D. A. Yeiser, L. D. Roberts, Charles Schotta, Joseph McKay and Samuel Fuller, in Mechanicsburg, adjoining Paducah. The original stock was $10,000, but has been increased to $25,000. The business is the outgrowth of a saw-mill and ship-yard formerly conducted at New Albany. The business embraces lumbering in its various forms, and the building of ships on contracts, employing about 100 hands. At present the company is employed in building thirteen barges for the government at a cost of $40,000.

Langstaff-Orm Manufacturing Company was established in 1855 by John Orm, Samuel H. Langstaff and George Langstaff, to manufacture sash, doors, blinds, etc., and to carry on a general lumbering business. In July, 1883, it was incorporated as a stock company with a capital of $200,000, and the following officers: John Orm, president; S. H. Langstaff, vice-president; George Langstaff, secretary; and H. W. Rankin, treasurer. The business of 1884 represented 7,000,000 feet of lumber manufactured and sold, amounting to $125,000.

Paducah Lumber Company was organized November 17, 1878, by the election of E. F. Byng, president; J. W. McKnight, secretary and treasurer, and H. H. Collier. The company was reorganized since that date, and has John Byng, president, and E. F. Byng, secretary and treasurer, and has a paid-up capital of $100,000. The extent of its business during 1884 was the purchasing of some 2,000,000 feet and the sawing of about 3,000,000 feet.

E. Rehkopf's Saddle, Collar and Harness Factory and Tanyard is an important industry that employs, on an average, 100 hands, has been built by energy and honest dealing. The harness factory existed before the war, but the collar factory and tanyard have been developed since. During 1884 there were manufactured 2,847 dozen collars, which, with other products, were sold by commercial men in Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana and Southern States.

City Flouring Mills Company was incorporated in 1884, with a capital stock of $125,000, Thomas J. Atkins, president, and George C. Wallace, secretary and treasurer. The mills have a capacity for making 500 barrels daily.

Paducah Furniture Manufacturing Company, with a capital stock of $35,000, was incorporated in 1870, Elbridge Palmer, president, and Charles H. Reike, Jr., manager. It employs about 100 hands, and keeps four salesmen in the field to sell its products.

J. R. Smith Mary E. Smith

Paducah Gas Light Company, representing a capital stock of $80,000, was incorporated in 1865, Thomas J. Flournoy, president, and George D. Linning, secretary.

Paducah Hub Works was incorporated in 1879, with a capital of $20,000. David Duncan is president, and Richard D. Morrow, secretary and treasurer.

Paducah Ice Company was incorporated in 1882, with a capital stock of $50,000, M. Bloom being president, and William Borneman, secretary. The machinery failing to work satisfactorily, the institution was reorganized in 1884 and placed under its present efficient management.

Phœnix Foundry and Machine Shops were established by Capt. J. H. Johnson, senior member of the present firm, in 1855, under the name of Plain City Iron Works. In 1868 the works were destroyed, and the present business, controlled by Capt. Johnson & Sons, became the successor.

Farley's Stave Works, located in Mechanicsburg in 1874, gives employment to about fifty men, and places upon the market about 5,000,000 staves annually. These are sold mainly in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York and New Orleans.

Paducah Soap Works were established, in 1882, by D. M. Hersher and Morris Baer. They employ about a dozen men, and manufacture some 60,000 pounds per week.

The Industrial Iron Works were established in Paducah, in 1869, by G. D. Linning & Co. In 1873 the present firm of Linning & Jackson was organized, and continued business at their old stand on the Tennessee River. In 1881 they took possession of their new building, corner of Court and Market Streets. The firm employ about thirty hands, and send their products throughout the South.

Carriages and wagons are manufactured extensively by M. Iseman, Brower & Emery and Hill & Sloan.

The Marble and Granite Works of J.E. Williamson & Co. are doing an extensive and profitable business.

J. L. Friedman & Co. have extensive works for the manufacture of vinegar. Other interests, on a smaller scale, are carefully looked after by earnest workmen in their several fields.

For years the city has been engaged in wholesale business. This is the legitimate result of its position as the metropolis of the Purchase. At present the following firms exist: Grocers—Bogard & Hand, J. K. Bondurat & Co., J. R. Smith & Co. Dry Goods—S. Fels & Bro., C. H. Rieke & Sons. Drugs—Du Bois & Robertson, D. A. Yeiser, Gilson & Wilson, S. H. Winstead. Boot and Shoe Dealers—George Rock & Co. Whiskies—Loeb, Bloom & Co., Bernham Bros. & Uri, Thompson, Wilson & Co., Weil Bros. & Kahn. Beer—A. M. Laevison, W. H. Koennker, O. Haentzchel. Clothing—Hecht Bros. & Co. Hardware—George O. Hart & Son, Scott, Stevens & Co.

Retail trade is represented by the usual number of dry good, book and hardware stores, groceries, etc., and partakes of the thrift of the city. The representatives in these lines are enterprising firms.

Commission business is represented by M. Hersher & Sons, M. Livingston, Edward P. Noble & Co., and Singleton Bros.

The secret orders are well represented both as to numbers and the standing of their members. Masonic.—There are six organizations, four white and two colored, viz: Paducah Lodge, No. 127; Plain City Lodge, No. 449; Paducah Chapter, No. 30; Paducah Commandery, No. 11; Mt. Zion Lodge No. 6; Stone Square Lodge, No. 5.

Odd Fellows—There are five organizations, three white and two colored, as follows: Ingleside Lodge, No. 195; Mangum Lodge, No. 21; Union Encampment; Paducah Lodge, No. 1545; Young Men's Pride Lodge, No. 1783.

Knights of Honor are represented by four, viz.: Champion Lodge, No. 1320; Rapidan Lodge, No. 345; Washington Lodge, No. 455; Rachel Lodge, No. 14.

Knights of Golden Rule—Windsor Castle, No. 28.

Independent Order B'Nai Brith—Harmony Lodge, No. 149.

Order Kesher Shel Barzrl—Unity Lodge, No. 197.

Ancient Order United Workmen—Friendship Lodge, No. 62.

United Order Golden Cross—Hope Lodge, No. 129.

Independent Order Good Templars.

The City Directory of Paducah for 1885 has this statement: "The population of Paducah, according to our census, is 11,097 (males, 5,487; females, 5,610), divided as follows: white males, 3,553; white females, 3,556; colored males, 1,932; colored females, 2,054; Chinese males, 2. Total, 11,097."

From the assessor's returns for 1885: white males over twenty-one, 2,232; colored males over twenty-one, 973. Total 3,205. White voters, 2.015; colored voters, 952. Total, 2,967. School children, six to twenty, 3,528; increase on 1884, 300. Valuation of property belonging to whites, $3,300,741; colored, $69,870. Total $3.337,611.

At this time (May, 1885), water mains and stand-pipes are being planted, under a charter granted to an eastern company, for supplying the city with complete water power. An application has also been made to the city for a charter to build a street railway, the company having the matter in charge being located in St. Louis. A committee of the city council has in charge a proposition to supply the streets with electric light.

With these facilities supplied, and the securing of a north and south railroad; with the encouragement of the manufacturing enterprises already established, and the reaching out for additional ones, and with the developement of agricultural science in the adjoining country as well as the proper fostering of educational interest among the people, Paducah can not fail to double her population within the next fifteen years, and become a desirable city for people from both the North and the South to live in.

Woodville, in the western part of the county, is a village of several hundred inhabitants, and the usual number of stores, churches, shops, etc., for places of its size. It has a brisk trade, and exhibits evidences of thrift.

Mechanicsburg, a little village, is, by virtue of its position, a suburb of Paducah; but its inhabitants prefer to work out their destiny on their own responsibility. It is noted for having a number of important manufacturing establishments.

Florence Station and Bond's are active points on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad between Paducah and Mayfield.

In the history of the county there have been but six public criminal executions, as follows: Thomas Wilson, November 28, 1832; Harvey Reaves, November 28, 1834; John Graham, January 3, 1856, for the murder of his wife; Thomas J. Jenkins (Indian), October 3, 1856, for killing a little girl; George McMurray, (colored), June 22, 1866, for killing a man named Dunn, with an ax; Wash. Fletcher (colored), October 3, 1884, for killing his wife.

The following is the compilation of the assessor's work for 1884-85: There are 152,057 acres of land in the county, valued at $1,030,470, owned by the whites, and 1,391 acres, valued at $10,840, owned by colored people. There are 2,747 town lots, valued at $2,234,450, owned by the whites, and 243 lots, valued at $50,285, owned by colored people. The whites have 1,951 horses, valued at $76,935, and the blacks 148, valued at $4,375. The whites have 1,289 mules, valued at $54,140, and the blacks 109, valued at $3,555. There are 225 dry goods stores, groceries and saloons, valued at $445,550, owned by the whites. The black list but $50 under this head.

Under the equalization law the whites give in $143,000 and the blacks $100. The whites list 18,565 carriages and other vehicles, and the blacks $575 worth. The number of watches, clocks and pianos listed by the whites is 35,460, and the blacks list $150 worth. The total valuation of the possessions of the whites in the county is $4,023,-140, and those of the blacks $76,085.

There are 3,011 white voters and 1,686 colored, and 742 more white and 451 more colored polls than voters. There are 7,360 white school children, and 1,142 colored.

This compilation, compared with last year's, shows a small decrease in the valuation of county property, stores, etc., and horses, but an increase of $60,000 in town lots. The total assessment is about $30,000 over last year's listment.

Presidential vote, November, 1884: Cleveland, 1,984; Blaine, 1,256; St. John, 15. Number of legal voters in the county, white, 3,329; colored, 1,591. Total, 4,920.

The first male child born in Paducah was John F. Davis, son of Isaac Davis, the date being June 12, 1830. Mr. Davis is still living in the country, some four miles from the city.

The first marriage in the town was that of Braxton Small to Grace Walters, March 1, 1831, Rev. Lewis Good being the officiating minister.

The first female child born in the town was Addie Small, daughter of the foregoing, and now Mrs. Dr. Thornberry.

Dr. J. R. Alexander has some interesting and curious objects in his possession, viz.: one a picture of Benjamin Franklin, painted on ivory, in Paris, by Mrs. Jonathan Williams, in 1784; it represents Franklin in full court dress. Another a picture of Gen. Jonathan Williams, who was a member of the celebrated Boston Tea Party; lastly, a copy of the first map of Kentucky ever made, it being drawn from actual observations, in 1784, by John Filson, aided by Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, James Harrod, Christopher Greenup, John Cowan and William Kennedy. It is dedicated to Gen. Washington and the Congress of the United States, and embraces all of Kentucky south of the Cumberland River.

Charles Dickens, visiting Paducah, said that the object of greatest curiosity he found was a "one-story house with a two-story porch." The building may still be seen.

CHAPTER IX.

MARSHALL COUNTY.

MARSHALL COUNTY, named in honor of Chief Justice John Marshall, of the United States supreme court, and situated in the northeastern portion of the Jackson Purchase, is bounded on the north and east by the Tennessee River, which separates it from Livingston, Lyon and Trigg Counties; on the south by Calloway County, and on the west by Graves and McCracken Counties.

Prior to June 1, 1842, it constituted the northern part of Calloway County, from which it was separated by an act of the General Assembly of Kentucky, approved February 12, 1842, the first section of which is as follows:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That, from and after the first day of June, 1842, all that part of Calloway County included in the following boundary, viz.: Beginning at a Section corner, in the Graves and Calloway line, seventeen miles north of the point where the said counties of Graves and Calloway corner in the Tennessee State line; thence east with said section line to the Tennessee River; thence down said river to the McCracken County line; thence south with the McCracken and Graves County lines to the beginning, shall be, and is hereby, erected into one separate and distinct county, to be known and called by the name of Marshall; and the seat of justice thereof shall be established at the most eligible point, as near the centre of said county as the face of the country will admit, in the opinion of the commissioners hereafter appointed." Section 2 provided that the Circuit and County Courts of Calloway County should have law and equity jurisdiction till the act became operative. Section 3 allowed nine justices of the peace to meet on the first Monday of June, 1842, at the house of James Clark, to appoint a clerk. Section 8 designated John Wortham, of Graves; Alfred Boyd, of Trigg; Hugh McCracken, of Caldwell, and Charles B. Davidson, of McCracken, to locate the county seat, and allowed them $3.00 per diem for their services.

The justices mentioned in Section 3, and

consisting of James Brien, John T. McElrath, Joseph Staton, Enos Faughn, Joel Gilbert, Robert Elliott, James Stice, Absalom Smith and William Rice, met at the house of James Clark, about four miles east of north of the present site of Benton, on June 7, 1842, and formally organized the county court. The original records of their proceedings having been destroyed, by the burning of the county clerk's office at Benton, February 29, 1848, the details cannot be given. From the testimony of Henry Hand, first county clerk, taken before a board of commissioners, appointed by the court, March 6, 1848, to restore the lost records, and consisting of Robert O. Morgan, Joel Gilbert, Francis H. Clayton, Philander Palmer, and Thomas McElrath, we learn that the commissioners designated to locate the county seat "after careful and minute investigation and examination of circumstances, face of the country, etc.," selected a site for the public square of the county on the southeast quarter of Section 32, Town 5, Range 4 east, being the same now found in Benton. All the commissioners, except McCracken, agreed to this report. The land for the public square belonged to Francis Clayton.

Marshall County, embracing an area of 328 square miles, or 209,920 acres, has an undulating surface, the major portion being level. It is copiously supplied with beautiful streams of living water that both enrich the soil and add to the happiness of man.

Clark's River, with its three branches, East, West and Middle Fork, traverses the county from south to north, the bottoms along which are generally very productive and well adapted to corn and grass. Some of these bottom lands yield fine tobacco. The West Fork has the best quality of land, richly supplied with sand. The Middle Fork is a small stream and has, along its banks, some of the best farms in the county.

Jonathan's Creek, running across the southeast corner of the county, called Harlan's Creek till about 1818, is a beautiful stream, and has two mills on it. Bear Creek in the eastern part of the county has rich bottom land. It flows into the Tennessee River. Soldier Creek, in the west part of the county, empties into the west fork of Clark's River. Its bottoms are dry, and produce corn, wheat, oats, a fine quality of tobacco and excellent grass and clover.

On the hills the soil is from four to eight inches in depth, and is adapted to the raising of corn, wheat, oats, tobacco and the grasses. Much of the hill land has been abandoned, and consequently is covered with sassafras and persimmon bushes, and sedge-grass. The bottoms have a deep loam, which is very productive and well adapted to the production of corn and the various grasses. The drier parts yield a superior quality of shipping tobacco.

The county is well supplied with timber of all kinds. The following varieties may be mentioned: Hickory, black and sweet gum in abundance, oak in its diversified forms, poplar in good quality, white ash, thoroughly adapted to lumbering purposes, beech, red and slippery elm, sycamore, birch, mulberry, walnut, sugar maple, persimmon, horn bean, iron wood, wild cherry, paw paw, locust, willow and red bud. Along the streams the growth of timber is luxuriant, affording an abundance of cheap and valu able lumber.

Much difficulty is encountered in ascertaining when, where and by whom the first settlements were made. Those who were the principal actors in rescuing the country from the Indian and the no less powerful enemy of civilized life, dense forests, had little time, if they had the inclination, to preserve reliable records of their early struggles and hardships. From old citizens, and from a paper prepared by that prodigy of learning and patient research, Philander Palmer, Esq., and read at a citizens' meeting in the town of Benton, July 4, 1876, the following facts are gleaned: Mr. James Stewart made the first permanent settlement on Wade's Creek, about one mile north of Wadesboro, in 1818 or 1819. It is thought the creek received its name from Bannister Wade, who settled on its banks in 1819. In this year immigrants began to arrive in great numbers, so that the following persons were settled in

L. H. Johnston

what is now Marshall (then Calloway) County, viz.: In Town 4, Range 3 east, Mr. Daniel, Mr. Bibb, Benjamin and James Knox, Robert and Nehemiah Williams, Arthur H. Davis, James Greer, John Gray, Robert Carney, Stephen Williams, Edward Dillard, Mr. Davis, Samuel Dinwiddie, James Morgan, W. M. Cummins, Mr. Winfrey, Peter Agner, William Baker, Joseph Reaves, Jephthah Griffith, Levi Lamb, John Entrikan, Mr. Thrall and Henry Darnall. They had settled in the southwest part of Marshall County between 1818 and the spring of 1820. North of them in Town 5, Range 3, were William Gibson, James Smith, Henry Thompson and John Moore. North of them in Town 6, Range 3, were Stephen and Dr. John Howard. Between the Howards and the Tennessee River there were no inhabitants when the county was sectionized. In the township south of Benton were Merrill Utley, R. E. Rowland, James Bourland, Elijah Goodman, who owned a band horse-mill, James Jordan, Mr. Twitty, Mr. McDonald, Thomas Goodman, Mr. Benbrook, Mr. Williams, William Riley, Perry Lawrence, William Sneed, widow ——, Mr. Beech, Mr. Skaggs, James and William Brown, Elijah Veech and James Eaton. In the Benton Township, Mr. Scott, Moses Clayton, Jesse, Thomas and Daniel Ford, Samuel Watson, Mr. Tisdale, Hezekiah Williams, Jesse Jones, John Shumaker, Mr. Dunn and Mr. Lawson. North of the Benton Township were: Mr. Scott and Mr. Woods, Thomas Hill, Squire Jonathan Hill, Mr. McKinney, Stratton and M. Doon, and James Brank. North of this township and the Tennessee River there were no inhabitants. In the Jonathan Creek Country were Mr. Jones, Bartlett Henson, Isaac Condrum, John Kennedy, John and James Faughn. East of Benton Township were James Ashworth, Daniel Nance, Raden Gray, William Early, Michael Campbell, John Campbell, who probably settled Birmingham; Joel Yeats and William Short. North of them were Glover Baker, William Whiteside and John Brown. East of them on the Tennesse River were Jeremiah Murray, William Darnold and Benjamin Grindall. Many of these people have since migrated, and their stocks have become extinct.

Concerning some of the early settlers and prominent residents of the county, a few facts may be stated: Isaac Johnston came from Eddyville, Lyon County, some time about 1818–20, and settled near the present home of his son, Squire J. H. Johnston, at Oakland. His father, Absalom Johnston, came in the early history of Kentucky from South Carolina, and erected at Oakland the first horse-mill in Marshall County. Patronized by people for a distance of twenty miles, it continued to be for more than twenty years an indispensable institution of the region. A man of strong constitution and great energy, Absalom opened up a farm. He was a Hardside Baptist, and gave a great impetus to the work of establishing churches in the new country. The home organization had ultimately 120 members. He finally removed to Smithland, Livingston County, where he died in 1844 or 1845, leaving a family of nine children, including eight sons, all of whom became permanent settlers of Marshall County and leading spirits among the pioneers. Contemporary with these Johnstons were the families of Jack Dooms and James Baker. Where Dooms came from is not known, and none of his descendants are now here. Baker came from Caldwell County, and his sister became the wife of Isaac Johnston and mother of James H. Johnston. There were two other daughters, both of whom married sons of Absalom Johnston. Isaac Johnston and one brother were soldiers of the Seminole war. Another early family of the Johnston settlement was the Statons, consisting of Jack, Charles, and his son Joseph, who for many years was a magistrate. They also came from Caldwell County, and their descendants are now among the substantial citizens of the county.

Next came the Briens, Lyles and others. James Brien came from Logan County, Ky., about 1820, and was one of the first blacksmiths of the county. He was a man of great public spirit and benevolence, just such a one as the pioneer county most needed. He was for several years a justice of the

peace, and was sent subsequently to represent his county in the State legislature. He was a member of that body when Marshall County was formed, and earnestly championed the movement. He served in both branches of the legislature. He was a soldier under Gen. Jackson in the war of 1812. He founded the village which still bears his name. He died some years ago at an advanced age.

Col. Alfred Johnston was a native of Kentucky, born in Caldwell County January 22, 1813. At the time of his death, in June, 1873, he was over sixty years of age. When about five years of age, his father moved to Calloway County, then comprehending what is now Marshall County, where he lived till the close of the late war, when he removed to Paducah, the place of his residence at the time of his death. In 1836 he married the daughter of 'Squire Howard, of Calloway County, and reared a family of eight children, three boys and five girls, all of whom, except one, together with his beloved wife, survived him. His eldest son, William Henry Johnston, was slain as a Confederate soldier on the battlefield of Shiloh. His early educational facilities were limited, and yet he was possessed of that large native intellect and inquiring mind which gave him command of a vast field of information, and made him a marked man in whatever position he occupied. The stirring political scenes of his early life, and the partiality of his friends, made him a public officer. He was elected a justice of the peace, then assessor of taxes, then county judge, and then a representative to the lower house of the legislature, and, finally, a State senator, all of which positions he filled acceptably. His first contest for the legislature was made in 1844, against Col. Dodd and P. H. Becham, of Calloway. In 1845 he made his second contest against Col. Dodd alone; and his third, in 1846, against William Wade, Esq. In all these he was successful.

In 1849 he made a contest for the senate against Col. James Brien, and was elected by 900 majority. This was for the session of the legislature preceding the revision of the constitution, and the term ended his official life. Withdrawing from politics in 1851, he formed a business partnership with Col. Linn Boyd, at Palma, where he continued till the breaking out of the war.

Early in 1861 he enlisted a company in the county and secured its enrollment in the Third Kentucky Regiment, which was attached to the army of Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and participated in the battle of Shiloh. By regular promotions he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, A.P. Thompson being colonel, and served faithfully in the Confederate service for a number of months, when, his health failing, he resigned, returned home and took the oath of allegiance to the Federal government.

In January, 1819, William Owen, with Betsey his wife, and their family, came from East Tennessee and settled on the place now occupied by Alex Smith, on Soldier Creek. He was probably a Virginian by birth, and was the first white settler in the west half of the county. He and one of his sons were soldiers in the war of 1812, he taking the place of a younger son who was drafted. His daughter, Frances Owen, married Peter Washam, with whom she lived to the time of her death, January 2, 1883.

Rev. Henry Darnall, usually known as Harry Darnall, came from Caldwell County in 1819, and settled at the head of Soldier Creek, building a small cabin and opening a small farm. He was a Hardshell Baptist preacher, and organized the first church in the Purchase, known as the Soldier Creek Church. At first the members met at the house William Owen, then built a round log house, and finally a hewed log house. The organization is still in existence and now occupies a frame building, illustrating not only the doctrine of developement, but that of the perseverance of the saints. He was a man of fair attainments, and preached extensively, doing much for the advancement of morality, not only in his own locality, but throughout the Purchase. He died about 1860 at the age of eighty or more, and his wife in 1878, considerably older. He left a large number of descendants, among whom three

of his sons Nicholas, William and Henry, became preachers. The first of these was at one time judge of Marshall County.

Robert Rose, born about 1798, in Edgecomb County, N. C., came to his present locality in 1821. At that time Henry and Benjamin Darnall, William Chambers and Parker Harold were also living in the neighborhood. He often heard of an older resident named Maldin, but never saw him. On Christmas day, 1823, he married Polly Darnall, daughter of Rev. Harry Darnall, with whom he is still living, a period of sixty-two years. This is probably the longest time during which any living representatives in the county have dwelt together as husband and wife. They are both living in good health and excellent spirits. From this union have sprung forty-seven grandchildren, seventy-two great-grandchildren and one great-great-grandchild.

Peter Washam came with his father, Peyton Washam, from Hopkins County, Ky., in March, 1820, and settled on Panther Creek, in the eastern part of Graves County. Father and son came to make improvements on the farm, the wife and mother, Lucy Washam, having remained with the family in Hopkins County. In July she was sent for to visit her husband, who was sick, but became lost in the cane-brake on her way, and lay all night near her dying companion, failing to reach him until he was dead. She lived until 1825, and died in Graves County, after which Peter became a resident of Marshall County. Peter relates that he, his father, and one other man, were compelled to subsist for six days with nothing to eat but a little boiled corn. This was taken, too, from the half bushel of seed corn set aside for the season.

Gen. Arthur H. Davis came to the county about 1821–22. He was a prominent citizen, and represented the Purchase in the legislature. It is said that "on December 21, 1821, the State legislature of Kentucky passed an act creating the office of register of lands, and commissioning that officer to offer for sale to the highest bidder, in the town of Princeton, each alternate section belonging to the State west of the Tennessee River. The law required the register to offer the land as indicated, and if it failed to bring $1.25 per acre, there was to be no sale. Under this act only one quarter section was sold, Gen. Arthur H. Davis being the purchaser, and the land lying near the town of Benton, Marshall County."

John Free, now living with his son-in-law, Calvin Henson, came to the county February 1, 1824. He was a son-in-law of Rev. Henry Darnall. Has always been a good citizen, and actively employed in the development of the county.

Daniel Pace, the oldest man in Marshall County, was born February 3, 1792, in Pittsylvania County, Va. In 1806 he accompanied his father to Muhlenburgh County, and in November, 1825, he came to Calloway County, settling a mile and a half north of Wadesboro and entering eighty acres of government land at 50 cents per acre. After paying for his land, he had remaining only $5, with which to support himself, wife and five children. In 1828, he entered 160 acres more at 25 cents per acre, and lacked $11 of the amount. This he borrowed of Edmund Curd, the receiver of the land office at Wadesboro. He served in the war of 1812, having enlisted from Muhlenburgh County, at the call of Gov. Isaac Shelby, who accompanied the troops to Canada. Was a participant in the battle of the Thames, and saw the dead body of the Indian chief, Tecumseh. The Indian was a man of only ordinary stature. After the engagement, his body was badly mutilated, American soldiers scalping him and clipping skin from his back and thighs. One member of Pace's company brought a piece of said skin home as a relic.* He held several offices: First, that of road commissioner to expend public funds for bridging and building roads. This was about 1828–29. Received $1 per day for horse and self and paid his own expenses. He held also the position of magistrate, and later that of school commissioner. Only one appeal was taken from his decisions as a magistrate.

* For his services during his four months' absence, Mr. Pace received at one time $42; then forty acres of land; then 120 acres, and finally a pension of $8 per month since 1871.

Mrs. Pace, *nee* Lettis Hurt, was born March 16, 1798, in Robinson County, Tenn., and died September 7, 1865, in her sixty-eighth year. She was the mother of twelve children, six of whom are still living. Ten of these twelve children, six boys and four girls, reached the age of maturity and all became members of the Christian Church. None ever drank or gambled.

Mr. Pace has seen, as the fruit of his happy marriage, twelve children, one hundred grandchildren, fifty great-grandchildren and one great-great-grandchild. He joined the Christian Church some forty years ago under the preaching of Elder William M. Starks. In politics he served with the Whig party during its existence, and then cast in his lot with the Republican party when it was organized. He was a firm friend of the Union during the late war, and, like many of his neighbors, suffered heavily from the depredations of guerrilla bands. He is living at present with his son, Hope Pace, about four miles from Wadesboro. His sight is very much impaired, but his general health is quite good.

With Daniel Pace settled J. L. Haynes, from Todd County, in 1825. His father was a brother to the mother of Daniel. He served in the Black Hawk war, and, returning, has, with the exception of two years in Illinois and one in Texas, lived near Mr. Pace's ever since his first location.

Hix Ray, now living on Panther Creek, in Graves County, formerly lived on Duncan's Creek, four miles south of the home of Maj. Wilia Waller. He came to the county some time during the decade between 1820 and 1830, and has lived the life of a plain, honest, Christian. In age he is probably next to Daniel Pace.

Mrs. Matilda Woodall, living near Stringtown, about ten miles northwest of Benton, is thought to be one hundred years old. She came from Tennesse and settled among the first inhabitants of the county.

In the main the offices of Marshall County have been filled by competent men. The records show that the administration of public affairs has been conducted as follows:

County Clerks.—Henry Hand held this important place from June, 1842, the date of organization, through the remaining period of the old constitution, and under the new up to August, 1853, when he resigned and was succeeded by Jesse C. Gilbert, who held the office till September, 1858. At this time John W. Dycus came into power and held it till September, 1870. September 5, 1870, T. L. Goheen, Jr., was sworn into office and held it till October 24, 1880. He was suddenly stricken down by an overdose of chloroform taken for medical purposes. He stood six feet seven inches in height, and was a popular man in the county. He died at the age of thirty-six, a member of the Knights of Honor, and his picture may yet be seen in the office he so worthily filled. J. L. Child was appointed to discharge the duties of the office until the ensuing August election, when William J. Wilson, the present efficient and obliging incumbent, was chosen.

Circuit Clerks.—Old citizens assert that the first clerk was Irvin Anderson. The records, however, commence with Henry Hand, the efficient county clerk who held till the new constitution came into operation. R. F. Stone held from June 11, 1851, to December 23, 1853, when he resigned and was succeeded by S. H. Starks, who was appointed to discharge its duties, which he did till his death in 1855. Moses Riley, appointed successor, held the place till 1861. J. H. Riley, his son, discharged the duties of the office from June, 1862, till June, 1863, and again from July, 1865, to February, 1867. W. D. Hunter held from June, 1863, to December, 1864. He was followed by G. S. Jones from December, 1864, to July, 1865. C. C. Coulter, now an attorney at Mayfield, held from February, 1867, till he resigned in June, 1871, when J. O. Johnston qualified and held till December, 1880. At this time T. F. Palmer, son of Philander Palmer, the first attorney of the county, began to discharge its duties, and is the present incumbent.

School Commissioners.—At first there were three, then six, and afterward but one commissioner. The successive incumbents were Hugh Gilbert, Sr., Daniel Pace, William H. Stone, J. M. Quarles, Rev. D. M. Green, J.

J. M. Wilson. M.D.

T. Stone, Joshua Barnhart, John Gilbert, J. O. Johnston, W. A. Holland, Elias Barry, Louis Fields, J. M. Fisher and C. H. Starkes. In 1884, the name was changed from commissioner to superintendent, and the present incumbent, M. B. Pace, was elected.

County Attorneys.—Pleasant H. Beckham was sworn at the organization of the county in June, 1842. On December 4, 1848, the court appointed Philander Palmer, and annually, thereafter, till June, 1851, when, under the new constitution, he presented a commission from Gov. Helm as the regularly elected officer. He held this office till April 5, 1856, when he resigned. Philander Palmer was born in New Hampshire December 8, 1817; graduated from Norwich University, Vt., and then came to the upper counties of Kentucky, where he read law with Judge Pryor, afterward a member of the supreme court of the State. Having taught school, he came to Benton about 1844, with all his earthly possessions tied up in a small valise. He opened the first law office in the county, and became the Gamaliel of the county. In 1849 or 1850 he married Susan A. Whittemore, with whom he lived till the date of his death, March 6, 1880. He was a leading spirit of Marshall County, and gave his best energies to its development.

R. F. Stone was appointed April 7, 1856, to fill out Palmer's term and again October 1857. The records next show J. C. Gilbert as appointed October, 1865, followed by Henry Dodd, who held till 1870, when W. A. Holland was installed. In 1874, he was succeeded by J. W. Dycus, who resigned in 1875, when W. M. Reed was appointed. He continued till November, 1879, when he resigned and was succeeded by Ed. Palmer, son of Philander Palmer, who served till 1882. At that time J. M. Fisher, the present incumbent, was elected.

County Judge.—Under the old constitution the duties of this office were performed by magistrates. The office began with the adoption of the new constitution in 1851. The first officer was James Stice, who was elected in June, 1851, and served till his death in 1852. Following him was Alfred Johnston, who served about one month. He was succeeded by T. L. Goheen, Sr., who continued from September, 1852, till September, 1858; J. M. Stephens, 1858 to 1866; W. A. Holland, 1866 to 1870; J. W. Dycus, 1870 to 1874.

In September, 1874, Rev. Nicholas Darnall, son of Philip Darnall, was qualified and held the position till March 4, 1878, when he resigned. In the canvass he promised to serve the people for $300 per year. This fact, combined with sympathy, resulted in his election. T. L. Goheen, Jr., county clerk, was *de facto* judge during the early part of the term, and W. L. Ely, J. P., during the latter part.

T. L. Goheen, Sr., was appointed by the magistrates March 4, 1878, and continued till the following September, when the present incumbent, W. P. Lee, came into office.

County Sheriffs.—Thomas Ford, Enos Faughn, Peter W. Gardner, Joel Gilbert, Henry B. Williams, Moses Riley, Samuel Duncan and Philip Darnall occupied this responsible position in regular succession from June 7, 1842, to January 1861. During the period of the war it was filled more or less irregularly by William N. Peterson, who resigned and went into the Confederate service; Philander Palmer, A. A. Nelson, jailer, who acted as sheriff, James Story assisting; W. B. Ely and G. S. Jones. Subsequently it was held by H. M. Wade, T. M. Freeman, M. C. Rowland, A. A. Nelson, W. W. English and C. H. Starkes, the latter being the present incumbent.

Jailers.—John J. Averitt, Robert Clark, R. O. Morgan, C. E. Miller, N. B. Roach, A. A. Nelson, H. Johnston, Henry L. Minter, Thomas E. Barnes, J. R. Troutt, John M. Stilley, J. Q. Thompson, J. F. Brandon and J. T. Ozment have in succession held this important trust. Mr. Nelson served twice, once during the opening of the war and again from 1870 to 1874.

Surveyors.—Marquis Barnett, L. T. Barnett, his son and deputy, A. W. Thomas, J. G. Haydock, Thomas F. Harrison and O. T. Williams have been the successive incumbents. The first began in 1842. The last

died in August, 1884, and no successor has yet been appointed.

Assessors.—Hugh Gilbert, J. C. Miller, Hugh Arant, T. T. Grubbs, D. D. Thompson, W. M. Jones, J. H. Flower, J. M. Helm, W. B. Jones, A. J. Starkes, T. L. Goheen, Sr., J. A. Clark and J. B. Fletcher.

Trustee of Jury Fund.—This trust has been held by Henry Hand, R. F. Stone, S. H. Starks, Moses Riley, J. W. Dycus, C. C. Coulter, J. O. Johnston, N. R. Reed and W. J. Wilson, present county clerk.

Members of the State Senate. — James Brien, 1846–50; Jesse C. Gilbert, 1871–75. From Marshall, Calloway and Trigg, Alfred Boyd, 1842–46. From Marshall and Calloway, Alfred Johnston, 1850.

House of Representatives.—Robert O. Morgan, 1851–53; James Brien, 1853–55, 1865–67; Wilia Waller, 1855–57, 1863–65; Thomas L. Goheen, Sr., 1859–61; Jesse C. Gilbert, 1861–63, expelled "because connected with the Confederate Army," December 21, 1861, and succeeded by Wilia Waller, 1862–63; Basil Holland, 1867–1869. From Marshall and Calloway, Alfred Johnston, 1845, 1846, 1847; W. M. Reed, J. W. Dycus, W. C. Holland.

The majesty of the law has been asserted but twice in the punishment of capital crime, the first time in the hanging of Chills, *alias* Achilles, slave of William Peay, for killing a slave belonging to Philander Palmer. Execution June 16, 1854. The second in the hanging of Samuel Gaines (white), July 13, 1866, for killing B. F. McNabb in March, 1865. He was to have been executed September 15, 1865, but, escaping from jail, was recaptured and ordered by Gov. Bramlette to be executed as above stated. With him as an accomplice was tried McDonald Hamilton, who was ordered to be executed. A new trial, however, resulted in sending him to the penitentiary for ten years.

The first teacher of any note was Hugh McCracken. A man named Walters was an early pedagogue; and the first man buried in the north part of the county. Alfred Johnston, son of Isaac Johnston, also followed this responsible calling for a time. Among the prominent teachers in the southern part of the county was William Thompson, who came from Graves County and taught a number of terms at the Liberty Meeting-house; Jefferson Grace and Joseph Burnett taught also in the same place. The latter was said to have been a good primary instructor, but became intoxicated at times. Subscription schools prevailed till the organization of the public school system, under which prominent teachers were R. E. Roland, R. W. Starks, Perry S. Pace and others.

Justus Shinn, John Pinner, Dr. Dill, J. K. Wilson, G. W. Irvin, Walker Strow and others were some of the early physicians. Several of these were located in the county-seat.

No class of people appreciate more fully the preached word than the early settlers of a country. Among the early Baptist preachers who came into the county were Henry Darnall, Absalom Copeland, James Bell, Hugh and Ambrose Gilbert. The last two, nephew and uncle, were the first preachers in the northern part of the county. Methodist circuit-riders first dispensed the Truth to the people at stated intervals; Morgan Williams preached at Wadesboro and vicinity while Rev. John Johnson, also a physician, ministered to the people further north. Calvin Philley represented the Presbyterians in the new field. The ministers of the Christian Church came at a later date, viz.: James Lindsey, Sr., J. F. Mecoy, James R. Jones and others.

The first jail was a log structure on the public square, and was erected about 1843 by John Hyatt and Dillon Ford. The second was a brick structure erected by Nathan Bowman, contractor, and Thomas McElrath, surety, in 1853–54, at a cost of $1,600. It stood on the site of the present jail. It was torn down and some of its materials were used in the construction of the present edifice, which was built in 1883, by Cosby & Landrum of Mayfield, at a cost of $5,224. D. A. McKinnon was architect.

The first court house was a log structure erected by Francis Clayton about 1843. It was sold to him in 1848 for $26. The

second or present one was built in 1847 by Thomas McElrath, principal contractor, and Lewis Henderson, chief wood workman. The aggregate cost was about $6,000.

The first clerk's office was simply a wooden building and was sold in 1848 for $9.12½. The present office was erected in 1860 at a cost of $1,500.

No poor-house has ever been built, the indigent being let out to private parties who will keep them on the lowest terms.

Daniel Pace is perhaps the only soldier of the war of 1812 still living in the county. His history is given elsewhere.

Only five or six representatives of the Mexican war live at present within the county, viz.: Walter C. Watson, a farmer three miles west of Benton, was wounded and draws a pension; Charles Littlejohn ten miles north of Benton, William Reeves about six miles west, John Kern near Wadesboro and John M. Green near Brewer's Mill survive, but having received no wounds, are satisfied with the gratitude of the people. J. T. Stone has removed to Arkansas.

Marshall County, like its sisters, furnished troops for both sides during the war of the Rebellion. For the Confederate service two companies were organized, the first by Alfred Johnston, who became its captain, and the second by Crittenden Edwards. These two companies were attached to the Third Kentucky Infantry and served with Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston's army in the battle of Shiloh, where it suffered severely. They continued through the war. In these companies were the following officers by appointment or promotion: Reason Ratcliffe, captain; R. F. Stone of Benton, captain, killed at Shiloh. He was succeeded by Felix Staton as captain; John Morgan became first lieutenent; William Owen second lieutenant, and Harrison Hall became third lieutenant. Others entered the Confedernate service by enlisting in companies organized in other counties.

In 1861, from the State militia and other sources, a company of men was organized for the Union Army by Thomas B. Waller, now living at Gilbertsville. It was attached to the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry. At the organization he became captain of the company, and was finally promoted to be major, and still later, lieutenant-colonel. This regiment was captured by Gen. John H. Morgan at Lebanon, Ky., in July, 1863, and its prisoners compelled to run to Springfield, a distance of eleven miles, where they were paroled. Benjamin Rush Waller was a lieutenant in the same regiment. Maj. Wilia Waller, of Exchange, Marshall County, organized the First Battalion, Sixteenth Kentucky Cavalry, consisting of Company C, Capt. J. H. Starks, composed of men from Marshall, Calloway and McCracken Counties, and Company D, Capt. Thomas Carter, composed of men from same counties, together with Tennessee refugees. Attached to it was a battalion of the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry, consisting of five companies under the command of Lieut.-Col. Henry, of Princeton. He being detached to command Fort Heiman, on the Tennessee River, the battalion was assigned to Maj. Waller. It consisted of Company A, recruited from Marshall County by Capt. Samuel Duncan, of Benton; Company B, Capt. Samuel Purcell, of Graves County, formed mainly from McCracken and Graves; Company C, Capt. Belt, formed in Livingston and Caldwell; Company D, Capt. Maxwell, of Princeton; and Company E, Capt. Lewis A. Hanson, of Graves. This command was organized at Paducah, and served from October, 1862, to October, 1863. After the expiration of twelve months' service, many of the men re-enlisted under Maj. Barnes in the Sixteenth Kentucky, the history of which is given under McCracken County.

Benton, the county seat, named in honor of Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, was incorporated January 11, 1845. It is near the geographical center of the county, being twenty-four miles from Paducah, and thirteen from Calvert City on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad. The land for the town site was furnished by Francis Clayton and John H. Bearden; thirty acres by the former and fifty by the latter. The first house erected after the location of the county seat, was the hotel by J. J. Averitt, since known as the Marshall House. Aver-

itt's was the first family to locate, and their daughter, Iway Averitt, afterward married to Jack Walpole, was the first child born in the village. Her birth occurred May 14, 1843, and her death in Benton, February 12, 1865.

Others families, the Fletchers, Henry Hand, the Strows, located shortly afterward. The first physician was Dr. John Maxwell, who came about 1845 from Livingston County.

About 1849 a masonic lodge was established in the old court house by Reuben Rowland, Peter W. Gardner, George Miller and others. Afterward the lodge room was in the second story of the Union Meeting-house, where sessions were held till the charter was surrendered in 1882.

The Knights of Honor organized June 30, 1877, with Elias Barry, G. W. Brandon, J. F. Brandon, T. L. Goheen, Jr., W. A. Holland. M. C. Rowland, J. M. Stilley, D. G. Smith and W. J. Wilson as charter members. The lodge still lives.

There are three churches, Baptist, Methodist and Christian. The first and last meet in a union house. The second has a house of its own.

The Baptists were organized October 4, 1860, by Rev. D. M. Green with Mrs. Geraldine H. Wilson, Elizabeth Finley, E. Crow, Nancy Crow, Martha Thompson, Rachel Green, Martha Green, M. C. Rowland, Elizabeth Hanks and Lucinda Bowland as charter members.

The Methodist Church South was organized about 1849 with twelve charter members, embracing James Green, Elizabeth Green, George Green and others. The first house was built in 1880, at a cost of $1,500. Prior to that date sessions were held in the union house.

The Christian Church was organized in 1860 by Elder William Marshall Starkes, evangelist, and these charter members: —Brewer and wife, Jackson Barry and wife, W. D. Hunter and wife, Joseph Myers and others. It has been served by the following preachers: Elders W. M. Starkes, James Lindsey, J. F. Mecoy, W. L. Butler and J. W. Holsapple.

The officers at present are Elder W. A. Holland; deacons, T. D. Brown and T. F. Palmer. The membership is thirty-six.

The Marshall County Seminary, the nucleus of educational work in the county, is situated at Benton, having been located there February 3, 1868, by a board of trustees consisting of T. L. Goheen, Sr., W. C. Holland, J. H. Johnston, Josiah Wood, Samuel Mathis, C. Parker and J. W. Whitnell. The land vested in them for seminary purposes embraced nine quarter-sections, 1,440 acres, in Graves County. The portions sold thus far have yielded about $7,000. The seminary building is a two-story brick structure, 40x60, with four rooms and was erected in 1869–70, at a cost of $5,800. Its first principal was Prof. A. Pomeroy and his assistant, W. T. Shelton.

Benton is pleasantly situated on small hills among hills. It had a population in 1880 of 277. Its business is represented by two drug stores, five dry-goods stores, three groceries, one hotel, three tobacco houses, one grist and saw-mill, four physicians, four lawyers, and the usual number of county officials. Its newspaper is printed outside of the county, no press having ever been established in the county.

Birmingham, on the Tennessee River, was platted in February, 1853, on land of Thomas A. Grubbs, and incorporated February 27, 1860. Love's addition was made in 1858. The village had, in 1880, 224 inhabitants as against 322 in 1870. It contains two churches, two hotels, seven general stores, and two resident physicians.

Briensburg, named in honor of James Brien, was incorporated September 18, 1861. The plat of the village was made by J. G. Haydock, county surveyor, and consisted of seventeen blocks and other territory not laid off. It has four stores, two churches, a Methodist and a Christian; a schoolhouse, and had, in 1880, a population of sixty-seven.

Calvert City, in the north part of the county, on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, was incorporated March 18, 1871, and laid out in September, 1872, with nineteen blocks and 133 lots; six streets east

and west, each sixty feet wide. It has a hotel and several stores, and does a thriving business.

Gilbertsville, on the Tennessee River and Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, was laid out in 1874 and named in honor of G. Gilbert.

The population of Marshall County in 1880 was 9,647; number of acres of land, 100,962; number of town lots, 340; assessed value of land, $834,821; value of town lots, $53,337; value of personal property, $383,305; total, $1,271.43. Number of horses, 1,366, valued at $69,384; number of mules, 1,007, valued at $64,902; number of sheep 5,428, valued at $5,592; number of hogs 14,306; number of cattle 828, valued at $8,146; 45 stores, worth $33,817; number of votes, white and colored, 1,906; children, six to twenty, 3,064; number pounds tobacco, 2,300,170; number bushels corn, 476,144; number bushels wheat, 67,515; number tons hay, 1,300. These figures represent the returns as made by the assessor in 1884.

Antiquities.—"Near Brewer's mill, in the southwest part of the county, are the remains of an Indian town. On a hill at the Byrd Griffith place, four miles northwest of Benton, are a mound and Indian burying ground, where stone vessels and implements, human remains and shells are found in abundance."*

Curiosities.—"A sink-hole, or lake (for it is filled with water), about sixty yards in diameter, is on a high hill, three miles south of Benton; its depth is not known; the water neither rises nor falls, and stands some fifty feet above the bed of the creek below."

Three miles from Calvert City "there is a mineral spring whose waters contain sulphureted hydrogen, carbonic acid gas, sulphate and chloride of lime, magnesia and iron."*

Number of marriage licenses issued in the county from the organization to April 15, 1885, is 3,274.

The first regular court session was held September, 1842, under an arbor in the public square.

Musters were held, in the olden times, about six times a year; company, four times; battalion, one; regimental, one.

The first corn was raised by Jonathan Grear, at the mouth of Jonathan's Creek, in 1818.

In August, 1843, an unsuccessful election was held to change the county seat from Benton to Briensburg, and again in August, 1876, to Birmingham.

Marshall County received a beautiful banner in 185–, for giving the largest Democratic majority of any county in the congressional district.

Sometime 1844–45, the horse-stealing gang of Alonzo Pennington had its headquarters about two miles from Benton. They were afterward captured, and Pennington was tried and executed at Hopkinsville for murder, May, 1846.

*Collins.

*Collins.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

BALLARD COUNTY.

PROF. JOHN W. ADAMS was born February 7, 1845, in Robertson County, Tenn., where he grew to manhood, and in 1879 removed to Hopkins County, Ky., where he remained until 1883, when he came to Ballard County, where he now resides. His father, William S. Adams, a Baptist minister, also a native of Robertson County, was born in 1822. He is the son of Reuben Adams, who was born in North Carolina and died in 1870, at the age of seventy years. William S. was twice married: first to Mary E. (born in 1827, died in 1869), daughter of Benjamin Batts. Their offspring are our subject, Gus. H., William C., Thomas B., Josiah V. and Mary E. To his second marriage were born William H. and Gracie. Subject procured a good English education and has taught school for about ten years. On July 25, 1872, he married Miss Laura, daughter of William and Harriet (Bourland) McLean, of Madisonville, Ky. (born March 31, 1853), and to them have been born Wayland W. and Wade L. Subject was formerly successfully engaged as a tobacco factor, but is at present farming. He is a member of the Missionary Baptist Church, and in politics is a Democrat.

BENJAMIN S. BAILEY was born in Christian County, Ky., February 21, 1851, and is the eldest of six children born to F. D. and E. J. (Fraser) Bailey, natives of Virginia and Kentucky, respectively, of Scotch descent on the father's side; his grandparents were Hawcum Bailey and Benjamin F. Fraser, both farmers. Benjamin S. Bailey was reared on a farm, and attended the common schools when not engaged in the duties incident to farm life. In 1855, he came with his parents to the north part of Ballard County, where they engaged in farming. He lived with his parents till married, November, 1872 to Mary A. Walsh, of McCracken County; she is the daughter of Hiram and May A. (Blanks) Walsh, natives of Christian County, Ky., and Charlotte County, Va., respectively. This union has been blessed with the birth of six children (four living), viz.: Lozo, Clint, Hiram E. and Claude V. After his marriage, Mr. Bailey engaged in farming for nine years. He commenced the study of law, in 1881, with Bugg & Wilds, at Blandville, was admitted to the bar in August, 1881, by W. S. Bishop, and has been police judge at Blandville. He is a member of the K. of H. and cast his first presidential vote for H. Greeley, and voted the Democratic ticket ever since. He is a Presbyterian and his wife is a Baptist.

R. L. BILLINGTON was born August 1, 1840, in Bedford County, Tenn., and is the youngest of six children (four boys) born to Jared and Farraby (Wageworth) Billington, natives of Tennessee and Virginia, respectively, and son and daughter of Ezekiel Billington and Jason Wageworth, of English and Scotch origin. He was reared on a farm and attended school about three months in his lifetime. His father died January, 1853, in McCracken County; his mother died in Texas, in 1866, aged sixty-nine years. The family moved to McCracken County, in 1840, and located twelve miles west of Paducah. In 1855 R. L., with his mother, moved to Graves County, Ky., and in 1856 moved to Robertson County, Tex., where he was engaged in herding cattle till March, 1859, when he came to Ballard County, Ky., in the vicinity of Blandville, where he was engaged in farming. In September, 1861, he enlisted in Company E, Seventh Regiment Tennessee Cavalry, under

Capt. Nealey, William Jackson, colonel commanding. He took part in the battles of Nashville, Murfreesboro, Tenn., Sukatonica Bridge, Miss., Fort Pillow, Britton's Lane, Tenn., Island No. 10 (here his company escaped after surrender), Shiloh, Harrisburg, Miss., Corinth, Mitchell's Cross Roads, Holly Springs, and was at Vicksburg when it surrended, but escaped again; was at the fight at Franklin, and was in Forrest's command. He surrendered and took the oath in May, 1865. He returned to Ballard, was accused of being a captain of a guerrilla company, was arrested and imprisoned at Paducah, till July 2, 1865, but proved his innocence and was released. He was married July 11, 1865, to Miss Carolina Crawford, of McCracken County, Ky., native of Henry County, Tenn., and daughter of John and Fannie (Aaron) Crawford, natives of Tennessee and Virginia respectively. He had born to him three children: Ella Lee (deceased), Emma A. and Bedford C., and after marriage he engaged in farming. Mr. Billington is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and the K. of H. and he and wife are members of the Baptist Church. In 1882 he was elected jailer of Ballard County, which office he still holds.

REV. ROBERT F. BIRKHEAD was born in Nelson County, Ky., August 27, 1828, and is one of three living children born to the Rev. Jesse and Abigail (Peak) Birkhead, both natives of Washington County, Ky., and of Irish and English descent, respectively. Jesse Birkhead was married in his native county, where, and in Nelson County, he was engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1833 he came with his family to what is now Ballard County, and subsequently improved a farm, on which he resided several years, when he sold, and again bought wild land in the same neighborhood. Here he improved another farm. He continued to reside in the vicinity of Milburn until his death, January 29, 1877, in his eightieth year. Both himself and wife were from early life devoted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Soon after he came to western Kentucky, he was licensed to preach, and was one of the very earliest pioneers of Methodism in Jackson's Purchase. Although he was only a local minister, he traveled and preached almost constantly for more than forty years, his field of labor including all of the Purchase District in Kentucky, and extending from Paducah to Mill's Point, or Hickman. Father Birkhead was also a member of the Masonic fraternity. Rev. Robert F. Birkhead was employed on his father's farm until he was sixteen years old, after which he lived with a Mr. William Pile until he was twenty-one years old. He then taught and attended school for some two years. He then engaged in agricultural pursuits, and has been so employed ever since. He now owns a well improved farm near Arlington. Mr. Birkhead was married in February, 1853, to Mrs. Susan M. Pile, a native of Washington County, Ky. To this union were born two children—one son and one daughter—both of whom are living. Mrs. Susan M. departed this life December 2, 1855; she was a devoted and consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. October 23, 1856, Mr. Birkhead married Miss Eleanor P. Mix, a native of Henry County, Tenn. One daughter has blessed this union. Mr. Birkhead and wife are, and have been from youth, devoted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which church he has been a local minister for the past ten years, and has had charge of a mission for four years of that time. He has been a member of the Masonic fraternity for more than thirty years, having filled various offices in the order, and was W. M. of his lodge for one year.

JUDGE WILLIAM S. BISHOP was born July 18, 1839, in Trigg County, Ky., and is the youngest of seven children born to Joseph and Elizabeth (Howard) Bishop, who were married in Cumberland County, Ky. The father died, while in the Confederate Army, in March, 1862, at Columbia, Ky.; the mother died about one week later. William S. was reared on a farm and received a common school education, then attended Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky. He taught five terms of school in Ballard and McCracken Counties, and then commenced the study of law in 1859, in his twentieth year, with Oscar Turner, then living in north Ballard, and who is now representing his district for the third term in United States Congress. Mr. Bishop enlisted, November 7, 1861, in Company F, Seventh Kentucky Confederate Infantry, under Capt. Sherrell, Col. Wickliffe commanding, and was in the battle at Corinth, Miss., Brazos Cross Roads, Baton Rouge and the bombardment of Port Hudson. He was captured on Big Black River just before the general surrender, and received a final parole in the spring of 1865, when he returned home and engaged in teaching, and then to the practice of law. He was admitted to the bar, in 1861, by Judge R. K. Williams and Judge Joseph M. Bigges, of Paducah, and was very successful in his practice. He was elected common pleas judge of First Kentucky Judicial District in 1879, for a term of

six years. He was married, June 29, 1867, to Miss Mollie A. Hart, of McCracken County, Ky., a native of Tennessee, and a daughter of Samuel and Emeline (Leigh) Hart. This union has been blessed with four children: Henry L., Emma E., Willie R., Lee and Joseph. Mr. and Mrs. Bishop are members of the Methodist Episcopal and Baptist Churches, respectively, and he is a member of the I. O. O. F. He is the possessor of a good farm, and also a house and lot in Blandville. He is a self-made man, having started in life in humble circumstances, but by energy and perseverance has attained an honorable and enviable position in life. The father of our subject was a slave-holder, but since the war submits with grace to the new order of things.

H. G. BLACK, Ballard County, was born in December, 1812, in Cannonsburg, Penn., where he grew to manhood. His father was a native of Ireland, and during the Revolutionary war, in attempting to come to America, he was captured and imprisoned on board a British man-of-war, where he was retained for five years. He finally escaped on the island of Cuba, where the vessel touched for supplies, and remained concealed until the ship sailed. He then made his way to America, landed in Virginia, where he afterward married and went to Cannonsburg, Penn., and some years later removed to Ohio. H. G. Black (subject) received a good common school education in Pennsylvania, went to Ohio with his father's family, and in the fall of 1840 came to Kentucky, locating in Ballard County. Here he engaged in teaching and surveying. In 1842 he surveyed the land on which the town of Blandville stands; he held the office of county surveyor for upward of twenty years, and until he would have it no longer. He owns a farm of eighty acres two-and-a-half miles northeast of Bardwell in Blandville Precinct. He was married, in 1843, to Elizabeth Jones, of Kentucky, who died about the year 1867. They had twelve children, five of whom are now living—four sons and one daughter.

ALLNE W. BLANKS was born September 8, 1831, in Charlotte County, Va., removed with his parents in 1845, to Christian County, Ky., and in 1850 came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Allne W. Blanks, Sr., a Virginian, was a soldier in the war of 1812, and died about 1848, aged seventy years. His grandfather was a soldier in the Revolutionary war. Allne W., Sr., married Harriet Morris, who died about 1874, at the age of seventy-five years, and their offspring are: Richard, Mary (McCutcheon and Welch), Martha, Elizabeth, William, Sarah (Lane), Harriet (Lane), subject, Lucy (Terrell), James and Emily (Tisdall). Subject was married January 18, 1855, to Miss Rebecca, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Howard) Bishop, of Ballard County (born August 4, 1835), and to them have been born F. I. (Howle), Joseph A. and Mary B. Subject is a successful farmer, raising chiefly tobacco and corn. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, also a member of the Baptist Church and a Democrat.

DANIEL BODKIN, Jr., was born August 27, 1861, in Ballard County. He is a son of Daniel Bodkin, Sr., and Elizabeth J. (Bodkin) Bodkin. The father was born in Henry County, Ky. In 1856 he came to Ballard County and has since been extensively engaged in farming, stock-raising, milling and contracting, in which last capacity he furnished the lumber for the trestle work of the Illinois Central Railroad in this vicinity. He now owns over 3,000 acres of land and employs from ten to thirty hands, and is the most extensive farmer in Ballard County. Our subject assisted his father on the farm and in other pursuits until 1883, when he came to Bardwell, where he has since been engaged in the grocery and hardware business. He was married in 1881 to Mary Young, of Cleveland, Ohio.

W. H. BRADLY is one of the best farmers in Ballard County, was born December 22, 1849, in Somerset County, Md., and is the eldest of five children, born to L. M. and Ellen (Lynch) Bradly, natives of Somerset County, Md., and Sussex County, Del., respectively, of Irish descent. The grandparents of our subject were Jesse, who married Mar Taylor, and is the son of James Bradly, who was over one hundred years old when he died; and on the mother's side they were James and Pheba (Surmon) Lynch. Both the grandfathers were soldiers in the war of 1812, and both were sailors. The father of our subject was a ship builder, but finally located on a farm in Maryland. W. H. Bradly lived with his parents till twenty years of age, when he went to Indiana and engaged in the jewelry business in Troy for three years; later he went to Hawksville, Ky., where he was engaged in the art business. In this business he traveled through the different States for nine years. In the fall of 1879 he located in Ballard County, three miles northwest of Blandville, where he owns 150 acres. He was married in May, 1876, to Bell Wingo, of Graves County, Ky., a daughter of German and Sarah (Beedles) Wingo,

natives of Virginia and of Irish origin. There were born by this marriage three children: Pearl, Lucien E. and Alice. Mr. Bradly and wife are both members of the Baptist Church and he is a Mason. He cast his first presidential vote for Tilden and Hendricks, in 1876.

WILLIAM M. BRADSHAW was born March 22, 1829, in Christian County, Ky. He is the seventh child of nine children born to Benjamin and Mary E. (Bradshaw) Bradshaw, natives of Jessamine County, Ky. The father was a soldier in the war of 1812. He represented his county in the legislature for several years, and was justice for twenty-five years. He was son of Benjamin Bradshaw. William M. Bradshaw was reared on a farm, and received a fair common school education. He lived with his parents till he was twenty-five years of age, when he married Miss Louisa Rawlins, of Christian County, Ky., daughter of Franklin and Amelia A. (Campbell) Rawlins, natives of Maryland and Todd County, Ky., respectively, and of English and Scotch-Irish descent. To this union were born four children: Benjamin F., Mary W., Robert E. and Manie. In 1859 Mr. B. moved to Ballard County, where he engaged in farming on the place where he now resides, and which had been purchased by his father. Mr. Bradshaw is the possessor of 300 acres of land in good condition, which he has improved mostly by his own efforts. He was elected constable two terms and acted as deputy sheriff two terms in Christian County; he was also deputy clerk of Ballard County for about twenty years. He was formerly a Mason, and he and wife are members of the Baptist Church.

SAMUEL BRAME was born in Mecklenburg County, Va., March 13, 1820. He is the eldest of seven children born to Henry and Sally (Hooton) Brame, natives of Virginia and of English descent. The grandparents, Samuel Brame and Samuel Hooton, were natives of Virginia. The father of our subject was a soldier in the war of 1812. Samuel was reared on a farm; he received a common school education and lived with his parents till he was twenty-two years old, when he engaged in farming for himself. He moved with his parents to Kentucky in a very early day, and settled in Christian County. In 1851 he moved to McCracken County and located five miles west of Paducah. In 1871 he located where he now resides on 150 acres of land, which he has accumulated by his own industry. Mr. Brame was married September 24, 1843, to Myra J. Wyatt, of Christian County, Ky., a daughter of Richard N. and Mary (Harrison) Wyatt. They had born to them by this marriage eleven children: Martha A., William T., Mary (Mrs. Thompson), Zachariah, Callie (now Frazier), George, Kate E., Elizabeth (now Hall), Louella, Edward B. and Andrew J. Mr. Brame and wife are Baptists. He is a Mason and votes the Democratic ticket.

PRESTON S. BROWN, Jr., was born October 12, 1840, in Todd County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1860 removed to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Preston S. Brown, Sr., born near Richmond, Va., in 1800, removed to Todd County in 1805, was a courier in the war of 1812, and is still living. He is the son of John Brown, a soldier of the war of 1812, who died in Macoupin County, Ill., in 1854, aged over ninety years. Preston S., Sr., was twice married, and by his first wife had born to him one son, Albert H. He afterward married Rosina, daughter of Jesse Smith, of Todd County; she died in 1879, aged sixty-three years; her children are subject, Elijah C. and Virginia F. (Lawson). Subject was favored with a good education, and is a reading man. He was married April 24, 1863, to Miss Ophelia, daughter of James M. and Ann (Brown) Tisdall, of Harrison County, born in 1844, and to them have been born Mollie E. (deceased), Jessie W., Ella (deceased), James P., Thomas J., Jennie, Lute, Lillie and Sam Oscar. Subject is a farmer owning 200 acres of good land; 108 on the home place in a high state of cultivation. He is a Mason, a K. of H. and a Democrat.

JAMES H. BUCHANAN, Esq., was born March 23, 1833, in Warren County, N. C., and in 1847 removed with his parents to Montgomery County, Tenn., then in 1849 to Christian County, Ky., and in 1858 to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, James Buchanan, a native of North Carolina, died in 1873, at the age of sixty-five years. He was the son of James, a Revolutionary soldier. Subject's mother, Martha T., daughter of Jones and Nancy (Reeves) Mabry, of North Carolina, died in 1870, aged sixty-three years. To her and husband were born: subject, Emily D. (Gee), and Susan R. (O'Donley). Our subject was married, November 30, 1854, to Miss Martha A., born October 15, 1838, daughter of James and Mary R. (Lee) O'Donley, of Christian County, and from this union sprang James H. (deceased), Leonard A., William W., Althea M. (Jeter), Marion L., Thaddeus E., Susan M., John E., Nettie B., R. C., Ernest and Allie. Subject is a farmer,

owning 337 acres of land, 160 of which are in a high state of cultivation. He is very successful in growing fine tobacco, having received $1.25 per pound for that article. He has long been an elder in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics a Democrat.

JOHN W. BUGG was born May 31, 1833, in Todd County, Ky., was removed in infancy by his parents to Christian County, and in 1850, with his mother, came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Richard C. Bugg, a native of Sumner County, Tenn., was born in 1810, and died about 1838. He was the son of Zachariah Bugg. Richard G. espoused Prudence M. Chappell, of Sumner County; she died in 1865, and their offspring are, Ann R. (Rollings), Zachariah, Mary C. (Penn), subject and Robert D. Our subject obtained a fair education and is a reading man. He was married February 6, 1862, to Miss Mary E., daughter of James and Nancy (Brown) Tisdall, of Ballard County, born in 1838, and to them have been born Annie M., Mary and Dick. Subject was formerly engaged in milling, but is now a farmer, owning 126 acres of fine lands in a high state of cultiva tion. He is a Royal Arch Mason, a member of the Christian Church, and in politics a Democrat.

Z. M. BUGG, attorney at law, Ballard County, was born January 16, 1830, in Sumner County, Tenn. His grandfather, Zachariah Bugg, was a native of Halifax County, Va. He left that State in 1796, immigrating to Sumner County, Tenn., where he died in 1854, at an advanced age. Subject's father was Richard F. Bugg, a native of Tennessee. He immigrated to Kentucky in 1839, settling in Trigg County, where he died one year later at the age of thirty-four or thirty-five years. The mother, P. M. (Chappell) Bugg, died in 1872, aged seventy-eight years. They were the parents of five children, whose names are as follows: Ann R., Mary C., Z. W., John W. and Richard D. Subject remained with his mother until twenty years of age, when he commenced teaching in the common schools of Christian County, reading law in the meantime under the instruction of Judge Marshall of Ballard County. He was admitted to the bar in Blandville in 1856, and since that time has been actively engaged in the practice of his profession in Ballard and adjoining counties. He was married, in 1856, to Mary A., daughter of William S. and Lucy (Upshur) Jackson. To this union have been born eight children, four of whom are living: Lucy P. (wife of Isaac N. Coffee), Richard I., Zachariah W. and Alice. Mr. Bugg is a member of the Masonic fraternity and the I. O. O. F., and he and his wife are members of the Christian Church.

EDMUND S. CHENAULT was born June 29, 1839, in Ballard County, Ky., where he still resides. He is a son of Charles B. Chenault, a native of Virginia, who was born in 1802, and removed to Nelson County, Ky., in childhood, and to Ballard County in 1827, where he died in 1877. For fifty two years he was a useful Methodist minister. He espoused Mildred Hughs, of Nelson County, who died in 1873, aged seventy-five years. Their offspring are Eliza (Burrow), Catherine (Piner), Mary A. (Wright), Nancy (McDonald), John W., Marcus L., Sarah E. (Porter), subject and Martha W. (Fisher). In youth E. S. Chenault obtained an English education and is still a diligent reader. On October 1, 1858, he married Miss Martha A., daughter of William W. and Fanny (Edmunson) Parrott, of Ballard County, and from this union sprang Mildred F. (Mott), Mary W. (Shelton), John W. and Thomas J. (deceased). Mr. Chenault is a successful farmer, owning 160 acres of well improved land. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and is also a member of the Methodist Church.

COL. W. M. COFFEE, one of the leading prominent farmers and stock-raisers of Ballard County, Ky., was born August 22, 1823, in Maury County, Tenn.; he is the twelfth of fourteen children, seven boys and seven girls, born to Nathan and Elizabeth (Gilbreath) Coffee; his paternal grandparents were Chesley and Mary (Baldwin) Coffee; on his mother's side there were Hugh and Nancy (Cleveland) Gilbreath. His parents hailed originally from North Carolina, at an early day moved to Adair County, Ky., and in 1803 moved to Maury County, Tenn. The subject of our sketch was reared on a farm, entered Jackson College at Columbia, Tenn., in 1841, and graduated in the year 1845; began the study of law the same year of his graduation, reading in the office of Judge Gilchrist Porter in Bowling Green, Mo., and was admitted to the bar in 1847. In February, 1849, he moved to Blandville, Ballard Co., Ky., farmed and practiced his profession till 1853, in which year he was elected to the State legislature from the counties of McCracken and Ballard, after which he devoted his time and energies to farming and the mercantile business, which he followed till the year 1861; and when Ballard County was entitled to a separate representative he was

nominated in June, 1861, by a Democratic convention, and was elected to the legislature without opposition. He resigned in October, 1861, and joined the Southern Confederacy. After the war was over he returned to his home in Ballard County, Ky., and engaged in farming and stock-raising, and established the first drug store in the county, at Blandville, which he has run with success, and by his energies and business qualifications has accumulated quite a handsome amount, as well as educating and graduating three of his sons in fine professions. He was married in February, 1849, to Betty Ann Oakley, of Ballard County, Ky.; she was born in Lincoln County, Mo., and was a daughter of C. A. and Susan (Grimes) Oakley. To this union were born eight children: Eugene A. (now dead), Isaac N. (druggist in Cairo, Ill.), Dr. W. O., Luella (now Neal), Sallie D. (now Straughn), Sid J. (druggist in Blandville, Ky.), Jeff Davis (farmer), and Carrie S. Subject and wife are members of the Christian Church, and he has been a member of the Masonic fraternity and the I. O. O. F. since his maturity. He owns over 1,000 acres of good land and quite a number of thoroughbred cattle.

S. B. COIL, Ballard County, was born in Pendleton County (now West) Virginia, on February 18, 1842, and is a son of Adam and Dorcas (Morrow) Coil. The father was of German descent, the mother of Irish. In 1848 the parents came to Kentucky, and first settled in Blandville, where the father resided a short time, and subsequently removed to a farm five miles distant. In 1854 he came to Pickett's District and settled near where our subject now resides. He erected a mill which he ran until his death, February 22, 1864. The mother died in 1871. Our subtect was the fifth of seven children, of whom there are now living Elizabeth Mercer, wife of I. E. Mercer, now in Texas; Rebecca, wife of T. H. Corbett, of Frankfort, Ky.; Florence, wife of William L. Garnett, of Louisville, and Samuel B. The last named was educated in the schools of Blandville. At the age of nineteen he began reading law with J. D. White, at Blandville, but after two years' experience he retired from the profession. He next came to the old home farm, and ran a grist-mill and steam distillery for two years. He then farmed for two years and next went to Blandville, where he traded in stock for three years. He then purchased a farm one mile east of Blandville, and there resided twelve years. From there he came to his present farm, where he now owns 200 acres, of which about seventy-five are in cultivation. He also pays some attention to stock-raising, and in connection with William McCawley, is running a saw-mill. Mr. Coil was married on September 4, 1865, to Miss Margaret M. Thomas, a daughter of William and Catherine (Vallandingham) Thomas, natives of this State. Five children blessed this union, of whom three are now living: Kittie V., James W. and Charles E. This lady died in 1877. On December 8, 1878, Mr. Coil married Miss Susan M. Thomas, a sister of his first wife. This union has resulted in three living children, viz.: Mary E., Norton O. and Bruria L. Mr. Coil has been identified with the Masonic fraternity, and he is also a member of Eureka Lodge, No. 728, K. of H. He has served six years as a constable and two years as deputy sheriff.

ISAAC E. CONLEY, an enterprising young man of Ballard County, was born March 13, 1853, in Giles County, Va., and is the fourth of five children born to Russell F. and Charlotte T. (Lambert) Conley, natives of Giles County, Va., and of Irish and English origin, respectively. The father was a son of John and Cloa (French) Conley, of Irish and English descent, respectively; the mother was a daughter of Joseph G. and Susanna (Hutzel) Lambert, of English and German descent. Isaac E. Conley was reared on a farm and lived with his parents till seventeen years of age; his mother died in 1871, his father in 1875. Our subject attended Newbern Academy, taught school about ten years in Virginia and Kentucky, and located in Ballard County, Hinkleville, in 1872, where he taught four terms of school, his last school being at Milburn. In 1880 he commenced the study of law and was admitted to the bar in July, 1882, by Judges Bullitt and Thomas C. Marshall. He located in Wickliffe, in March, 1883; about six months edited the Wickliffe *Tribune*, established by T. H. Thurman in 1881; sold out in the fall of 1883, and was defeated for county clerk by one or two votes. He was married January 2, 1884, to Emma A. McKinney, of Milburn. Ky., daughter of Candour and Martha (McKinney) McKinney. Mr. Conley is a member of the Christian Church and of the K. of H. He cast his first presidential vote for Hancock and English in 1880, and still votes the Democratic ticket.

JACOB CORBETT, SR. For more than half a century the name which introduces this sketch has been a familiar one in western Kentucky; in fact but few, if any, are now living in the territiory known as the "Purchase," who are more extensively known than

is "Uncle Jake Corbett," as he is familiarly called. He is the son of Joshua Corbett, formerly of Southampton County, Va., where Jacob was born, August 26, 1806. When he was a small boy his parents died, thus leaving the molding of his character to the hands of other and less sympathizing friends. At the age of thirteen, however, he was placed in a store at Murfreesboro, N. C., where he continued as store boy and salesman about nine years, thereby acquiring the fundamental ideas of practical business, which, in the absence of a thorough literary education was an important schooling, While there, and in the year 1825, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Sumner; who was a native of North Carolina, and whose portrait, together with the subject of this sketch, appears elsewhere in this work. In the month of March, 1828, Mr. Corbett, with his young wife, set out for the then wilds of western Kentucky, landing in what is now Hickman County, on the second day of the following month. For several months thereafter, Mr. Corbett turned his attention to the pursuit of farming. His public life began with his appointment to the office of deputy sheriff of Hickman County, which was terminated by his appointment to the office of deputy clerk of the county and circuit courts of Hickman County. Upon the organization of the county of Ballard, Mr. Corbett was made the clerk of the county court, serving in that capacity until the year 1872, with the exception of the interval from 1862 to 1866, this exception being the result of the civil war. It may be added that during twelve years of his long official career, he performed also the duties of clerk of the circuit court for Ballard County. However interesting it would be, space will not permit entering into the details that make up the life history of this gentleman. Suffice it to say, that he has been an important factor in the shaping of many important interests in the Jackson Purchase, and the molding of his hands will be seen long after those hands have been folded in death. His esteemed wife died in Blandville, Ky., on December 2, 1872, leaving a family of seven children, viz.: Thomas; Emily, wife of Charles Marshall; Mary, wife of R. Dudley; Nancy A., wife of Lafayette Rich; Frances, wife of Dr. James H. Terrell; William L., and Josephine, wife of James Ezell.

FREDERICK CRICE, farmer and stock-raiser, was born in Union County, Ill., March 29, 1827, and is the first of seven children, four (boys) born to William and Nancy (Boren) Crice, natives of Kentucky and Tennessee respectively, and of Dutch descent. The father was as on of Frederick and Catherine (Kimbel) Crice, who were reared in Pennsylvania. He was a farmer and fine horse dealer. The mother of Frederick is still living and is seventy-eight years old. The parents came to the Purchase in 1830, and settled within a mile of where Frederick now lives, in North Ballard. About 1833, the father moved his family to Arkansas, where he died in 1837, when the family returned to Ballard County, where they have lived ever since. August 5, 1850, Frederick Crice married Mary Ann Crice of Ballard County, a daughter of John and Nellie (McCrary) Crice, natives of Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and respectively of German and Scotch-Irish origin. He had born to him by this marriage four children. Two lived to be grown: Nancy E. (who married Jacob Keen and who died), and J. W., also deceased. Mrs. Crice died May 14, 1863, and on July 17, 1864, Mr. Crice married Melissa J. Garner, of Ballard County, daughter of Ephraim and Eunice (Crice) Garner, natives of Illinois and Kentucky respectively. To this union were born nine children, seven now living: Benjamin, Thomas L., James H., Frederick G., Sarah C., Charles D. and Butler P. After the family returned from Arkansas, in 1837, they purchased 200 acres of land (where Mr. Moore now lives) and added till they owned about 400 acres. Mr. Crice is now a possessor of 800 acres of land in good condition, earned by his own industry and perseverance, and was the owner of five negroes before the war. He cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Taylor; in 1856 he voted for James Buchanan, and has voted as a Democrat ever since. Mrs. Crice is a Baptist.

FREDERICK W. CRICE was born March 25, 1835, in Ballard County. He is the tenth of twelve children, born to John and Nellie (McCrary) Crice, natives of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. He was reared on a farm and remained with his parents, who were among the first settlers of the Purchase, till he became of age; then he engaged in farming for himself, at which he has continued ever since. He moved to where he now lives, in December, 1855, on 189 acres of land. He was married November 8, 1855, to Mary S. Swearingen, of Ballard County, a native of Shelby County, Ky., and daughter of Harmon and Ann (Coleman) Swearingen, natives of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and of Dutch and French descent respectively. To Mr. and Mrs. Crice were born fifteen children: John H., Van A., Ben-

jamin F. (deceased), Nellie A., Mary F., Willie U., Sarah J., Robert F., Joseph P. (deceased), Charles S., Susan B., Thomas B., Mike, George W. and Clifton. Mr. Crice cast his first presidential vote for James Buchanan. He was appointed postmaster of Oscar postoffice in October, 1881.

J. F. CRICE was born January 24, 1829, in Ballard County, Ky., and is the second of seven children (four boys) born to William and Nancy (Boren) Crice, natives of Pennsylvania. His grandparents were Frederick and Catherine (Kimel) Crice, natives of Pennsylvania, and Stephen and Rebecca (Latham) Boren, German and English descent respectively. William Crice came to the Purchase about 1828; his widow is still living, aged seventy-seven years. The early advantages of J. F. Crice for an education were poor. His teachers for a while were his mother and Z. W. Bugg. At the age of twenty-two years, he engaged in farming on his own responsibilities and has been very successful. He turned his attention mostly to stock-raising, and now owns 500 acres of land in good condition. He was married August 15, 1850, to Sarah J. Stovall, of Ballard County, daughter of John and Patience (Sprouse) Stovall, of Irish and German descent. There have been born to this marriage five children: Ellen R. (now Kimbrough), Mary P. (now Brown), John C. B., Margaret J. and Bell. Mrs. Crice died January 7, 1873, a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Crice was next married in July, 1874, to Sarah L. Stovall, of Ballard County, Ky., born in Todd County, and daughter of George W. and Ruth (Penn) Stovall, natives of Virginia. To this marriage were born four children: William G., Anna Lee, Lucy P. and Thomas K. Mrs. Crice is a member of the Baptist Church and Mr. Crice is a Mason. He cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Scott, but now votes the Democratic ticket. Mr. Crice was the owner of three negroes and was dealing in horses and mules considerably, when the war broke out. He lost, by the army, fifteen head of horses and sold the Federals three.

DR. HUGH T. CROUCH, a rising young physician with a bright future before him, was born September 10, 1856, in Ballard County, Ky., where he has always resided. His father, Richard J. Crouch, a native of Christian County, Ky., came to Ballard County in 1842 and died in 1870, aged about forty-eight years. Richard J. espoused Martha, daughter of Hugh Massie, of Christian County, Ky., and to them were born Martha E. (Wray), subject, Richard B., Mary E., Susie F. and William H. Subject was favored in youth with a good English education. He was married May 27, 1884, to Miss Mollie U., daughter of George W. and Esther A. (Peck) Willingham, of Ballard County, Ky. She was born October 17, 1864. In 1879 subject commenced the study of medicine with Dr. D. P. Juett, of Blandville, Ky., and in 1880 attended lectures at the Missouri Medical College, St. Louis, where he graduated in 1882. He is now successfully engaged in the practice of his chosen profession in his native county.

STOKELEY R. CULVER, Esq., was born September 10, 1840, in Fentress County, Tenn., and in 1866 came to Ballard County, Ky., where he at present resides. His father, John Culver, a native of Bedford County, Tenn., was a volunteer in the war of 1812, served for many years as magistrate, and died in 1878 at the age of eighty-two years. He was twice married, and the offspring of his first union are Carroll, Salley (Stinson), Nancy (Hancock), John and Jesse. His second wife was Nancy, daughter of Christopher Choate, of Tennessee (born about 1806, now living), and from this union sprang subject, Sarah J. (Livingston), L. D., Thomas P. (killed in battle) and Jacob P. In youth subject received a common school education, and is a reading man. He was married October 31, 1867, to Miss Sarah E., daughter of John and Nancy (Brame) Cary, of McCracken County, and to them have been born Edna G., Albert S., John S., Joseph D., Kittie B. and Nannie J. Subject served eight years as magistrate. He is a farmer, owning 160 acres of good land in a fine state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Baptist and a Democrat.

JOHN DAVIS was born January 8, 1835, in Graves County, Ky., and is the fourth of six children born to John F. and Pernicia (Perkins) Davis, natives of Livingston County, Ky., and of Irish and Dutch descent respectively. He was reared on a farm and attended the common school but very little; he was quite small when his mother died; his father was one of the first settlers of the Purchase and died in May, 1883, aged eighty-four. When our subject was but seven years old he went to Logan County, Ky., where he lived with his uncle (S. N. Davis) till he was nineteen years old. When he returned to Ballard County, he settled in the neighborhood of where he now resides and where he engaged in farming and trading. He has been very successful in life, having started with little or no means, but by his industry and perseverance has established a

home of 1,400 acres of land, 600 or 700 of which are improved. He has always sought a quiet life, and never sought to obtain notoriety by dabbling in politics. He was married February 8, 1862, to Sarah Ashbrook, of Ballard County, a daughter of James and Margaret Ashbrook, of Irish origin. He has had born to him by this union nine children: James W., Silas M., Florence, Sallie B., John, Rob Lee, Fannie May, Clada E. and Mandy I.; the last two are twins. Subject and wife are members of the Presbyterian Church, and he is a Mason. He cast his first presidential vote for Stephen A. Douglas in 1860, and is still a Democrat.

L. M. DAVIS, farmer, was born June 1, 1830, in Rutherford County, Tenn., and is the third of eight children (three boys and five girls) born to Eaton and Deborah (Moore) Davis, natives of Grandville County, N. C., and Rutherford County, Tenn., respectively. His grandparents were Abel and Mary (Andrews) Davis, of Irish descent, and George and Sarah (Wright) Moore, of English descent. L. M. Davis was principally reared on a farm. He taught school one term and was married January 23, 1854, to Miss Sarah E. Gannaway, of Bedford County, Tenn., a daughter of John and Mary (Robertson) Gannaway, natives of Virginia. He had born to him by this union nine children: Robert A., Lucy E., Emerson E., Archibald S., Herbert R., Levander C., Christopher P., Sarah D. and Thomas E. He takes an interest in giving his children a good education. His wife died September 6, 1879, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Davis was next married on March 16, 1880, to Martha B. Magruder, of Ballard County, Ky., a daughter of Barrett D. and Emily (Burkhead) Magruder, of Scotch descent and a native of Kentucky. Mr. Davis, with his family, settled near Arlington in 1863; in 1878, he came to where he now resides on 140 acres of land in good condition, and is now engaged in raising blooded stock. He is a Mason, was a Granger and cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Scott. He is now a Republican.

ISAAC T. DEAN, was born April 23, 1835, in Jessamine County, Ky., and in 1836 was brought by his parents to Ballard County, where he now resides. His father, Jefferson H. Dean, was also a native of Jessamine County, born in 1810, and died in 1860. Jefferson H. married Catherine, daughter of Peter Nave, of Jessamine County (born in 1814, and died in 1848), and from this union sprang Marietta (Shelbourne), Martha J. (Goad), subject, William D., Sarah K. (Coon), George A. (Kelley), Eliza A. (Gill), and Mahala N. (Womble). By the second marriage were born John J., James H., George F. and Ida M. On May 11, 1859, subject was married to Miss Eudora T. A., daughter of Lee and Salley (Brumfield) Trice, of Ballard County, (born August 9, 1840), and to them have been born Lee Bell, William D. (deceased), and Jeff T. After arriving at man's estate, our subject followed for ten years the vocation of carpenter and builder, in which he was successful. He is now engaged in farming, having 160 acres of good land in a fine state of cultivation. He is a member in good standing of the I. O. O. F., and also of the K. of H. In politics he is a Democrat.

DR. ELI J. DESHA was born October 13, 1838, in Madison County, Mo., where he was reared until 1858, when he came to Ballard County, Ky., where he now resides. His father, Eli D. Desha, a native of Louisiana, died in 1874 at the age of sixty-three years. He was the son of Robert C. Desha, a soldier in La Fayette's army, who remained in the United States after the American Revolution and died at St. Michael, leaving a wife, two sons and a daughter, the daughter marrying Sterling Smith, of New Madrid. Eli D. married Eva, daughter of Henry La Lee, of Virginia. She is now living at the age of ninety years. Their offspring are Elizabeth (Ravelle), Eliza (Ellison), subject and Eva J. Subject in youth obtained a good education at Fredericktown, and from choice pursued school-teaching as an occupation and medicine as a profession. He was married December 7, 1862, to Miss Angie, daughter of James M. and Elizabeth (Owen) Childress, of McCracken County, (born in 1844), and to them have been born Hillen G., Arthur T. (deceased), Owen L., Iona LeRoy, De La S., Angie E., Roxie V., Lucius C., Orville U. and Julia E. Arthur T., a bright youth of seventeen years, of unusual mental capacity and of great promise, died January 23, 1882, lamented by all who knew him. Our subject owns a farm at Weldon Park, on which he resides, and has devoted much of his time and means to agriculture as a science. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and in politics affiliates with the Democratic party, which has ever been the political record of his ancestry.

JOSEPH C. DUPOYSTER, Ballard County, one of the leading citizens of Wickliffe, was born February 25, 1838, in Pulaski County, Ill., and is the first of seven children—two now living—born to Thomas and

Elizabeth (Echols) Dupoyster, natives of Sumner County, Tenn., and Georgia, respectively. His father was a son of Thomas Dupoyster, a native of North Carolina, who settled in Johnson County, Ill., in 1832; he was a Methodist minister, and married a Miss Veech, also a native of North Carolina, of French and English, German and English extraction respectively. Subject's mother was a daughter of Jesse and Sally (Elliott) Echols, of Welsh and Irish origin, and natives of Virginia and Georgia, respectively. Our subject's grandfather Echols and brother were settlers of Union County, Ill., about 1812, when Illinois was a territory, and were sent to the first legislature ever held in the State. His parents settled in Illinois in 1833; his grandfather was a colonel in the Revolution, and after the war a part of his family were scalped by the Indians. The father of our subject was in the Black Hawk war, and was also a boatman on the Mississippi River. He was also a member of the Thirty-first Illinois Infantry. under Col. John A. Logan, during the late war. Joseph C., with his parents, in 1849 moved to Dyersburg, Tenn., thence to Hot Springs, Ark., where they remained one year; thence to Mississippi County, Mo., where subject's father was engaged in farming, merchandising and keeping wood yard. In 1858 they moved to Ballard County and settled at Fort Jefferson, where the father had purchased 1,000 acres of timber. He died in 1863, aged fifty-one years, his wife having met her death by drowning in the Ohio River, at Cairo, on her return from a visit to her son, who was a prisoner of war at Camp Douglas, Chicago, in 1862. Joseph C. Dupoyster has always been engaged in earning a living on a farm, and in the mercantile and milling business up to the present day. He and his brother, Benjamin S., are the only living members of the family, and are the possessors of 4,000 acres of land in Ballard County, nearly all timber and subject also owns an interest in a saw-mill; his possessions he has accumulated by his own industry. He is also the owner of Island No. 1. On this island he was first married, October 30, 1850, to Miss Maud J. Whitaker, of Ballard, native of Muhlenburg County, and this union was blessed with the birth of one child, now dead. His wife died January 22, 1862, and February 25, 1863, he married Rebecca S. Scott, a native of Scott County, Ky., and daughter of Noah and Lucy (Ford) Turk, natives of Kentucky, of Irish and English origin; had born to them three children, Dalva D., Ruelva A. (deceased), and Joseph B. Mr. Dupoyster is a Mason. and assisted in laying out Wickliffe. Mr. D.'s youngest brother, Thomas Carlin Dupoyster, was in the Confederate Army from May, 1861, until he was killed in September, 1864.

JAMES A. EARNHARDT was born January 9, 1836, in Davidson County, N. C., where he grew to manhood, and in 1876 removed to Ballard County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, William T. Earnhardt, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1815, and died in 1843. He was the son of George. William T. married Bithiah Reid, of North Carolina (born in 1815, and died in 1878), and to them were born, subject, Lucy E. G. (Huckibee), and Julia A. (Paimer). Subject's educational advantages were good, and for about ten years he was engaged in teaching school in North Carolina, South Carolina and Kentucky. On November 9, 1855, he married Miss Catherine, daughter of John R. and Elizabeth (Nash) Howell, of North Carolina, and from this union sprang William J., Adolphus (deceased), Carolina A. (Shebourne), James A. and George D. About ten years after the death of his first wife Mr. Earnhardt married, January 17, 1875, Miss Elvira, daughter of Alfred and Elvira (Reed) Shelby, of Ballard County (born in 1838). Mr. Earnhardt has for ten years been engaged in milling, both sawing and grinding, at which he has been successful. He also farms 120 acres of good land. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Methodist and a Democrat.

HON. WILLIAM J. EDRINGTON, near Arlington, was born in what is now Ballard County, Ky., January 4, 1831, and is the only living child of Benjamin F. and Ann E. (Milburn) Edrington, the former a native of Woodford, and the latter of Jefferson County, Ky. They were of Welsh and English descent respectively. Benjamin F. Edrington, about the age of fifteen, in 1820, came with his parents to what is now Ballard County but then was a part of Hickman County. Here his father, Joseph Edrington, bought several hundred acres of military lands at Puntney's Bend, on the Mississippi River, where he commenced to improve a farm. After a few years he sold this place and bought military land near Columbus, in Hickman County, upon which he erected a rude log cabin and improved a farm. Soon after, he removed to Columbus, where he resided until his death. After attaining his majority, Benjamin F. Edrington bought wild land near the present site of Milburn, where he improved a farm. Some five or six

years later he sold out and removed to Wolf Island, Hickman Co., Ky., where he again purchased wild land and improved a farm. In the spring of 1849, he removed to Mississippi County, Mo., where his death occurred in November of the same year, in his forty-fourth year. William J. Edrington was employed on his father's farm until the latter's death. He then farmed with his uncle in Mississippi County, Mo., and attended school for some three years. He then engaged in the saw and grist-mill business, in company with Mr. C. R. Pile, in Ballard County, Ky., continuing until the winter of 1857, when he sold the mill and bought a farm of 350 acres some three miles east of Arlington. Here Mr. Edrington has since been engaged extensively in agricultural pursuits, and in breeding fine stock—Shorthorn cattle, Cotswold sheep, and Chester-White hogs—and now owns one of the best herds of Shorthorns in the county. He represented Ballard County in the lower house of the State legislature for three terms, from 1875 to 1879 and from 1881 to 1883. He was married, July 7, 1854, to Miss Mary E. Grundy, a native of Ballard County, Ky. Twelve children have blessed their union, of whom four sons and seven daughters are yet living. Mrs. Edrington is a devoted and consistent member of the Christian Church. Mr. Edrington belongs to no church, but is a member of both the Blue Lodge and Chapter in the Masonic fraternity, and also of the K. of H. In politics he is a Democrat.

THOMAS EDWARD, farmer, was born June 8, 1833, in Graves County, Ky., and is the third of five children born to John and Sally (Nowell) Edwards, natives of North Carolina and Trigg County, Ky., respectively. The father was of German and Irish origin, was a soldier of 1812, and one of the first settlers of Graves County, having settled there about 1820, and having entered 160 acres of land which he improved, receiving his supplies at Hickman, on the Mississippi River. Thomas Edwards enlisted in Company A, Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Gid Brinford, captain, Faulkner, colonel commanding, in 1862. He was wounded in the hip in the first skirmish, which disabled him from any further service. He returned home in about four months and engaged at farming. In March, 1869, he moved with his family to a farm three miles northwest of Blandville; later sold and moved on the adjoining place on which he now resides, and which contains 125 acres in good condition, embellished with good buildings. He was married in March, 1852, to Sarah Clapp, of Graves County, Ky., a daughter of William and Stacy (Pryor) Clapp. His wife died in November, 1852, and he was next married in October, 1856, to Mrs. Emily Oldham, of Hickman County, and born in Clinton; she was a daughter of A. P. and Susan Hall, of Irish descent. To this union were born three children, two living, Sallie A. (now Wotwood) and John P. Mr. Edwards and wife were formerly members of the Grange. He cast his first presidential vote for Buchanan in 1856, and is still a Democrat.

W. A. EDWARDS, Ballard County, was born June 4, 1853, in Green County, Ky.; he is a son of W. A. and Elizabeth (Minton) Edwards, both of whom were born in the same State and county. The father, at the age of eighteen, secured a position in Bowling Green as deputy county clerk, remaining in this capacity several years, after which he moved to Lewis County, Mo., where he was engaged in farming, and raising and dealing in live stock about fifteen years. He then returned to Green County, Ky., and was married to the mother of our subject. This lady died in 1857, aged forty-five. At the age of nineteen our subject went to Evansville, Ind.; he was clerk there a short time and then moved to Missouri, where he was employed at railroading and telegraphing about one year. He then removed to Kansas, remaining about eight months, after which he went to Mississippi and worked at various points on the Illinois Central Railroad till 1876, when he came to Bardwell, where he has since been agent of this road at this place. He was married October 28, 1880, to Miss Lena R., daughter of the late Dr. N. C. Thomas, of Ballard County; this union has been blessed with one daughter.

McD. FERGUSON was born May 16, 1858, in Montgomery County, Tenn., and is the first of three children (two boys) born to John D. and Zilpha (Vaughan) Ferguson, natives of Massachusetts and Montgomery County, Tenn., respectively, and of Scotch and English origin. Zilpha Ferguson is the daughter of Granderson and Elizabeth (Nevel) Vaughan. They came to Ballard County in an early day, and settled on the farm, on part of which G. Northington now lives, and where they had purchased about 2,000 acres in all. The grandfather Vaughan came to this place in an early day, where he lived till his wife died about 1866, when he moved to Louisville, where he engaged in the tobacco business till his death, in January, 1879. The business is still run in the name of G. Vaughan & Co. He owned a number of ne-

groes before the war, and was the architect of his own fortune. John D. Ferguson came to Ballard County about 1859, and settled on 550 acres in the north part, which he improved; a few years ago he moved to McCracken County, near Paducah. McD. Ferguson was reared on a farm, received a good common school education and taught one term of school. He commenced the study of law in 1879, attended a course of lectures at Louisville, Ky., and has studied with Judge Marshall since. He is now farming and living on about 600 acres owned by his mother. He cast his first presidential vote for Hancock and English.

MATTHIAS H. FISHER was born November 3, 1835, in White County, Tenn., and in 1844 was brought by his parents to Ballard County, Ky., where he still retains his residence. His father, John Fisher, a native of White County, Tenn., was born in 1811 and died in 1878. He was the son of William Fisher, of North Carolina. John espoused Narcissa, daughter of Matthias Hutson, of Tennessee (born in 1814 and still living), and from this union sprang William B., subject, John M., James, Myra A. (Jennings), George W., Thomas E., Alfred C., Norben T., Mary (Terry), Fountain P. and Reed. In youth subject received only a common school education, but has since greatly improved himself by reading standard books. He takes an active interest in the advancement of the country. On December 31, 1858, he was married to Miss Martha W., daughter of Rev. Charles B. and Mildred (Hughs) Chenault, of Ballard County, Ky., (born July 28, 1844), and to them have been born Mary C. (Mosby), Edna A. (Humphrey) and Mildred B. Mr. Fisher is a farmer, having 250 acres of good land well cultivated. He is an honored member of the A. F. & A. M., and also of the K. of H. In religion he adheres to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in politics affiliates with the Republican party.

WILLIAM B. FISHER, Ballard County, was born June 3, 1833, in White County, Tenn. He is the first of twelve children (ten boys) born to John and Narcissa (Hutson) Fisher, natives of White County, Tenn.; the father is a son of William and Nancy (Chisam) Fisher; the mother a daughter of Matthias and Sarah (Noles) Hutson, farmers. The elder Fisher is of German, and Noles of Irish descent. Matthias Hutson was in the battle of New Orleans. In 1812 the Fisher family came to and settled in South Ballard, where the father purchased and improved a farm, and here died July, 1878, aged sixty-six years. William B. Fisher lived with his parents, till married, December 2, 1852, to Sarah L. McDannel, of Ballard County, a native of Owen County, Ky., and daughter of Henry and Mary (Murphy) McDannel, natives of Virginia, and of Scotch-Irish descent. There were born to this union twelve children: John H., Enoch F., Elizabeth A. (now Jackson), William L., James D., Mary N., George L., Thomas G., Robert F., Susan B., Maudie and Lessa (dead). In 1867 Mr. Fisher moved to and settled in Wilson County, Kan., where he purchased 440 acres of land and farmed, but sold out and returned to Ballard County in 1875, and settled where he now resides, in South Ballard. He has been constable of his district for two terms. He is the possessor of 368 acres of land in good condition; is a Mason, and he and wife were charter members of the Grange. He cast his first presidential vote for Fillmore, in 1856, but has ever since been a Democrat.

JAMES FISHER, county clerk, Ballard County, is a native of White County, Tenn., and was born September 28, 1840. His parents, John and Narcissa (Hutson) Fisher, were Tennesseans also. They settled in the southern part of Ballard County, where the father died in 1878, aged sixty-six years. The mother is still living. They were the parents of twelve children: W. B., M. H., J. M. (deceased), James (subject), M. A. (deceased), G. W., T. E. (deceased), A. C., M. J., N. T., F. P. and Reed. James Fisher worked on the home farm until twenty-one years of age, when he entered the Confederate service, enlisting in the Twenty-second Regiment, Tennessee Infantry, with which he remained one year. He was then transferred to the Third Kentucky, and served with that regiment until the close of the war in 1865. Among the battles in which his regiment was engaged were the following: Belmont, Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Parker's Cross Roads, Brice's Cross Roads, near Guntown, Miss., and Harrisburg, where he lost his left arm. At the close of the war he attended school one year, and then commenced teaching, in which profession he achieved very flattering success. He purchased a tract of woodland in Ballard County shortly after the war, and almost unaided has cleared a beautiful farm doing all the chopping and heavy work with his one arm. On the 18th of July, 1869, he was married to Nannie J., daughter of Eber and Clarissa (Jennings) Phillips, of Alabama. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher have four children: George, Dora, Ora B. and Idyl M. In 1870

Mr. Fisher was elected to the office of tax assessor, which position he filled for eight years. He was elected county clerk in August, 1882, and holds that office at the present time. He is a member of the K. of H., of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and votes with the Democratic party.

J. R. FLACK was born May 5, 1837, in Marshall County, Miss., and is the sixth of the nine children (three boys and six girls) of James and Lucy (Jolly) Flack, natives of Todd County, Ky., and Weakley County, Tenn., respectively. His grandfather, Elisha Flack, was of Scotch-Irish descent, and his grandfather, on his mother's side, was Jesse Jolly. The grandparents were both farmers. James Flack was captain of a militia company, and died when subject was but six years old; his widow died about 1850. After his mother's death, J. R. Flack went to live with his brother-in-law, with whom he made his home till July, 1856, and then commenced life for himself by taking jobs and farming. In March, 1851, he moved to Prairie County, Ark. In 1856 he returned to Marshall County, Miss., and in September, 1859, moved back to Prairie County, Ark. He enlisted in August, 1861, in Company B, under Capt. Crarry and J. E. Glenn, colonel commanding—an Arkansas Confederate regiment. He was in the battles of Cotton Plant, Ark., Elkhorn, Pea Ridge, Helena, Ark., Little Rock, Springfield, Mo., and Duvall's Bluff. He went into service as an orderly, and was promoted to a captaincy before the war closed. He was under Gens. T. C. Hineman, Holmes and Price. He surrendered at Little Rock, in April, 1865, and was thrown into prison. While in confinement he became emaciated and very weak, and would have died but for the efforts of John McDonald, of the Third Michigan Cavalry, who procured his release. He was discharged and permitted to go home, and to this gentleman he is thankful for his existence to-day. He next went to Todd County, Ky., where he was engaged in farming one year; was one year engaged in distilling, and was also engaged one year in visiting distilleries and putting on yeast to make whisky. In December, 1868, he came to Ballard County, where he has been engaged in farming ever since. He acted as deputy sheriff three months in 1881. The past two years he has been land agent for non-residents, and is the owner of 128 acres of land in North Ballard. He was married January 8, 1858, to Beatrice Simms, of Marshall County, Miss., and a daughter of James Simms, a native of Virginia and of Irish descent. He had born to him by this union one child, Walter R. On October 4, 1866, our subject married Miss Mary F. Pollock, of Todd County, Ky., a daughter of S. P. and Mary J. (Addams) Pollock, natives of Todd County. The Addamses were of German descent, and among the first settlers of Todd County. To this union eight children were born: James S., Mary L., Nannie J., Rufus P., Wiley M., William D., Mattie A. and Thomas J. Mr. Flack and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is a Mason, and cast his first presidential vote for John C. Breckinridge in 1860. He still votes with the Democrats.

BEN FLINT was born March 1, 1854, in Milburn, Ballard County, Ky., and is the second and only child living born to Dr. John and Elizabeth A. (Young) Flint, natives of Kentucky, and of German descent, and was but two years old when his father died. Ben Flint, father of Dr. John Flint, came to the Purchase about the year 1828, and settled in Ballard County, where he purchased and improved about 300 acres of land. Our subject was reared on a farm and worked by the month when he became old enough, and on shares till 1882, when he was made deputy county clerk, which position he now holds. In the meantime, however, he was engaged as traveling salesman for Terrell, Reeves & Co., of Paducah, for one year, and was also deputy sheriff in 1874 and 1878. He takes great pride in his duties, and makes an efficient officer. He was married December 20, 1883, to Miss Mary O. Turk, of Ballard County, Ky., a daughter of Noah and Lucy (Ford) Turk. Our subject cast his first presidential vote for Samuel J. Tilden in 1876, and still votes the Democratic ticket.

FRANK FRANCE, Ballard County, was born March 15, 1842. He is the first of four children born to William H. and Lucinda (Richardson) France. His father was married four times, and had two children by his first wife, four by his second marriage, three by his third, but none by his fourth wife. Frank was reared in Evansville, Ind., and Henderson County, Ky. He received his education at Evansville, Ind., and at the age of fourteen years was engaged at painting; afterward he ran as fireman; afterward as engineer on the Evansville & Crawfordsville, Terre Haute, Alton & St. Louis and Missouri Pacific Railroads. He enlisted in July, 1861, in Company G, Twenty-fourth Indiana Volunteer Infantry, under Thomas Johnson, as captain, and A. P. Hovey, colonel commanding. He took part in the battle of Shiloh and was discharged in the winter of 1862-63; he re-

turned to Evansville, Ind., where he engaged in running an engine on a railway; he re-enlisted in Company G, One Hundred and Forty-third Indiana Infantry, was commissioned second, then as first lieutenant in the summer of 1865. In the winter of 1866–67 he went to Mobile, Ala., and thence to Memphis, Tenn., where he engaged as painter for the Memphis branch of the Louisville & Nashville Railway one year; thence he went on a farm in Graves and Ballard Counties four years; then engaged in mercantile business in Turner, Ballard County, for six years. In 1883 he moved to Wickliffe, where he engaged in the livery and undertaking business. In June, 1884, he established the *Journal* at Wickliffe, starting with a circulation of 800. He was married June 21, 1869, to O. E. Nance, of Graves County, native of Trigg County, and daughter of W. S. and D. A. Knight, natives of Virginia and Christian County, Ky., respectively. Had born six children: Fannie I., W. H. S. (deceased), Merrit W., Frank L., Nora E. and Hamer A. Mrs. France is a member of the Christian Church. Mr. France is a Master Mason.

CAPT. NICHOLAS FRECH, was born February 24, 1819, in Bavaria; came with his parents, in 1834, to the United States, and settled in Cincinnati, where he remained three years; then lived in Evansville eighteen months; then went to Memphis, where, in 1861, he entered the army, and served until 1863. In 1869 he came to Ballard County, where he at present resides. His father, George Frech, was born in 1796 and died at the residence of our subject in 1874. George married Mary Spoller (who died in 1858), and left as offspring: subject, Mary (Fox), Catherine (Glendkamp) and Mollie (Ringwald). Capt. Frech, like most Germans, received a good education. In 1847 he married Miss Dinah, daughter of William Oka, of Memphis, Tenn., and to them have been born Amelia (Riddicks), Josephine (Burgess), Louisa and August H. Subject is a successful farmer, owning 450 acres of valuable land in a high state of cultivation. He is an Odd Fellow, a member of the Christian Church, and a Democrat.

OLINTHUS M. GARRETT was born June 22, 1842, in Hardin County, Ky.; was taken in infancy by his parents to McCracken County, where he grew to manhood, and in 1876 came to Ballard County, where he now resides. His father, Elder Thomas L. Garrett, a native of Prince Edward County, Va., died in 1856, aged fifty four years. His wife was Keturah B. Smith, of Virginia; she died in 1857, aged fifty-two years, and their offspring are Ann J. (Cook), James R., Leander S., Carrie B. (Mahony), Marietta H. (Cooksey), Alfonsa K., Rockwood G., subject, Thomas L., Jr., and Keturah (Green). On March 14, 1867, subject was married to Miss Florence, daughter of Capt. Robert and Elizabeth (Pell), McConnell, of Paducah, born in 1850, died in 1874, and from this union sprang Horace (deceased), Maxwell and Lida. Subject was next married October 25, 1876, to Mrs. Mary E. Rutherford, daughter of Thompson D. and Elizabeth Williams, of Christian County, and to them have been born Carrie L., Harry, Olinthus M., Jr., and James R. Mrs. Garrett's children by her first husband are Eddie M. and Joseph T. Mr. Garrett was for twenty years a mason and brickmaker, and is now a farmer, owning 160 acres of good land in a high state of cultivation. He is a member of the Christian Church, also of the K. of H., and a Democrat.

W. M. GEORGE was born in Milburn, Ballard County, Ky., on December 5, 1836, and is a son of Reuben and Indiana (Gray) George. The father was born in Henry County, Ky., on March 6, 1802. His parents, Edward and Mary (Thomas) George, came from Orange County, Va., to Kentucky in a very early day. Edward George came to Ballard County, in March 1834, accompanied by his family and settled within one mile of the present village of Milburn. While a resident of Henry County he was a representative in the legislature from Henry and Owen Counties for many years. Soon after his arrival here, he was elected to the legislature from Ballard County, but died before taking his seat in December, 1836. The father of our subject inherited his father's farm and is yet living in this district at an advanced age. For upward of thirty years, he was one of the magistrates of the Milburn District, but was compelled finally to refuse a re-election on account of advancing years. The mother of our subject died in October, 1879. W. M. George was the third of five children, of whom two are still living, viz.: Thomas J. and William M. The latter's schooling was received in the village of Milburn. He worked on the home farm, until he was about twenty-five, and then learned the trade of brick-mason, which he followed until 1879. He was then elected magistrate of his district and is still serving in that position. He was a Federal soldier in the late war, having enlisted on December 12, 1863, in Company E, of the Thirtieth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, under Col. Alexander, and served until April, 1865.

JOHN F. GHOLSON, Ballard County, was born April 10, 1821, in Scott County, Ky., and came with his parents, in 1831, to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, James J. Gholson, a native of Garrard County, Ky., born in 1796, was a soldier in the war of 1812, and died in 1854. He was the son of William Gholson, and espoused Sarah, daughter of Hutchins Parker, of Scott County, and this union was favored with the birth of Ann P. (Piper), subject, Elvira (Earle), Marean M., James E., Thomas F., Delilah (Jett), Survilla J. (Atherton) and Richard. On December 16, 1847, John F. Gholson was married to Miss Rebecca, daughter of Jeremiah and Martha A. (Doyle) Hays, of McCracken County (born in 1824), and to them have been born William E., Lloyd T., Ferdinand F., John C. and Richard L. Our subject is a farmer, owning 850 acres of fine land in good condition and in a high state of cultivation. He is an active member of the Baptist Church, of which he has been for thirty years a deacon, and in politics affiliates with the Democratic party.

THOMAS L. GLENN was born February 2, 1847, in Ballard County, Ky., and is the fourth of six children born to Tyre and Barzilla J. (Lawrence) Glenn, natives of North Carolina. The father was a son of James and Jane Glenn, of Scotch-Irish origin, was a farmer, and died about 1850. Thomas L. lived on a farm till about five years old, when, with his mother, he moved to Evansville, Ind., where they lived about four years. Thence they moved to Cairo, Ill., where they remained till 1862. In February of the same year the mother died. Thomas then commenced the struggles of life for himself by selling papers in the Federal Army, making Cairo his headquarters. In February, 1863, he located at Holy Springs, Miss., where he enlisted in Company F, Second Kentucky Confederate Cavalry, under Capt. Nat Lee, Gen. John H. Morgan's command, and took part in the battles at Wytheville, Va., and Mount Sterling, Ky.; here our subject was wounded in the right shoulder, was captured and was imprisoned at Lexington, Ky. His wound did not heal for four years, and has crippled him for life. In September, 1864, he took the parole oath and returned to Ballard County. He attended school at Providence Church and Milburn till 1866, when he commenced teaching; he next sold goods at Columbus and Milburn when he again entered the schoolroom, taught for three years, and then entered a store as salesman for one year. In 1874, he was elected clerk of Ballard County, and in 1878, was re-elected; in 1883, he was engaged in running a trading car from New Orleans to Cairo, Ill., selling fruits, vegetables, etc., over three divisions of the Illinois Central Railway; in April, 1884, he engaged with Hamilton & Clarke, wholesale notion firm, as traveling salesman. He now owns two farms of 270 acres in Ballard County, about one-half improved, also a good house and lot in Blandville. He married L. I. Stephens, of Ballard County, March 17, 1870. She is the daughter of Isaac and Sarah (Wilson) Stephens, natives of Kentucky. This union has been blessed with the birth of four children: Thomas I., Ivy L., Francis J. and Willie T. Mr. and Mrs. Glenn are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and he is a member of the I. O. O. F., K. of H., K. and L. of H. He cast his first presidential vote for Seymour and Blair, in 1868, and is still a Democrat.

T. B. GREENE (deceased) was born in Harrodsburg, Mercer County, Ky., May 6, 1809, and was a son of James and Sallie (Hart) Greene. The parents were both born near Richmond, Va., and came to Kentucky some time prior to the Revolution. The father was a soldier in that conflict, going out in a company that was raised in Kentucky. He fought in the regiment commanded by his redoubtable uncle, Nathaniel Greene. Subject was educated in Mercer County. There he was reared on a farm and subsequently turned his attention to stock raising and trading, driving herds from upper Kentucky to Charleston, S. C. About 1838, he was elected sheriff and served about eight years. In 1846 he moved to Barren County and farmed for eight years. He then went to Davis County and settled on a farm near Owensborough, resided there two years, and then moved to Columbus, Ky. In 1861, he came to Milburn and opened a hotel, which he managed until his death March 29, 1884. For eight years he was also mail contractor from Wadesborough to Columbus. He also farmed to some extent. At present his widow, assisted by her family, are carrying on the hotel. Subject was a lifelong member of the Christian Church, and for many years was an elder in that denomination. Mr. Greene was married in 1830 to Miss Nancy Higby. The result of this union was six children: Charles E., in Owensborough, Ky.; James R., in Hickman; Aria A., wife of Dr. G. W. Hevrin, of Missouri; Keziah A., wife of Thomas Winn of Hickman County, Ky., and Charity E., wife of Dr. F. M. Trevathan of Union City, Tenn. Mrs. Greene died in 1843, and

subject was next married, in 1846, to Miss America N. Dickinson, daughter of William and Catherine (Hall) Dickinson, natives of Pennsylvania. The second Mrs. Greene was born in Barren County, Ky., in 1823, and is the mother of four children, two of whom are now living: W. H. and T. R.

W. H. GREENE was born February 18, 1847, in Barren County, Ky. His schooling was obtained mainly in the Milburn District. He began life by buying staves for the European market. He next railroaded in Texas for two years, and then began merchandising in Union City, Tenn. In 1879 he began handling and buying staves, and now makes annual trips to New Orleans. He was married February 1, 1879, to Miss Sallie B. Stone, daughter of George W. and Ellen Stone of this county.

P. H. GUPTON was born April 5, 1851, in Christian County, Ky., and is the eldest of six children born to Granville and Emily J. (Bondurant) Gupton, natives of Kentucky and Virginia, and of Irish and French descent respectively. The father is a son of Fenton Gupton, who was a farmer and boatman. P. H. Gupton was reared on a farm, and attended the common schools when not engaged in farm duties. He came with his parents in 1864 to South Ballard, where his father purchased 225 acres of land, which he improved. Our subject lived with his parents until he became of age, when he commenced life for himself at farming, and purchased 117 acres of land. He has since added till he now owns 340 acres, all in good condition. In 1880 he was elected sheriff of Ballard County, and in 1882 re-elected. He is a member of the K. of H., and the K. & L. of H. He has made life a success, having started with $100 only. He was married November 20, 1883, to Mattie D. Cooper, of Tazewell County, Ill., and daughter of Thomas Cooper.

G. W. C. HAGGARD was born in Robertson County, Tenn., August 19, 1833, and is the fifth of six children (three boys and three girls) born to Holman and Lucinda (McIntosh) Haggard, natives of Tennessee and of Irish descent. His grandfathers were James Haggard and Nimrod McIntosh, the latter a soldier of the Revolution and a farmer. Our subject was reared on a farm, and was about eight years old at the time of his mother's death. His father afterward married Mrs. Elizabeth Holman, and had two children by this marriage; his second wife had one child by her former husband. The subject of this sketch lived with his grandparents for four years after his mother's death, but returned to his father's house on his second marriage, and there lived till he became of age, when he started in life for himself at farming. He moved with his parents to Todd County, Ky., about 1842, and lived there till 1860, when he moved with D. Perkins to Ballard County; worked three years, returned to Todd and farmed till 1870, and then came back to Ballard County. In 1873 he purchased the farm on which he now resides. It first consisted of thirteen acres, to which he has added thirty-seven more. He also owns another farm of 175 acres, all in good condition. He has made what he has by his own industry and economy, having received about $30 only from his mother's estate, when he became of age. He was married, February 11, 1866, to Miss Olivia T. Miller, of Ballard County, a daughter of William A. and Eliza A. (Shrader) Miller, natives of Spencer County, Ky., and of Irish descent. To this union have been born three children: George W., Charles E. (deceased) and Lillie Maud. Mr. and Mrs. Haggard are Presbyterians, and he was formerly a Granger. He cast his first presidential vote for Buchanan, and still votes the Democratic ticket.

CHARLES M. HALL, an old settler and a leading farmer and fine stock-breeder, was born March 4, 1822, where Paducah now stands. His father was on his way to the Purchase from the Green River country, when a storm stopped them at Paducah. The father of our subject raised one crop near Paducah and then returned to Mulenburgh County, Ky., where he remained till about 1830; he then returned to the Purchase and settled in Ballard County. The grandfathers of our subject were William Hall and Charles Morgan, of English and Irish descent, and were both in the Revolution. The parents of our subject were Adam and Eda A. (Morgan) Hall, with whom he lived till he was twenty-five years old, when he commenced business for himself, running a wood-yard, three miles below Cairo for eighteen months: he afterward engaged in farming, cutting cord wood and piloting flat-boats down the river to New Orleans. He commenced in life without a dollar; about 1850, he purchased his first farm of 145 acres at $3 per acre, which he improved and has added to till he owns 700 acres, but giving to his children has reduced its area. He was the owner of three negroes when the war broke out. The father, Adam Hall, rented lands while in the Purchase, till he moved to Missouri, in 1837, where he purchased 366 acres of land and resided till his death, when Charles M.

A O Harkless

W H Harkless

brought his mother back to Ballard County, where they have since lived, Mr. Hall having had the care of the family after his father's death. C. M. Hall was married March 4, 1856, to Mrs. Mary Hall, widow of B. Hall; she is the daughter of Jerman J. and Ann T. Beadles, natives of Virginia, and of English descent. They came to Graves County in 1830. By this union Mr. and Mrs. Hall have had born to them eight children: Ann E. (now Elliott), Nettie (now Melton), Jerman A. (deceased), Theophilus A. (deceased), James K., Charles M., William A. and Lewis W. He and wife are members of the Baptist Church. He is a Mason and has been trustee of schools for twenty years. He cast his first presidential vote for James K. Polk, and has voted the Democratic ticket ever since.

DAVID HALL was born December 20, 1832, in Ballard County, Ky., and is the son of Adam and Eda A. (Morgan) Hall, natives of Virginia and of English and Irish descent. The father was a keel and flat-boatman on the Mississippi River, trading in pork and salt, but when steamboats came into existence quit his boating. He was born October 27, 1792, and died in Missouri, January, 1849. Subject's mother was born January 5, 1801, and died February 25, 1874. David Hall enlisted in Company A, Seventh Kentucky Cavalry (Confederate), in the spring of 1864, under Joseph Logan as captain. He took part in the battles of Gun Town, Brazos Cross Roads or Oldtown, and returned home about September, 1864, and engaged in farming. He lost about $900 worth in stock, tobacco, etc., during the war, but is now the possessor of 254 acres of land in good condition, one-half mile north of Blandville. He started in life for himself when twenty-three years old, but had lived in Missouri four years prior to the death of his father. He was married February 15, 1872, to Martha W. Elsey, of Ballard County, a daughter of John M. and Virinda (McDonald) Elsey. She bore him five children: William W., Robert B. (deceased), Mary V., Jackson (deceased), and Mattie E., and died November 11, 1882, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Hall next married Mary E. Belt, on June 14, 1883. She is the daughter of Osborne and Louisa (Johnson) Belt, natives of Scott County, Ky., and of English descent. By this union one child has been born, David A. Mr. Hall and wife are members of the Baptist Church. He is a Mason, and was formerly a Granger.

WILLIAM E. HALL, Ballard County, was born June 20, 1823, in Henry County, Ky., and is a son of John and Altha (Porter) Hall, both born in Virginia. In 1827, they moved to Hickman County, Ky., and located at Mills' Point; two years later the mother died at this place, when subject was taken by his grandfather, Eli Porter, on horseback again to Henry County; they remained there until the spring of 1831, at which time the family came to Hickman, now Ballard County, and settled in the neighborhood of Arlington. Young Hall was reared on a farm, and at the age of eighteen, entered a store as clerk at Cape Girardeau, Mo., where he remained for three years. He then returned to this county and purchased 100 acres of land, and from time to time, as his means would permit, he added other lands owning at one time as high as 545 acres, part of which he has since disposed of; he now owns about 200 acres well improved, adjoining Arlington, also several houses and lots in town; he originally owned the land on which the town of Arlington is built. Mr. Hall has held the office of constable, also clerk and judge of election. He was married in 1848, in Henry County, to Elizabeth Hall of that county. This union has been blessed with seven children, five of whom are living: Rev. J. N. Hall, now residing in Fulton, Ky., is the eldest son; he has charge of four churches in that vicinity; he also assists in editing the *Baptist Gleaner*; Jo. G., the fourth son, also lives in Fulton, and is in the employ of the railroad company; Thomas P., now engaged in farming in Ballard County; George C., now attending school in Arlington; Mary A., now the wife of A. J. Bailey, engaged in farming in Arlington Precinct. Mr. Hall and family are consistent and exemplary members of the Baptist Church, and for the past thirty years he has been a deacon. There were but two improved farms in this vicinity at the time of Mr. Hall's first coming here in 1831.

JOHN O. HARKLESS was born September 17, 1832, in Ballard County, Ky., and is the fourth of five children (two boys), born to Daniel J. and Ann C. (Goldoon) Harkless, of Irish and English origin. The grandfather on the mother's side was William Goldoon. Subjects father was born in Ohio; his mother in Virginia. The father came to Ballard County in the fall of 1821, and settled five miles east of Milburn, where he entered four sections of land in different tracts, it being military land, but lost all in a suit to hold. In January, 1844, he settled one mile north of Blandville, where he died in 1848 with cholera. He was born in 1801. John O. Harkless continued to live with his mother till 1860, when he commenced the struggle

of life for himself at farming. His education he procured by his own industry and perseverance at home; the schools being held in log cabins and the teachers of a very inferior grade. He had purchased, in 1858, 200 acres of land, where he now resides, one-half mile west of Blandville, where he and brother now own 1,400 acres in good condition. They also own 2,200 acres of land in other parts of the county. These brothers have made their fortunes by their own industry and perseverance, except about 260 acres left from their father's estate. The brothers were engaged in railroad construction for about five years on the Mississippi Central, Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railway, Memphis & Kansas City Railway. Their principal business through life, however, was raising all kinds of stock, mostly mules and cattle. They were the owners of several negroes before the war. The mother of our subject died in 1879, aged eighty-seven years, and both parents were Baptists. John O. Harkless was married October 2, 1860, to Miss Sarah Nichols of McCracken County, a daughter of Jesse and Elizabeth (Wadlington) Nichols, natives of Caldwell County, Ky., and had born to him by this union six children: Mary J. (now Shearin), Nannie B., Sarah B., Willie M., John R. and Jessie J. Mr. Harkless and wife are members of the Baptist Church and he is a member of the I. O. O. F. The brothers had the only mill in the Purchase that was not burned by troops during the war.

WILLIAM J. HARKLESS, a brother of the above, was born December 26, 1826, in Ballard County, and is the secondchild, and received a limited common school education. His father once raised a crop with the hoe, his last horse having been killed by buffalo gnats or flies. William J. lived with his parents till married in July, 1855, to Mrs. Mary Gholson, of Missouri, who bore him three children (deceased), and died in April, 1860. William Harkless was next married May 30, 1882, to Mrs. B. P. Ross, who was born in Grandville County, N. C., and is a daughter of W. R. and Mattie (Peoples) Haygood, natives of Grandville County, N. C. To this union was born one child, Nannie B. Mrs. Harkless had two children by her former husband, one living, Edwin Ross. Mr. and Mrs. Harkless are members of the Baptist and Christian Churches, respectively. Mr. Harkless is a member of the I. O. O. F. He began for himself at the age of twenty-one in partnership with his brother.

W. D. HARRISON was born October 9, 1844, in Christian County, Ky., and is the fourth of nine children, seven boys and two girls (two boys and one girl now living), born to Fayette and Harrie (Bradshaw) Harrison. The grandparents, Robert and Sarah (Davis) Harrison, were reared in Virginia and were of Scotch descent. The former was a farmer and miller, and came to Christian County about the year 1800. The father of our subject was born in Christian County about 1814. W. D. Harrison was reared on a farm and received a good English education. He had been in attendance at Russellville College about eight months when the war broke out, when he returned and attended school near home. In 1856 he moved with his parents to McCracken County, Ky., and settled in the southwestern part, where he lived till 1880, when he moved to where he now resides, in Ballard County, on 283 acres of land in North Ballard, where his father had purchased 1,000 acres before coming to the Purchase, with a view of settling on it. Our subject lived with his parents till he was about twenty-four years old, when he want to Paducah, where he was engaged for six years as salesman by W. T. Overstreet & Co.; he then returned to the home farm, where he remained till he came to his present place. He was married June 19, 1879, to Miss Mallie E. Hopson of Paducah, daughter of George and Nellie (Enders) Hopson. Her father was a native of Trigg County, Ky. Mr. Harrison had born to him by this union one child, Mary Harrison. He and wife are Presbyterians, and our subject cast his first presidential vote for H. Seymour in 1868.

DAVID HARP (deceased) was born on May 1, 1813, in Fayette County, Ky. He was a son of Conrad and Catherine (Bower) Harp. The parents were probably natives of Kentucky, but of Dutch descent. Subject was reared on a farm, and resided in Fayette County until 1860, when he came to the Purchase and settled in Ballard County, near Columbus. There he resided a short time and then came to Ballard County, and settled on the farm of about 160 acres, now occupied by his widow, with about eighty acres in cultivation. There he resided until his death, July 19, 1881. Mr. Harp was married on November 14, 1837, to Miss Nancy Stone, a daughter of Jacob and Patsey (Carson) Stone. The father was probably a native of Maryland, and came to Kentucky in a very early day. Mrs. Harp was born in Fayette County, on May 23, 1817, and bore her husband twelve children, of whom ten are now living, viz.: Ellen, wife of Samuel Todd, of Hickman County;

Henry, in Mt. Eden, Ky.; J. W., Nancy J., wife of John Curtsinger; Charles C.; Elizabeth, wife of Lee Summers; Addie, wife of James Wells, of Hickman County; Maggie; Jacob, and Mamie, wife, Samuel Wilson. At present Mrs. Harp, assisted by her son, is carrying on the home farm. She and her family are members of the Christian Church.

CHARLES C. HARP was born in Fayette County, Ky., June 22, 1848, is a son of David and Nancy (Stone) Harp, and is the sixth of a family of twelve children, of whom ten are now living. His schooling was obtained in Fayette and Woodford Counties. At the age of eighteen he began to learn the carpenter trade, serving an apprenticeship at Milburn and Paducah. He returned to Milburn, followed the trade until 1881, and then embarked in the milling business with R. G. Kirkpatrick. These gentlemen purchased the Milburn flour and saw-mill from Sanford & McKinney, and are still running it. The mill is at present valued at about $4,000 and is doing a good business. Mr. Harp was married April 4, 1870, to Miss Ella B. New, a daughter of Greenberry M., and Catherine (Wright) New. The father was born in Grant County, Ky. His father, William D. New, was also a native of that county, but the grandparents were natives of North Carolina, and were of English and Scotch descent. G. M. New came to the Purchase in an early day, and settled in Graves County. He subsequently moved to Ballard County, where he died in 1860. Mrs. Harp was born in this county, and became the mother of five children, four of whom are now living: Fred L., Clarence H., Minnie P. and Charlie B. Mr. Harp is a member of the Christian Church, Mrs. Harp of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Subject has been identified with the I. O. O. F. fraternity and is a member of the Milburn Lodge K. of H. He has also served as trustee of Milburn.

F. M. HAYS, Ballard County, was born in Gibson County, Tenn., January 1, 1853, and is a son of Jessee J. and Hepsy M. (Buller) Hays. The father was born in Wake County, N. C., November 11, 1822. The mother was born in Gibson County, Tenn., April 14, 1828. Both are still living near Bradford, Tenn. Subject was the fifth of twelve children, of whom ten, five sons and five daughters, are still living. He was brought up on a farm, until he was about twenty years of age. He went to Greene County, Ark., and worked on a farm. He remained there about twelve months. He did not have much chance for acquiring an education. He then came to Graves County, Ky., where he attended school; went to Hickman County, Ky., and attended school there, and then went to Milburn, Ballard County, and attended school there. About 1875 he began teaching school in Graves County; taught two terms, and subsequently taught in Hickman County, Ky., three terms, and near Trenton, Tenn., one term. In February, 1879, he began merchandising at Bradford, Tenn. He remained there for about eighteen months, and then came to Milburn, where he has since been in business, and now carries a stock of about $2,500. He was married, November 27, 1879, to Miss M. B. Courtney, a daughter of Walter H. and Julia A. (Gourd) Courtney. Two children, Minnie Pearl and William Walter, have blessed this union. He has served as school trustee of Milburn District, Ballard County, and is a member of the Milburn Masonic Lodge, No. 170, and Milburn Lodge, No. 1,989, K. of H., and Abe Lincoln Mutual Aid Society of Cairo. Mrs. Hays is a member of the Baptist Church.

JOHN C. HEARN was born June 23, 1836, in Todd County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1869 came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, William Hearn, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1808, served as sheriff of Todd County, Ky., and died in 1868. He was the son of Joseph Hearn, a soldier in the war of 1812. William married Elizabeth, daughter of Asher and Mary (Green) Shelton, of Todd County, and to them were born Cinthelia A. (Simons), Emerilice (Adams), Belretta J. (Shelton), subject, Mary E. and William G. In youth subject obtained a fair education, and is still fond of reading current literature. He was married, December 11, 1861, to Miss Maria F., daughter of Henry Harris, of Greenville, Ky. She was born November 14, 1840, and died July 14, 1865, in Greenville, Ill. To them one son, William Henry, was born October 5, 1863. Subject next married, December 18, 1876, Miss Mary J., daughter of Kemp Malory, of Todd County. She was born March 25, 1837, and died February 14, 1880. On September 11, 1881, he married Miss Lucy L., daughter of Rev. Mark Senter, of Ballard County. She was born November 15, 1850, and died December 15, 1882. Subject is a farmer having 350 acres of land in a high state of cultivation. In politics he is identified with the Democratic party.

WILLIAM H. HEATH was born June 29, 1842, in Crittenden County, Ky., and in 1849 was brought by his parents to Ballard Coun-

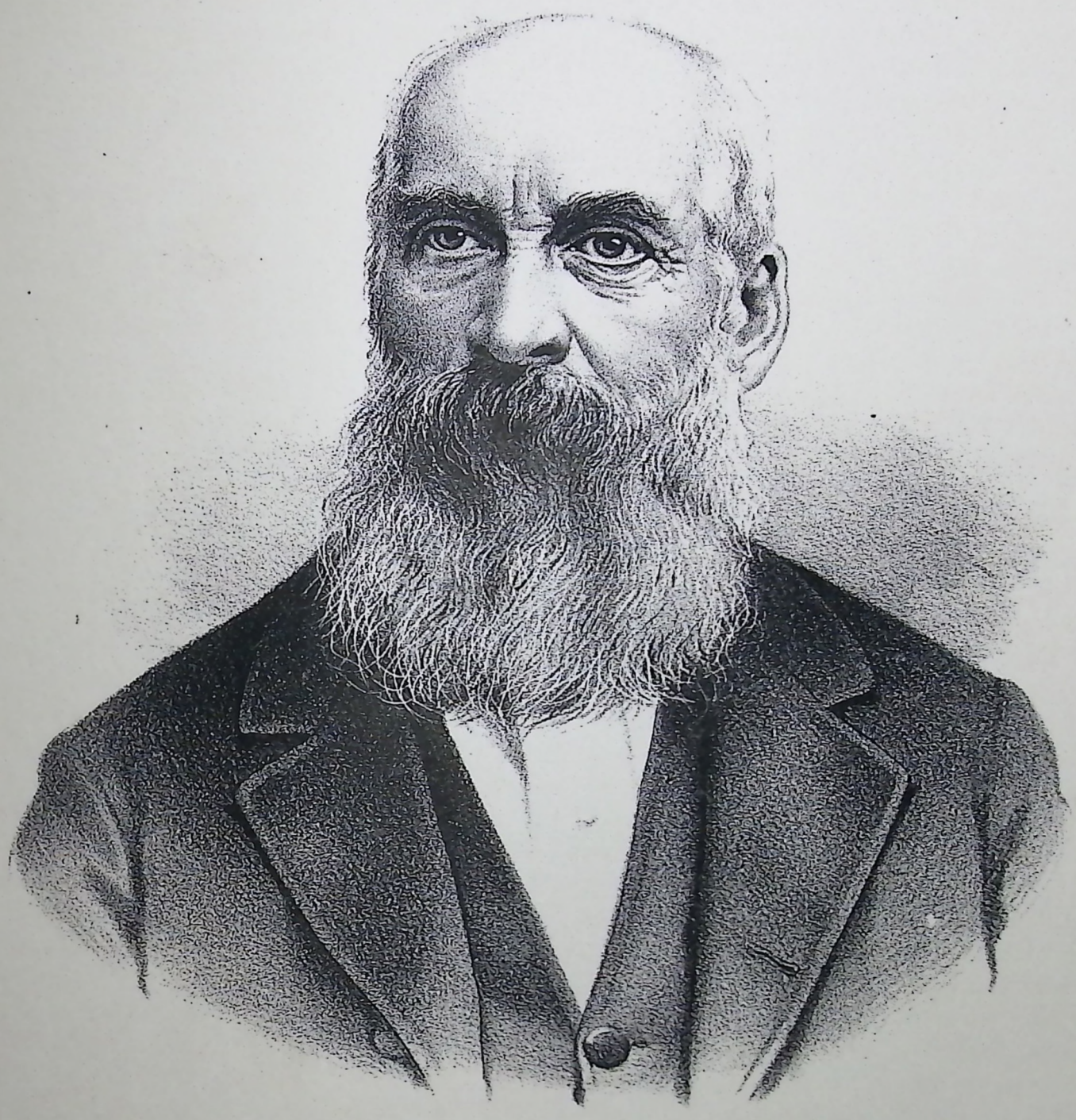
ty, where he still resides. His father, William D. Heath, a native of Georgia, was born in 1809, and is still living. He is the son of Riland Heath, of North Carolina, a soldier in the war of 1812, who died about 1862, nearly eighty years of age. William D. married Eliza Husbands, who is still living. Their offspring are Josephine (Etherton and Tankersley), Miranda (Alcock), Andrew J., subject, Sarah A. (Smith), James G., Robert R. and Lorenzo D. Subject obtained a fair education in youth, and is a constant reader of books and papers. He was married May 29, 1873, to Miss Mary J., daughter of Samuel and Nancy (Crenshaw) Senter, of Sumner County, Tenn. She was born July 2, 1848. This union has been blessed by the birth of two children, viz.: Susie and Drurie Jackson. Subject is a farmer owning 340 acres of good land in fine condition. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M. In religion he is a Methodist and in politics a Democrat.

WILLIAM J. HENDERSON was born January 1, 1848, on the place where he now resides, in Ballard County, Ky. His father, Thomas Henderson, a native of Caroline County, Va., died in 1871, aged about seventy-two years. Thomas' widow, *nee* Martha Dillon, of Howard County, Va., was born in 1811 and is still living. Their offspring are: John E., Sallie F. (Bishop), Lucy A. (Petrie), Ellen (Penn), Josephine (Ousley), subject, Mary F. (Puckett), Franklin P and Laura B. Subject in youth procured a good English education and is a reading man. On the 25th of December, 1882, he was married to Miss Callie A., daughter of Jacob N. and Mary T. (Adams) Bondurant, of Ballard County, and the result of this union has been the birth of one daughter, Martha Thomas. Our subject is a farmer having 256 acres of good land in fine condition and in a high state of cultivation. He is an active member of the Methodist Church, and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

THOMAS L. HILL was born October 21, 1847, in Bardstown, Nelson Co., Ky. He is the ninth of ten children born to James and Elizabeth (Medley) Hill, natives of Nelson County and Hardin County, Ky., respectively, and of Irish descent. The grandfather was Joseph Hill, a farmer, born and reared in Maryland. The grandfather on the mother's side was John Medley, a farmer, born in Virginia. They were among the early settlers of Kentucky. Thomas L. was reared on a farm and received a good common school education. He moved with his parents to Danville, Ind., in February, 1864, where his father died while engaged in the practice of medicine. Our subject returned to Nelson County, in the fall of 1865, where he engaged in farming. In 1868 he moved to Spencer County, Ky. In the fall of 1869 he returned to Danville, Ind. In 1869 he moved to Ballard County, Ky. He located where he now resides in 1881, on fifty acres of good land in good condition. He was elected justice in 1880 for three years. On November 21, 1872, he married Georgia Robinson, of McCracken County, Ky. She was born in Butler County, Ky., a daughter of William and Mary (Sublett) Robinson, natives of Virginia and Kentucky respectively. To this union were born six children: Ernest R., Frances P., Mary B., Bertha, Thomas M., Ella T. Mr. Hill and wife are members of the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Hill cast his first presidential vote for Seymour and Blair in 1868, and still votes with the Democrats.

SAMUEL K. HINSHEY was born November 6, 1830, in Logan County, Ky., where he grew to manhood and in 1857 removed to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Jonas Hinshey, a native of Virginia, was a soldier in the war of 1812, and died in 1837, aged forty-one years. He was a son of Morris, an Englishman, who served in the American Revolution and died about 1835. Jonas married Mrs. Margaret Ford; she died in 1873, aged over eighty years, a daughter of Benjamin Smith, and from this union sprang: our subject, Benjamin S. and Granville. The Ford children are: John, Charles, Robert C., Henry M., Mary A. (Perrin) and Patience. On March 24, 1853, subject was married to Miss Jane A. (born in 1834, died in 1871), daughter of Samuel B. and Mary (Turner) Ragland, of Logan County, from which union sprang one child, James E. Subject was next married January 8, 1872, to Miss Jane A., daughter of Thomas and Minerva (Pertle) Ashbrook, of Ballard County (born in 1840), and to them were born Jennie, Samuel A., Miller and Ford. For twenty years subject has been successfully engaged in milling. He has been constable and city judge. He is also a licensed attorney. He is a member of the I. O. O. F.; of the K. of G. R., and of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In politics he is a Democrat.

GEORGE W. HINES was born July 16, 1823, in Logan County, Ky., where he was reared, and in 1856 came to Ballard County, where he still retains his residence. His father, John Hines, a native of Halifax County, Va., died in 1879, at the age of eighty-three years. He was the son of Ed-



G. W. Hines

win Hines, of Virginia, a Revolutionary soldier, who died about 1835. Subject's mother, Ann Duncan, was born near Lexington, Ky. John Hines was twice married, and to him, by his first wife, were born Mary (Daniel), James D., John and Bersheba (Mills). His offspring resulting from his espousal of Miss Ann Duncan are: our subject, Preston A., Elizabeth (Duvall), Dr. Daniel C., Samuel G., Julia A. (Herrington), Jane (Riley), Lucy (Bailey), and Joseph U. On May 9, 1845, subject was married to Miss Frances K. (born in 1825), daughter of George and Patty (Rice) Bailey, of Logan County, Ky.; the former, a native of Virginia, died in 1846, at the age of sixty-three years, and the latter died in 1829, aged about thirty years. The offspring of George and Patty Bailey are: Cassandra (Peart), Presley A., Caroline (Peart), Martha A. (Townsend), and Frances K. By the second wife to George were born William T., Ann M. (Gunn) and Mary E. (Dalton). To our subject and wife no children were born, but many orphans have found a hospitable home with them, and have been reared with the most tender and affectionate care, and their education has been a subject of more than parental solicitude. Our subject is a successful farmer, the owner of 700 acres of valuable land, 400 of which are well improved, the chief products being grass and live stock. In religion he is an active Methodist and in politics independent.

GEORGE HINKLE was born December 23, 1827, in Shelby County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1859 came to Ballard County, where he still retains his residence. In 1864, he enlisted in the Seventh Regiment, Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Confederate States Army, and remained in service to the close of the war. On December 5, 1861, our subject was married to Miss Christina J., daughter of William and Martha (Smith) Clampett, of Summer County, Tenn. (born January 15, 1844), and this union has been blessed by the birth of the following children, viz.: Charles H., April 20, 1863; George T., April 18, 1866; Mattie M., March 25, 1868; Bettie J., July 29, 1870; Effie L., December 31, 1872; Ida C., December 23, 1876; Fannie E., December 13, 1883. Subject is a farmer, owning 129 acres of good land in a fine state of cultivation. In religion he is a Methodist.

DR. CHARLES HINKLE, Ballard County, a leading and successful physician of western Kentucky, was born March 13, 1838, in Shelby County, Ky., where he was reared; in 1857, he came to Ballard County. His father, Col. Casper Hinkle, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1800; was taken by his parents, in 1804, to Shelby County, Ky., participated in the war of 1812, and died in 1842. He was the son of Charles, a native of Germany, a soldier in the American Revolution, who died in 1845. Casper espoused in marriage Mildred, daughter of Jesse and Betsey (Head) Oglesby, of Virginia (born in 1802, and died in 1880), and from this union sprang George, Jesse, Susan (Scott), Elizabeth (Seay), subject, and Rachel (Rollings). Subject was married January 26, 1864, to Miss Mary A., daughter of William H. and Penelope (White) Reeves, of Ballard County; she was born in 1844; her children are, William R., Hallie W., Jesse C., James W., Katie and Freddie F. Subject commenced the study of medicine, in 1859, with Dr. D. W. Yandell, of Louisville, Ky., and graduated at the University of Louisville, in 1861. He then located at his present place, where he has been since successfully engaged in the practice of his profession. He is also engaged in farming, owning 550 acres of good land, well cultivated. He is an honored member of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

DR. R. T. HOCKER, Ballard County, was born September 10, 1846, in Warren County, Ky. He is a son of Washington and Rebekah (Magill) Hocker, both natives of Lincoln County, Ky.; his father is now living on his farm in Graves County. Our subject commenced the study of medicine at the age of twenty, under the preceptorship of Drs. Thompson and Gilson at Paducah, where he remained one year. He then attended the medical department of the University of Nashville in the winter of 1867-68, and graduated February 24, 1870; he had commenced the practice of medicine September 11, 1868. The doctor located in Ballard County, and in 1873 returned to Graves County, and located at Lowe's; there he followed his chosen profession nine years. November 14, 1882, he moved to Clinton, followed his profession there till May 1, 1884, when he came to Arlington, and in company with Dr. Peck opened their present drug store and is also following his profession here. He is a member of the Kentucky State Medical Society. In 1873, Dr. Hocker was vice-president of the Southwestern Kentucky Medical Association. He has been president of the Graves County Medical Society, and also treasurer. His father served as magistrate, constable and deputy sheriff in central Kentucky for many

years; also police judge of Lovelaceville, Ballard County. Dr. Hocker was married December 3, 1873, to Miss M. S. Peck, of Graves County; two children have blessed this union, one daughter and one son. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church; his wife is a member of the Baptist Church. The doctor is also a member of the Masonic order and I. O. O. F.; has filled the highest offices in the subordinate lodges of each, and was a member of the city council when in Clinton.

A. B. HOLT was born January 16, 1838, in Calloway County, Ky. He is the third of five boys born to John and Nancy (Ramay) Holt, natives of Tennessee. His grandfather was Peter Holt, who married Elizabeth Tibble. His grandparents on his mother's side were Elijah and Peggie (Perry) Ramay. A. B. Holt was reared on a farm, and received a common school education. He moved with his parents to Johnson County, Ill., in 1845. In 1868, he moved to where he now lives, near Ogden's Landing, and is the possessor of 800 acres of good land in several farms, all of which he has made by his own industry and perseverance. He was married September 22, 1859, to Susan I. Gillespie, of Johnson County, Ill., born in Tennessee, and a daughter of John and Mary A. (Hogg) Gillespie. This union was blessed with nine children: William Lafayette, Tabitha L., now Henley; Florence C., now Bain; John A., deceased; Lycurgus H., deceased; Laura, deceased; George D., Ella N. and Mary A. Mr. and Mrs. Holt are members of the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal Churches respectively, and Mr. Holt is a Mason. He cast his first presidential vote for Buchanan in 1856, and is still a Democrat.

JOEL F. HOLT, one of the leading farmers and short horn breeders of Ballard County, Ky., was born June 7, 1835, in Calloway County, Ky. He is the third of five children, all boys, born to John and Nancy (Ramay) Holt, natives of Montgomery County, Tenn., and of Holland Dutch and Scotch descent, respectively. John Holt was a son of Peter and Elizabeth (Tibble) Holt, natives of Holland and England respectively. Subject's mother was the daughter of Elijah Ramay, who was born in Scotland. Subject's grandfather, Peter Holt, came to the United States about 1763, and settled in South Carolina; he was a soldier of the Revolution. Elijah Ramay came to the United States after the Revolution, and settled in North Carolina. John Holt was born January 6, 1803; he was a blacksmith and farmer, and moved to Calloway County in 1834, where he entered 160 acres of land, which he improved. In 1845, Joel F. moved with his parents to Johnson County, Ill., where his father entered and purchased 268 acres of land. In the spring of 1868, the family came to Ballard County, Ky., where the father died, September 23, 1878, and where the mother, who was born August 11, 1808, died July 10, 1877. Joel F. Holt lived with his parents till twenty-six years of age, engaged in trading and farming. In the spring of 1868, he located where he now resides, on 115 acres of land, which he improved. He now owns 300 acres in good condition, with substantial buildings. In 1874 he was elected justice of the peace; re-elected in 1878. He resigned before the expiration of his second term. Mr. Holt was married May 5, 1861, to Susan M. Hogg, of Johnson County, Ill., a native of Montgomery County, Ill., and daughter of John and Elizabeth (Wolf) Hogg, natives of Tennessee, of Scotch descent. This union was blessed by the birth of eight children: Ethie O., now Smith; Bertha G.; Cortney, John, Ralph, Maybell, Carl and Ora. Mr. Holt cast his first presidential vote for Stephen A. Douglas in 1860, and still votes the Democratic ticket. He and wife are members of the Presbyterian Church.

THOMAS N. HOLT, was born September 18, 1845 in Franklin County, Tenn. He is a son of Thomas N. and Rhoda (Robinson) Holt. The father was born in Amelia County, Va., the mother in Franklin County, Tenn.; they were of English and Scotch descent respectively. The former died in 1858, aged fifty-five; the latter died in 1878 aged sixty-five. They came to Ballard County, in 1848, and engaged in farming. Our subject was reared on his father's farm without the opportunities of attending school until the age of twenty, two, from which time he attended four years-after which he returned to the farm, also engaged in trading in live stock, four years; later with Mr. Boswell, he opened a general store in Arlington; after continuing this business about three years, they sold their stock to McConnell & Stanley. Mr. Holt still owns the store occupied by this firm, also several houses and lots in town; he also owns a farm of 200 acres, which adjoins Arlington on the west, and which is conceded to be one of the best improved farms in this county; he is a member of the firm of Holt Bros., dealers in grain and live stock. November 20, 1878, he was married to Miss Hettie, daughter of Hon. W. J. Edrington, and the December following started with his young wife on a trip to the Pacific coast, visiting California, Oregon, Washington

Territory, and other places of interest. They returned to Arlington in 1880, where, September 23, 1882, their union was blessed with one son, Thomas Leland, an exceptionally bright child, who departed this life November 30, 1884. Since his return to Arlington in 1880, Mr. Holt has been actively engaged in farming and dealing in grain, live stock, etc. Mr. and Mrs. Holt are members of the Baptist Church. Mr. Holt commenced life without any assistance, but by close attention to business and good management he has secured a competency.

WILLIAM HOLMAN was born February 5, 1809, in Henry County, Ky., and is the fourth of ten children born to William and Polly (Foster) Holman, of English and Irish descent, and natives of Maryland and Virginia respectively. William Holman assisted in erecting the first cabin built in Cincinnati, Ohio. Shortly after, the grandfather of our subject and two of his sons were killed by the Indians, in surveying in the Ohio Purchase. William Holman was reared on a farm and lived with his parents until he became of age. In 1818, he with his parents moved to Ripley County, Ind., were his father entered 160 acres for each one of his children. Our subject lived in Indiana until 1853, when he moved to where he now resides on the Ohio River, in Ballard County, Ky. He purchased 1,000 acres of land, which he mostly improved, and now owns about 488 acres, 175 of which are cleared. He was married in October, 1829, to Sarah Hawthorn, of Henry County, Ky., daughter of James and Willie (Rollan) Hawthorn, natives of Ireland and England respectively. To this union were born thirteen children: James H., now in California; Henry F., Martha (now dead) married a Mr. Shook; William S. (deceased); George M.; Jesse C. (deceased), Amanda M. and Sarah C., both married to Duncans; Roseta M. (deceased), Joseph T. (deceased), Mildred R. (deceased), Polly A. (deceased), she was married to a Mr. Colvin; Eliza E., now Wyatt. Mrs. Holman was a member of the Baptist Church. On December 25, 1856, Mr. Holman married Cabriella D. Bates, of Ballard County, born in Garrard County, Ky., and a daughter of Gabriel and Elizabeth Bates. To them were born three children: Laura B., now Holt; Aura B. deceased, and Willie, deceased; the first two were twins. Mrs. Cabriella Holman died October, 1877; she was a Baptist. Mr. Holman next married, on October 10, 1880, Mrs. Mary E. Robinson, of Ballard County, daughter of William and Mary (Tyler) Sublett, natives of Virginia and Kentucky, respectively. Mrs. Holman had seven children by her former husband. Mr. and Mrs. Holman are members of the Baptist and Christian Churches, respectively. Mr. Holman was formerly connected with the Masonic fraternity. He cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Jackson, but voted the Whig ticket from 1840 to 1856; since 1860, he has voted the Democratic ticket.

GEORGE M. HOLMAN was born April 9, 1837, in Ripley County, Ind., and is the fifth of thirteen children, born to William and Sarah (Hawthorn) Holman. George M. was reared on a farm and received a common school education. He lived with his parents until his marriage on December 30, 1862, to Sarah J. Duncan of Ballard County, a daughter of Samuel and Hannah E. (Muffit) Duncan. To this union have been born eight children: Anna E., now Brockmon; Mollie B., Amanda M., Georgia M., James and Jesse (twins), William M., dead; and Mattie L., Mr. Holman and wife and three eldest children are members of the Baptist Church. Mr. Holman moved to Ballard County with his parents in 1853, and settled in the north part of the county. He owns 110 acres of land in good condition. He was appointed deputy clerk of Ballard County in 1876 for one term. He was formerly a member of the Grange.

JACOB HORN, Ballard County, was born April 15, 1831, in Hesse Darmstadt. In 1851, he came to the United States and worked ten years in a stove foundry in St. Louis, after which he engaged in the butchering business in Memphis, for five years, and in 1868, settled in Ballard County, Ky., at his present place of residence. His father, Anton, born in 1800, died in Germany in 1871. He married Catherine Winter (born in 1805, died in 1849), and their children are, Eugene, Frantz, Jacob and David. Jacob procured a good education in Germany. On February 8, 1857, he married Miss Kunigunda Ley (born in Baden, March 3, 1837), and the results of this union are John, Elizabeth (Kilgore), Emma, Pauline, Anton, and Nicholas. Mrs. Horn died March 18, 1885. Mr. Horn is a farmer, having 560 acres of productive land in a good state of cultivation. In religion he still adheres to the Catholic faith, in which he was reared, and in politics is a Democrat The members of his family belong to the Christian Church.

EDWARD W. HORR, a leading merchant of Blandville, was born in Baltimore, Ohio, October 3, 1842, and is the only boy of three children born to Asa and Eliza (Sherman) Horr, natives of Ohio, and of German and

Irish origin respectively. His mother is the daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Coe) Sherman. The father is a surgeon and was an adjutant in an Ohio regiment in the Mexican war. In 1847 the family moved to Dubuque, Iowa, where the father still lives. Edward W. received a good English education, having attended the Western Military Institute, Nashville, Tenn.; in 1856-57, he returned to Iowa, where he received private instruction and studied medicine. During the war, from July, 1862, to June, 1865, he was private secretary of Assistant Surgeon-General R. C. Wood, United States Army. After the war, he returned to Dubuque, Iowa, and engaged in the hat business till September, 1869, when he came to Blandville, where he engaged in general merchandising and has been reasonably successful in his business. He has been school trustee and town trustee of Blandville for ten years or more. He was married January 29, 1867, to Miss Jane T. Rodman, of Oldham County, Ky., daughter of Judge Thomas A. and Jane E. (Talbott) Rodman, natives of Kentucky and Virginia, respectively, and of Irish origin. There were born by this union, two children, one living, Ellen Horr. Mrs. Horr is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Mr. Horr is a member of the Masonic fraternity and I. O. O. F.

HOTCHKISS & GADDIE. J. A. Hotchkiss was born December 31, 1853, in Fayette County, Ky. He is a son of Mark and Martha (Poisel) Hotchkiss. The father was born in New York; he came to Kentucky in 1850, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, also worked at the millwright business; he died in 1868, aged fifty-one. The mother was born in Nicholas County, Ky., and is now living with her son in Arlington. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, received a good common school education, and at the age of twenty entered a store as clerk, and since that time he has been engaged in merchandizing. In 1876 he came to Arlington and secured employment with P. Q. Read, and later with McConnell & Stanley, continuing in their employ until January, 1883, when the firm of Hotchkiss, Gaddie & Co., was established, which has since continued, and is doing a business of about $15,000 a year. Mr. Hotchkiss is a member of the Masonic fraternity, Knights of the Golden Rule and of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. J. W. Gaddie, of the above firm, was born April 19, 1851, in Hickman County. He is a son of J. L. and Nancy (Lamkin) Gaddie. The father was born in Hart County, Ky. In 1841 he moved to Hickman County, there engaged in farming, and is now a resident of Graves County. J. W. Gaddie was reared on his father's farm, received a good common school education, and at the age of twenty-one commenced farming for himself; this he continued until 1879, when he came to Arlington, and was employed as salesman for McConnell & Stanley, remaining with the firm until January 1, 1883, at which time the present firm was established. Mr. Gaddie was married, October 9, 1883, to Miss Fannie Turner, of Ballard County. Mr. and Mrs. Gaddie are members of the Baptist Church.

ELIJAH HUGHS, an early settler of Ballard County, and an enterprising farmer, was born November 13, 1825, in Muhlenburgh County, Ky., and is the eighth of ten children (six boys and four girls), born to John and Rebecca (Cross) Hughs, natives of Virginia, the father of Irish descent. His grandfathers were William Hughs, who was a teacher, and William Cross, a farmer. John Hughs was a trader on the Mississippi River. Elijah Hughs was educated in the early dirt-floor schoolhouses of the country, and was reared on a farm; he came with his parents to Ballard County in a very early day, and settled in the community where he now resides, and where his father purchased 350 acres of land, on which he resided till his death, in 1853; his widow died in 1867, aged eighty-seven years. Elijah, in early days, engaged in the carpentry business, and lived with his parents till twenty-one years of age; he then engaged in various lines of business, and during the war had several trials with the guerillas. In 1863 he purchased the farm of 120 acres, on which he now resides. He was elected constable two terms, was in the government service one session of Congress in the folding department. He was married October 29, 1853, to Sarah J. Purcell, of McCracken County, Ky., a daughter of Samuel and Mary (Barkley) Purcell. He had born by this union seven children: Mary (deceased), Ida (deceased), Ida May, John W., Louisa B., Samuel and Sarah J. Mrs. Hughs is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Mr. Hughs is a Mason and a Democrat.

T. L. HUGHES, of Wickliffe, was born November 25, 1825, in Muhlenburg County, and is the tenth of eleven children born to Ishmael and Susan Hughes, natives of Virginia, and of Irish and German descent, respectively; was reared and educated on a farm. At the age of nine years he came with

his mother to Ballard County, where he has lived ever since. He has been engaged as a pilot on the Mississippi River nearly all his life, his first trip having been made when nineteen years old; he has also carried on a farm, but in 1881 moved to Wickliffe, where he has been engaged in general merchandising. He was married in May, 1860, to Catherine Stovall, of Blandville, a daughter of J. H. and Hannah (Smith) Stovall, natives of Muhlenburg and Christian Counties, Ky., respectively. Her parents came to Ballard County in 1828, and settled near Blandville, which village was located on their farm. Her father was born in Muhlenburg County, December 29, 1806, and died March, 1884. Mr. Hughes had born to him by this union nine children: Harrison, Jesse L., John H., Eugenia, Joseph W. (deceased), Rhuanna, Thomas L. (deceased), Katie (deceased), and one not named. Mr. and Mrs. Hughes are members of the Baptist Church, and he is a member of the Masonic fraternity and I. O. O. F.

DR. W. D. HUNT was born January 25, 1835, in Carter County, Tenn. He is the third of eight children born to John R. and Margaret (Holt) Hunt, natives of Tennessee, and of German and English descent. John R. Hunt was a son of Henson and Mary (Polk) Hunt. The grandfather, on the mother's side, was Jacob Holt, who married Elizabeth Petticord. They were born in Virginia. William D., was reared on a farm, and received at home a fair education. Learned the carpenter's trade with his father during his boyhood. At the age of nineteen, he commenced the study of medicine with Prof. Dake, of Jonesborough, Tenn. After emigrating to Kentucky (Jackson's Purchase), he studied medicine and taught school for five years; then, after practicing medicine seven years, before attending any lectures, he graduated at the University Medical College, of Louisville, Ky. In 1869 he located in Ballard County; in 1870, on the property where he now resides. In 1880 he moved to Paducah, where he practiced three years, and was city physician one year. In the spring of 1884, he returned to his farm, where he practices his profession and farms. He has a farm of 410 acres in good condition, also three houses and lots in Paducah, all of which he has acquired by his own efforts, having started in life with 50 cents. He was married December, 1859, to Miss Caroline Futrell, of McCracken County, daughter of Nathaniel and Nancy (Dean) Futrell; they were born and reared in North Carolina, and are of English and Irish descent, and among the first settlers of the Purchase. To Dr. and Mrs. Hunt were born six children, three living: Luella, now Hendricks; Robertie, now Ogden, and Forrest. Mrs. Hunt became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church when very young. Dr. Hunt is a member of the I. O. O. F. He cast his first presidential vote for Buchanan, and is still a Democrat.

SAMUEL W. JACKSON, Ballard County, was born in Hickman County, Ky., February 5, 1841, and is the second of nine children born to Ephraim and Mary E. (Wheeler) Jackson, both natives of Kentucky, and of English and Irish descent. Ephraim Jackson received such an education as could be obtained at the rude log schoolhouses of western Kentucky frontier during his youth. At the age of three years, he came with his parents to Hickman County, where he was employed on his father's farm until he attained his majority. In that county he was married, and soon after engaged in farming on his own account. In about 1845, he removed to the southeast corner of Ballard County, where he bought a farm and resided until 1858, when he sold out and removed to Texas. While there, Mrs. Mary E. Jackson departed this life on May 8, 1861. She was a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. In 1867, Mr. Jackson returned and bought a farm in Ballard County, near Arlington, where he resided until his death, which occurred June 8, 1875, in his fifty-eight year. He was a life-long and devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; was also a member of the Masonic fraternity. Samuel W. Jackson received a good common school education in youth, and was employed on his father's farm until he was nearly thirty years old. He then engaged in agricultural pursuits on his own account, and has been so employed ever since, now owning well improved farms in Ballard County amounting to 170 acres. In the spring of 1861, he enlisted in Company D, Third Texas Cavalry, and served with his regiment in all its marches and engagements until the close of the war, being under Gens. McCullach, Price, Van Dorn, Bragg, Johnston and Hood. He participated in the battles of Pea Ridge, Iuka, Second Corinth and Jackson, Miss. In May, 1864, he was taken prisoner near Resaca, Ga., and was paroled in March, 1865. Mr. Jackson was married December 11, 1870, to Miss Anna I. Ramsey, a native of Ballard County, Ky. Five children have blessed this union, four of whom, two sons and two daughters, are living. Both Mr. Jackson and wife are consistent members of the Methodist Episcopal Church

South. He is also an earnest advocate of the temperance cause. In politics he is a Democrat.

JUDGE SAMUEL H. JENKINS, one of the leading and influential citizens of Ballard County, was born March 28, 1821, in Henry County, Ky. He is the youngest of eight children, and is the only one living born to Samuel and Ann W. (Owens) Jenkins, who were born in Fairfax County, Va., of Welsh descent. The father died when our subject was but six years old, the mother when he was sixteen. Samuel H. Jenkins was reared on a farm, but received a fair English education; he attended St. Mary's College, Marion County, Ky., and at the age of nineteen commenced the study of law. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one years, by Judges Prior and Marshall, of Louisville. In 1842 he located at Blandville, Ky., where he engaged in practice; in the same year he was elected county attorney for four years; in 1852 he was elected county judge for one term—the first judge under the new constitution. In 1859 he was elected State senator from the First District, and was in the senate during the contest for secession, to which he was opposed. In 1875 he was again elected, but refused a third election. In 1880 he was elected county judge, was re-elected in 1882, and holds the position with honor and credit. Our subject is the possessor of several good farms, aggregating about 200 acres. In 1880 he located in Wickliffe, where he now resides and has made his accumulations by his own industry and energy since he came to Ballard County. He was married February 26, 1846, to Ann L. Moore, of Ballard County, Ky.; she was born in Christian County, Ky., and is a daughter of John A. and Amelia W. (Elliott) Moore, of Irish and English descent, respectively. He has no children. He and wife are members of the Christian and Baptist Churches, respectively. Judge Jenkins cast his presidential vote for James K. Polk, and has voted with the Democrats ever since.

W. W. JENKINS, a native of Ballard County, Ky., and son of Dr. Thomas J. and Susan M. (Terrell) Jenkins, was born March 20, 1846. His paternal grandfather was Francis Jenkins, who was born July 14, 1774, and died in Pickens District, S. C., in 1860. John Terrell, subject's maternal grandfather, was born in Virginia, from which State he emigrated in an early day, settling at Port Royal, Tenn., where he died about the year 1838 or 1840. Thomas J. Jenkins, subject's father, was a physician of considerable note. He graduated at the Transylvania University, of Lexington, Ky., and commenced the practice of his profession in Ballard County in 1840. He died May 6, 1870, aged fifty-eight years; his wife died in March, 1863, at the age of forty-five years. At the age of twenty years our subject commenced teaching in the public schools of Ballard County, and later entered a store as clerk, in which capacity he served two years. He next entered the mercantile business at Hinkleville in partnership with his father, and sold goods until 1870. In 1872 he moved to Blandville and engaged in merchandising, which he continued until 1874, at which time he was elected clerk of the circuit court, was re-elected in 1880, and is still holding the office. He was married June 24, 1869, to Alice F., daughter of H. B. and Sophie Lacy, of Christian County, Ky. Five children bless this union: Oriana, Pearl N., Thomas B., Willie D. and Sophie Mildred. Mr. Jenkins is a member of the I. O. O. F., K. of H. and K. and L. of H., and votes the Democratic ticket; he and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

ROBERT Y. JERRELL was born November 11, 1830, in Spottsylvania County, Va., where he grew to manhood, and in 1848 removed to Christian County, Ky.; then in 1854 to Cameron, Tex., and in 1860 came to Ballard County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Bland Jerrell, a soldier in the war of 1812, died in 1855 aged fifty-seven years. He married Mary, daughter of Rev. Phillip and Mildred (Thomas) Pendleton, of Virginia, and their children are Joseph H., Mildred T. (Prichard), Mary E. (Garrott and Pitts), Lucy A. (Carnahan), Margaret H. (Pendleton), William J., Edmund W. and our subject as above. Mrs. Mary Jerrell died in 1844. On November 22, 1855, subject was married to Miss Tamasia A., daughter of Minor and Ann (Humphreys) Peyton, of Spottsylvania County, Va., born in 1833, and to this union were born Lee W., Otie E. (Ransdell), Robert M., Sallie P., Maud E., Tamasia A., Maggie P., Jefferson D., Lizzie B. and Mary Lena. Subject is a farmer owning 291 acres of fine land in a high state of cultivation. He is a member of the I. O. O. F., also a Baptist and a Democrat.

JOHN JONES was born August 12, 1840, in Graves County, Ky.; was taken in infancy by his parents to Wayne County, Mo., and in 1852 brought to Ballard County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Gabriel Jones, was born in Tennessee, and died in 1880 at the age of sixty-two years. He was the son of John, a Virginian, a soldier with

Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. He died about 1855. John was the son of Edward Jones, of Virginia. Gabriel married Elizabeth, daughter of Counsel Alcock, of Graves County, Ky., and this union resulted in the birth of the following children: Alfred, subject, Christiana E. (Hamilton) and Martin V. In youth our subject obtained a limited education, having been engaged in the late war, serving in the Eighth Kentucky Federal Cavalry. On December 19, 1859, he married Miss Maria A., daughter of Jacob and Lettie (Burrow) Hamilton, of Ballard County, which union resulted in the birth of Maria A. (Carter). Mrs. Jones died in 1860, and subject next married, December 26, 1865, Miss Mary C., daughter of William and Pamelia A. (Dewitt) Paul, of Ohio County, Ky., and to them have been born Lucy E. (Dejarnett), John S. and Gabriel H. C. Mr. Jones is a farmer, having 200 acres of well cultivated land.

JAMES M. JONES was born April 6, 1826, in Morgan County, Ga., and is the sixth of nine children; those who grew to man and womanhood are Oliver C., Harriet A., Nancy B., William H., James M. and Irene T. The parents were Timothy and Elizabeth (Avery) Jones, the father a son of Joel Jones, and the mother a daughter of Gabriel Avery, who was lieutenant in the war of 1812. The parents of our subject were born and reared in Georgia. The father was in the war of 1812, and died in 1850. aged fifty-seven years. The grandfather of our subject was a slave-owner in Georgia, and made provisions in his will to emancipate and settle them in Ohio, but the laws of Georgia would not permit them to be sent from that State. James M. Jones was reared on a farm until seventeen years old, when he engaged at printing, at which he continued more or less until 1869. In 1851 he established in Corinth, Miss., the *Republican*. In 1858 the name was changed to the *True Democrat*, and advocated the Douglas principles. In 1861 the citizens of Corinth passed resolutions not to board or furnish supplies to any person connected with the paper. Mr. Jones then went to Nashville, where he was engaged as compositor on the *Press* and *American*; then to Hamburg, Tenn., where he enlisted in May, 1862, in an independent company, called the Governor's Guards. At Nashville the company was organized as Company F, Tenth Tennessee Infantry (Federal). Our subject was first lieutenant in the original company, and was sent by Governor Johnson to west Tennessee to recruit for the Federal service. In October, 1862, he reported at Nashville, and was commissioned first lieutenant of Company G, Alvin C. Gillem colonel commanding. He did provost duty at Nashville. In the spring of 1863 he resigned, and was afterward sutler for the Sixty-fourth Illinois till they reached Atlanta. He returned to his family in Richfield, Ill., and thence moved to Cairo, where he engaged in the printing business in the spring of 1865. He was appointed, by Gen. Ord, registrar of Tippah County, Miss., under the Reconstruction laws, and was subsequently engaged at the printing business in Cairo, Paducah and Nashville, until the spring of 1869, when he moved to Ballard County, Ky., where he has been engaged at farming ever since with good success. He located where he now lives, on eighty-four acres of land, in 1880. Our subject was married, October 29, 1848, to Martha George, of Tishomingo County, Miss., a native of Dickinson County, Tenn., and daughter of Daniel and Nancy (Pollard) George, natives of North Carolina and of Irish descent. There were born by this union nine children: Emily K., now Bichou; William Thomas; Daniel T. (deceased), Paul, Nancy H. (now Haden), Mary E., Harriet M. (now Gourieux), Dennis D., Dennetta M. Our subject cast his first presidential vote for Pierce in 1852; in 1856 he voted for Fillmore; in 1860 he voted for Douglas, and since has voted the Republican ticket. Mr. and Mrs. Jones are members of the Christian Church.

DR. DAVID P. JUETT was born in Scott County, Ky., March 20, 1836. He is the fifth of six children born to John and Catharine (Kendrick) Juett. The mother of our subject was the third wife of his father. The first wife was a Miss Jenkins; the second and third were sisters. The first union was blessed with nine children, the second with two and the third with six. Our subject's father was born and reared in Delaware; he was born in 1765, and was eighty-four years of age at his death. D. P. Juett was reared on a farm, received a good English education and attended the Alleghany College, Penn., two terms. At the age of nineteen years he commenced the study of medicine and graduated at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, in the spring of 1857. He located at Lovelaceville, Ballard County, where he formed a partnership with Dr. George Stovall. In 1859 he moved to Blandville. In 1864 he enlisted as surgeon of the Seventeenth Kentucky Confederate Cavalry, with which he remained till the close of the war, when he returned to Ballard County,

where he has been engaged in the practice of medicine ever since. He was married November 6, 1859, to V. A. Cockrill, of McCracken County, Ky., a daughter of John W. and Clementine C. (Settle) Cockrill, natives of Christian County, Ky.; our subject was blessed by this union with five children: E. A. May (now Ashbrook), John P., Edwin H., George C. and Kate K. His wife died in May, 1879, a member of the Christian Church. In October, 1880, the Doctor married Kate Cockrill, sister of his former wife, and had two children born to him, both of whom died in infancy. The Doctor and wife are members of the Christian Church. Our subject is a Mason, a member of the K. of H., and was formerly an Odd Fellow. He cast his first presidential vote for John C. Breckinridge, and has voted the Democratic ticket ever since.

BENJAMIN A. LANE, an enterprising farmer of Ballard County, was born in Charlotte County, Va., December 11, 1832, and is the sixth of seven children born to James B. and Sarah (Harris) Lane, natives of Virginia. The father of subject was a son of William Lane, whose wife was a Bond, of English descent. Our subject's mother was the daughter of Claiborne and Sarah (Hudson) Harris. Benjamin A. Lane was reared on a farm; his father died about 1837; he continued to live with his mother till he became of age, but moved to Christian County, Ky., in the fall of 1851; in February, 1853, he moved to Ballard County; in 1857 he located where he now resides on 160 acres, to which he has continued to add till he now owns 350 acres of land, in three different tracts, in good condition; he started in life with about $500. He was married March 22, 1855, to Harriet L. Blanks, of Ballard County, born in Charlotte County, Va., and the daughter of Allen W. and Harriet (Hester) Blanks, who were born in Virginia and North Carolina respectively, and of Irish origin. To this union were born eight children: James B., W. R., J. R., Mary L. (deceased), Benjamin A., Kittie (deceased), Minnie Lee and Callie. His wife died in November, 1879, a member of the Baptist Church. Subject next married, on August 4, 1880, Mrs. D. E. Armstrong, a daughter of Frank and Rebecca (Cole) Moss; she had one child by Armstrong —(Frank). Mr. Lane and wife are Baptist, and he is a Mason and a member of the K. of H. fraternity.

JOHN B. LANE, farmer and stock-raiser, was born March 6, 1837, in Charlotte County, Va., and is the youngest of seven children—four boys and three girls—born to James B. and Sarah H. (Harris) Lane, natives of Charlotte County, Va. His grandfathers were William Lane and Claiborne Harris, both farmers. William Lane was a soldier of the Revolution and of English descent. Claiborne Harris was of Irish descent. John B. was reared on a farm, and his early education was limited. The father died before our subject's recollection, and the mother died in 1854. In 1851, with his mother, he moved to Christian County, Ky. In 1852 he came to Ballard County, where he has resided ever since with the exception of two years, when he was engaged in Christian County, Ky., in the grocery business and farming. He owned one negro when the war broke out, and is now the possessor of 139 acres of land, eighty acres cleared and in good condition. He was elected justice in 1879 for one term. He was married, June 6, 1861, to Jane E. McCutchen, of Ballard County, a native of Charlotte County, Va., and daughter of John and Mary (Blanks) McCutchen, natives of Virginia, and of Scotch-Irish descent. To this union were born nine children: Edward B. (deceased), Sarah A. (deceased), Mary E., John J., Martha L., Harriet B., William Benjamin, Oscar George, Allen C. Mr. Lane and wife and elder daughters are members of the Baptist Church. Subject was formerly a member of the Grange, and cast his first presidential vote for Breckinridge in 1860.

L. S. LEE, an old settler of Ballard County, was born February 17, 1810, in Davidson County, Tenn., and is the eleventh of twelve children born to John and Jennie (Tuggle) Lee, natives of Virginia, and of English descent; the father from Lightfoot Lee, of Revolutionary fame. The parents first moved to Tennessee about 1800, where they both died. L. S. Lee came to Ballard County about 1833, and settled, within one mile of where he now lives, in 1839. In 1865 he came to his present place of 330 acres, which he has improved. He has made his accumulations by his own integrity and perseverance, as he was but a small boy when his father died; his mother died before the war, aged about eighty years. His mother was born February 22, 1769; his father was born March 30, 1764; he was a soldier in the Revolution, and was married July 5, 1788. Subject had two brothers in the war of 1812, and both were in the battle of New Orleans. The only education Mr. Lee ever got is what he has procured at home by his own efforts. In 1855, he commenced riding as deputy sheriff; in 1858, was appointed to fill an unexpired term, caused by the death of the sheriff, and was

subsequently elected two terms. In 1868, he was again elected and filled the office with honor and credit. He was married in September, 1829, to Nancy Watson of Montgomery County, Tenn., and had born to them seven children: Elizabeth (deceased), Robert (deceased), John, and Sarah (now Mabery), Polly Ann (deceased), Henry H. and Thirga Ann. Mrs. Lee died November, 1844, a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Lee is also a Baptist and was a Granger. He cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Jackson and still votes the Democratic ticket.

JOHN S. LINDERMAN, a prominent farmer of Ballard County, was born in Spencer County, Ky., October 8, 1836, and is the fifth of ten children born to Samuel and Margery (Goodwin) Linderman, natives of Kentucky, and of German and Irish descent respectively. Subject's father was the son of Abe Linderman, a farmer; his mother, a daughter of John Goodwin, also a farmer, who was eighty-one or eighty-two years old at his death. Our subject was reared on a farm and received an ordinary education: he came to Ballard County in 1865, and settled, where he now resides, on 350 acres of land, 175 of which are improved and in a good state of cultivation. He is the architect of his own fortunes, having started in life without a dollar. He was married in February, 1873, to Ellen Boland, of Ballard County, a native of Alabama and a daughter of John and Elizabeth Boland. There were born to this union two children: Eveleen and Rosco. Mrs. Linderman is a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Linderman cast his first presidential vote for Stephen A. Douglas and has always voted with the Democratic party.

THOMAS LINTHICUM was born in Nelson County, Ky., June 9, 1836, and is the second of seven children (three boys) born to Charles W. and M. E. (Slaughter) Linthicum, natives of Maryland and Virginia, respectively. His grandparents were Thomas P. Linthicum and Philip Slaughter, both farmers and of Irish descent. In the year of 1839, November 7th, Thomas was brought to Ballard County by his parents, who settled near Blandville, where his father purchased and improved 320 acres of land, owning at the time several negroes. Our subject received a good English education, attended St. Mary's College ten months, and then taught school three years. In May, 1861, he enlisted in Company C, First Mississippi Valley Infantry, under Capt. C. P. Ray, Bob Martin colonel commanding, and took part in the battle of Soccotoncha River, Miss., Gun Town, Harrisburg, Sulphur Trestles, Athens, Pulaski, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Franklin and Atlanta, Ga., and was in Murfreesboro prison. In 1863, he was transferred to Forrest's command, and was in the recruiting service a great deal of the time; he served until the close of the war; returned to Kentucky in the spring of 1865, from Atlanta, and took the oath at Paducah. He then returned to Blandville and taught school in the county; January 9, 1866, he married Mollie E. Pollock, of Blandville, a native of Todd, and daughter of John and Rebecca (McCauley) Pollock, of Irish descent. He had born to him six children: Hattie F., Charles P., Slaughter, Sarah F., Mollie L., and Johnnie E. Mr. Linthicum and wife are members of the Christian Church and he is a member of the Masonic fraternity and K. of H. After his marriage, he engaged in farming till October, 1880, when he was made deputy clerk of the common pleas and circuit court, which position he now holds. He cast his first presidential vote for Fillmore and Donelson, and the last presidential vote for Cleveland and Hendricks, and is now a Democrat.

ANDREW LOVELACE.—Upon the crest of a high hill overlooking the village of Lovelaceville, and commanding a magnificent view of the valley of the Mayfield Creek, rests a substantial brick residence, the home of a bright and sturdy old pioneer, the worthy subject of this sketch. Andrew Lovelace was born February 12, 1811, in Butler County, Ky., and came with his parents, in 1822, to what is now Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Captain Andrew Lovelace, Sr., a native of Rowan County, N. C., was born in 1776, removed to Kentucky in an early day, and died here in 1863. He was the son of Elias, a soldier of the Revolution, who also died at this place about 1833. He was the son of John, an Englishman. Subject's mother, Rebecca, daughter of William Holman, of North Carolina, died in 1834. To her and husband were born: Elizabeth (Hall), Nancy (Lynn), Elias, Archibald, subject, Rebecca (Humphrey), Isaac and William. Subject was married November 5, 1833, to Miss Eleanor, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Shelton) Ashley, of Butler County (born May 15, 1815), and this union has been blessed by the birth of Virgil S., Martha J. (Hayworth), John H., Freeman B., James M., Mary E. (Elsey), William A., Eliza B. (Trice), and

Susan V. (Henderson). Subject is a farmer, has prospered in his business and now owns 400 acres of well improved and valuable land which is in a fine state of cultivation. In politics he still clings to the tenets of the old line Whigs.

VIRGIL S. LOVELACE has acted well his part in promoting the growth and prosperity of the flourishing village of Lovelaceville and the beautiful country surrounding it. He was born January 29, 1836, on the place where he now resides (the village having been named in honor of his paternal grandfather.) In youth he obtained such education as the schools of the country afforded, has always improved his opportunities for study, and is a constant reader of standard literature. He was married December 6, 1860, to Miss Mary P., daughter of Washington and Rebecca W. (Magill) Hocker, of Graves County (born July 20, 1844), and to them have been born Rebecca E. (deceased), George W., Victoria T. (deceased), Miriam M. (deceased), Elizabeth R. (deceased), Pearl I., Robert H. (deceased), Virgil A. and Rubie M. In 1870 he engaged in general merchandise, but owing to the pressure of the times, failed in 1878. He is now engaged in the same business, and is meeting with encouraging success. He has for five years been postmaster. He is a Royal Arch Mason, and an old line Whig in sentiment.

DR. JAMES M. LOVELACE, son of Andrew and Eleanor Lovelace, was born August 18, 1841, in Ballard County, Ky., where he now resides. He was in youth favored with good educational advantages, which he has greatly improved. On February 27, 1879, he was married to Miss Lou Belle, daughter of William V. R. and Martha A. (Samuels) Wilson, of Ballard County (born February 3, 1858), and to them have been born Wilson M., Andrew C. and Freeman C. Our subject commenced the study of medicine in 1865, with Dr. Lemuel M. Lovelace, of Milburn, Ky., with whom he remained two years, and in 1867 attended lectures at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, where he remained ten months, then practiced two years in Scott County, Mo., then returned to Lovelaceville, where he remained until 1874, when he went to Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York, where he graduated. In 1877 he attended lectures at the university of Louisiana, at New Orleans, and in 1878, at the university at New York, after which he returned to Ballard County, where he has since been engaged in the successful practice of his profession. Dr. Lovelace is a Royal Arch Mason and is Master of the Blue Lodge. In politics he adheres to the tenets of the old line Whig party.

MALACHI McCOLPIN was born February 21, 1836, in Todd County, Ky., where he was reared to manhood, and in 1860 came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Charner H. McColpin, a native of Todd County, was born in 1810 and died in 1870. He was the son of Joseph, of North Carolina, who came to Todd County prior to the year 1800, where he died in 1853 at the age of eighty-three years. His father was a native of Ireland, was a soldier in the American Revolution, and died in Todd County, Ky. Charner H. married Martha E., daughter of Amos and Betsey (Henderson) Jones, of Todd County, born in 1814, and still living, and to them were born Joseph F., subject, Miranda (Wolfe), Martha E. (Lindsey), Thomas B., Charner H., Jr., Samuel H., Barbara J. (Thompson), Nancy H. (Slayton), and John G. Subject was married March 13, 1860, to Miss Margaret B. Dean, of Ballard County, born July 10, 1845, and this union was blessed with one child, Ovelia (Shepherd, deceased). Subject has been a successful tobacco factor and farmer, and is now engaged as a general dealer in live stock. He has served as constable and deputy sheriff, and is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Baptist and a Democrat.

T. W. McCONNELL was born December 24, 1847, in Columbus, Ky. He is a son of James H. and Martha (Winn) McConnell. The father was born in Louisville, Ky., and about 1840 moved to Columbus, where he was engaged in merchandising until his death, which occurred in 1850, aged forty-five. The mother was born in Henry County, Ky., and is now living in Hickman County. Our subject, at the age of fourteen, hired out on a farm and continued in this employment about four years; he then was employed as brakeman on a railroad two years, after which he returned to farming, remaining one year; he then secured a clerkship in the United States postal service, which position he held five years. In 1878 he came to Arlington, and, in company with Mr. Stanley, established a general store; this firm has done a business of over $75,000 per year. This business has recently changed hands, Mr. McConnell being retained as manager. With his brother, he has recently completed a fine training track of half mile in circumference; they have also purchased a fine two year old

colt, by Mambrino, also a fine Norman stallion, and are owners of other colts of good pedigree.

DR. C. McKINNEY, Ballard County, was born in Trigg County, Ky., on September 16, 1814, and is a son of Isaac and Susannah (Bird) McKinney. The father was a native of Chester District, S. C., having been born there in June, 1782. He moved to Trigg County, Ky., in 1809, and settled in the Linton Precinct, where he resided until 1833, when he came to the Purchase and settled near where the village of Murray, Calloway County, now stands. There he died in March, 1845; his widow died in Millburn in the fall of 1876, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. Subject is the second of four living brothers, viz.: Dr. Ewing C., in Jonesborough, Ill.; Candous, our subject; Eckles, in Texas County, Mo., and York in Arkansas. Subject's education was received in the neigborhood schools of his native county. He remained at home until twenty-one, and then taught school for three years. He then commenced reading medicine with Dr. R. B. Clousel, of Concord, Calloway County, remained three years, and then attended lectures at the Cincinnati College of Medicine, graduating in the class of 1845. Returning home, he soon moved to Hardiman County, Tenn., where he practiced for seven years; he then came to Milburn, where he has since resided. He is now probably the oldest practicing physician in the Purchase, and besides his lucrative practice he owns a fine farm, which he has cultivated. Dr. McKinney was married on May 2, 1849, to Miss Martha A. McKinney, a daughter of Ewing and Elizabeth (Miller) McKinney. The result of this union has been three children, two of whom are now living: Emma A., wife of I. E. Conley, of Wickliffe, Ky., and Ida E., wife of Thomas A. Stanley, of Arlington, Ky.

JOHN W. MANOR was born August 21, 1849, in Shenandoah County, Va., and was brought by his parents in 1850 to Todd County, Ky., and in 1860, to Ballard County, where he still resides. His father William C. Manor, Esq., a native of Virginia, was born in 1816, and is still living. William E. espoused Mary E., daughter of Robert F. Furguson, of Virginia (born in 1821, and died in 1881). Their children are: Robert F., subject, Hannah J. (Northington), Dr. Jesse B., Mary E. and Albert B. Our subject was favored with a good English education, and is a reading man. He was married January 9, 1877, to Miss Nannie A., daughter of John and Evelina (Watwood) Rasco, of Ballard County (born in 1851), and to them were born Lizzie and Mary. Subject was seven years a clerk in a store, but is now engaged in farming, in which he is successful in raising wheat, corn and tobacco. For many years he has acted as deputy sheriff and district deputy clerk. In religion he is a Christian and in politics a Democrat.

G. W. MANTLE, a leading citizen of Ballard County, Ky., was born August 10, 1832, in Monroe County, Ohio. He is the second of six children (three boys) born to William and Ella (Cox) Mantle. They were natives of Maryland and Ohio respectively, and of German and Irish origin. G. W. Mantle was but twelve years old when his father died, and he was thus thrown upon his own resources. At the age of sixteen, he commenced the carpenter's trade, which he followed for five years, and also teamed and traded some. With his mother he came to the Purchase, in 1846, and settled in Ballard County, where he has continued his residence ever since. When he became of age he inherited $100 from his mother's estate, which he judiciously and carefully operated with till he has succeeded in amassing a handsome property, consisting of three farms, in all about 820 acres of good land, hotel property and several houses and lots in Blandville, all of which has been acquired since 1859. He was married February 22, 1857, to Mrs. Fannie Stratton, of Ballard County, and widow of P. A. Stratton. She was born April 13, 1830, in Barren County, Ky., and is the daughter of John H. and Harriet K. (Bullock) Bigger; her parents were born in Virginia, and were of English descent. Her grandparents on her mother's side were Edward and Hannah (Clark) Bullock, and were among the first settlers of Kentucky; her father was colonel of a regiment in the war of 1812. Mrs. Mantle came to the Purchase with her brother, Judge J. M. Bigger, of Paducah, in the fall of 1848, and settled in Blandville, in which place and vicinity she has resided ever since. She was married August 7, 1849, to P. A. Stratton, a merchant, to whom she had borne three children: John R. (deceased), Harriet A. (now Vancoths), and Mary P. (deceased). Mr. Stratton died December 18, 1854. Mr. and Mrs. Mantle are the possessors of a happy family of five children: Edward B., Joseph B., Lizzie K., George and Ninna F. Mantle. Mrs Mantle is an amiable and affectionate parent and takes great interest in the future welfare of her family, she is a member of the Christian Church and order of Rebecca (Masonic). Mr. Mantle is an Odd Fellow and a Democrat.

P. P. MARTIN, an early settler and leading citizen of Ballard County, Ky., was born January 6, 1828, in Bedford County, Tenn., and is the third of six boys and three girls, born to Firney B. and Emily L. (Tankersly) Martin, natives of Logan County, Ky., and Alabama, respectively, and of Irish and English descent. The mother of our subject died in August, 1855, and his father married Miss Lavina A. Terry, daughter of Jesse Terry, of Henry County, Tenn., and had born by his second marriage one son and one daughter. The grandparents of our subject were John and Mary Martin; his mother was the daughter of John R. Tankersly, a farmer, who was a quartermaster in the war of 1812, with the rank of captain, and was engaged in the battle of New Orleans. The parents of Mr. Martin came to Graves County in the fall of 1828, and there his father entered and improved land for about ten years. They then moved to McCracken County, where they lived for two years on purchased land. In 1840, they moved to near Woodville, where the father purchased 300 acres of land which he partially improved. He lived there until his death in October, 1874, at the age of seventy-four years. He was the first sheriff of Ballard County. He also helped to put up the first log-house ever built in Paducah. P. P. Martin lived with his parents till he was twenty years old, when he engaged in farming for himself. He moved to where he now lives in North Ballard, in 1850, on 120 acres of land, which he improved and to which he has added till he now owns 270 acres in good condition. He commenced the study of medicine in 1869, and about 1875, commenced the practice, and has met with the best success. He was married January 7, 1849, to Nancy J. Crice, of Ballard County, a daughter of John and Ellen (McCrary) Crice, natives of Pennsylvania and North Carolina, respectively, and of Dutch and Scotch-Irish origin. He had born to him by this union twelve children: John O., Thomas (deceased), Emily E. (now Hall), Furna B. (deceased), Virginia A. (now McKinney), Mary, Martha, Carrie (deceased), Sammie, Charles E., Wallace and James. Dr. Martin is a Freemason.

LEWIS F. MARSHALL (deceased) was born October 29, 1825, in what was then known as Livingston County, Ky., now Ballard. He was the fourth of four children, born to John and Milley (Field) Marshall, who came to the Purchase in 1820, and settled on Island Creek near Paducah, after which they moved to Ballard County, and settled on the Ohio River, just above Mound City. They were natives of Henry County, Ky. John Marshall was born September 29, 1774, and died in April, 1830. He was the eldest son of William Marshall (who married Ann McLeod), eldest son of William Marshall, eldest son of Col. William Marshall, of Mechlenburg, Va. His wife was born November 2, 1788. She was a consistant member of the Baptist Church and was a woman of great piety and decision of character; those who knew her most intimately loved her most affectionately. Lewis F. Marshall was but four years old when his father died; at an early age he assumed the responsibilities of the family, and engaged in rearing and buying stock and produce, and shipping South, also keeping a woodyard. Two years after his marriage, he moved to a farm nine miles east, which (in 1881) fell to his wife from her father's estate, (his mother living with him until her death). He was a lifelong Democrat, possessed of sound judgment, strictly honest and upright in all his dealings, thereby acquiring the friendship and esteem of the people, and was one among the first to raise and drill a company for the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, which entered the Confederate service in August, 1861. He was promoted upon several occasions and was chief commissary, Second Division, First Corp Army of West Mississippi, and East Louisiana, and major on Gen. Albert Rust's (who caned Greeley in Congress) staff, when he resigned on account of ill-health and returned home shattered in body and spirit, when he began life with renewed energy; was elected constable two terms, and in 1870 was elected sheriff and re-elected in 1872. This proved too much for a man of his noble and generous disposition (which position requires the "eyes of a hawk and the claws of a lion" to maintain), and finding that he could not save a home for his family, except by taking the benefit of the "Bankrupt Law," he allowed his property to be sold at a great sacrifice, and retired to private life, when his health gradually declined from hardships and want of proper remedies to build up his already infirm constitution; he died February 19, 1877, having been a member of the Masonic fraternity (Royal Arch) from early manhood, belonging also to the I. O. O. F. and K. of P. Although he died in obscurity he never was the man to turn a deaf ear to the wants of a fellow mortal, but was ever ready with open purse and willing heart to aid and comfort all who came to him. His widow is a member of the Baptist Church. By their

union they had these children: William P. (deceased), Joseph (deceased), Mary L., Lewis F., J. Estella, Charles A., A. Rust, Edward C. and Josie O. L. F. Marshall was married November 9, 1854, to Miss Mary H. H. Foree, a native of Shelby County, Ky., and daughter of Joshua and Narcissa Young (Ogden) Foree, natives of Virginia and Shelby County, respectively. Her grandfather Foree (Forra) was of French descent (his wife being Scotch), and her grandfather Ogden of English descent, (his wife being Irish); he was a native of Maryland and descended from the "House of Brunswick," was educated in Philadelphia for a lawyer. Purchasing a stock of goods, he started west, intending to locate in Lexington Ky., but all was lost (there being no steamboats on the Ohio River then), and upon his arrival in that town he taught school, practiced law and acted as surveyor over a large scope of country. After his marriage (Rebecca Rice), he settled in Shelby County, Ky.; served as Captain in the late Revolutionary war, after which he moved to New Castle, Henry County, Ky., where he died. Maj. L. F. Marshall was a direct lineal descendant from the Irish Capt. John Marshall, who distinguished himself at the siege of Calais and therefore demanded and obtained the restoration of his lost title of Earl of Pembroke, which took place (as is said) January 7, 1558. Chief Justice John Marshall (except George Washington) the greatest and best of all Americans, was of the same stock of Marshalls as is Gov. Charles Anderson and Maj. Robert (Sumpter) Anderson, their mother being sister of Maj. Marshall's father, and their father Col. Richard Clough Anderson, of Louisville Ky. Lewis Field, grandfather of the subject of this sketch (on his mother's side), was Indian scout in the late Revolutionary war, and could relate many thrilling adventures of frontier life. Although a stanch Democrat he was an intimate friend and boon companion of the great pacificator, Henry Clay.

HENRY P. MELTON, farmer, stock-raiser and old settler of Ballard County, was born April 2, 1822, in Jackson County, Ala., and is the second of two children born to John C. and Penelope (Vester) Melton, natives of North Carolina. The grandparents, Joseph and Ferabe Melton, were supposed to have been descendants of Pocahontas; the grandfather, on the mother's side, was David Vester, of Irish descent. Both grandfathers were in the war of 1812, and both were wounded. Grandfather Melton was also in the Creek war. The subject of this sketch was reared on a farm, received a limited education, and with his brother came to the Purchase in 1839, and settled south of Mayfield Creek, Ballard Co., Ky., where they bought 160 acres of land and improved it. Our subject has improved here ten or twelve farms, more than any other man in the county. He located where he now lives in 1860, and owns 433 acres of land in good condition, and two other farms containing 173 acres; also two houses and lots in Blandville. He is the architect of his own fortune, having started in life almost penniless. He was married in October, 1840, to Mary A. Sams, of Ballard County, daughter of Wiley and Sarah (Atherton) Sams, natives of North Carolina, the mother of Irish descent. He had born to him by this union four children: M. C. (deceased), Eliza J. (now Stienbeck), H. R. and F. M. Mrs. Melton died in August, 1856, a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Melton was next married in June, 1858, to Frances Atherton, of Ballard County, daughter of C. and Ellen (Burrow) Atherton, and one child was born to this union: Mary G. (now Owens). The second wife died in April, 1859, a member of the Baptist Church. He was next married in June 1860, to Sarah Stienbeck, of Missouri, daughter of William and Zylpha (Poe) Stienbeck. Her father was born in Berlin, Prussia. To this union were born six children: Maganar (Spencer), Leander J., Belle B. (now Chandler), Henrietta J., Sidney Lee and Flora F. This third wife died in November, 1873, a member of the Baptist Church. His fourth marriage was on July 30, 1874, to Mrs. Anna M. Barnum, of Pulaski County, Ill., daughter of William and Elizabeth (Smith) Carns, natives of Tennessee and South Carolina and of French and English descent, respectivly. By this union one child was born: Angie H. Mr. and Mrs. Melton are members of the Baptist Church. He has served as justice for nine years, has been a Mason since 1848, and is an Odd Fellow. He cast his first presidential vote for James K. Polk, and has voted the Democratic ticket ever since.

ISHAM MILLER, was born November 21, 1807, in Richmond, Va., and is the third of ten children (five boys) born to Anderson and Martha (Moore) Miller, natives of Virginia, and of Scotch-Irish and Irish descent, respectively. Our subject, with his parents, came from Virginia to Green County, Ky., in 1819, where they engaged in farming. In 1830 they moved to Logan County, Ky., where his father died in 1840, aged sixty-four years. The mother died in 1833, aged

forty-eight years. About 1828 our subject moved to Logan County, where he engaged at farming, speculated in tobacco, and worked at the carpenter's trade till 1867, when he sold out and came to Ballard County, and located where he now lives on 100 acres of land in good condition. He lost two good horses during the war by guerrillas, and was the owner of a few negroes when the war broke out. He was married in May, 1834, to Mary F. Browder, of Logan County, a daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Anderson) Browder, of Virginia; she died in 1835. His next marriage was in August, 1836, to Jane A. Morrow, of Logan County, daughter of James and Mary (Scott) Morrow. By this union he had born to him twelve children: John A., Mary F. (deceased, married a Hines), Martha J. (deceased), James W. (deceased), Margaret E. (deceased), Virginia A. (deceased), George T., Sarah E. (deceased, and was married to J. Upshaw), James R., Caroline C., W. E. and Addie (deceased). His second wife died October 1, 1865, aged forty-seven years, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His third marriage was in January, 1868, to Beedie Bishop, of Ballard County, Ky., a daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Howard) Bishop, natives of Kentucky and Virginia, respectively, and of Irish and English origin. Mr. Miller and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is a Mason, and cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Jackson; he voted the Democratic ticket till 1860, when he cast a vote for A. Lincoln, and has voted the Republican ticket ever since. W. E. Miller, son of Isham Miller, was born March 7, 1859, in Logan County, Ky., and is the eleventh of twelve children. He was reared on a farm, attended the public schools, and cast his first presidential vote for James A. Garfield.

W. A. MILLER was born August 19, 1824, in Shelby County, Ky., and is the third of seven children born to Joseph and Nancy (Montgomery) Miller, natives of Kentucky, and of German and Irish descent. He was reared on a farm, received a common school education, and lived with his parents till he was twenty-three years old, when he moved to Ballard County, and bought the farm on which he now resides, of 230 acres, which he mostly improved. He started in life with but little, and lost two horses during the war; he gave a third to the Federal Army, for fear it might be stolen, for which he afterward received pay. His father was the owner of some negroes before the war. Mr. Miller was married February 18, 1847, to Eliza H. Shrader, of Spencer County, Ky., but a native of Ohio County, Ky., and a daughter of George and Nancy (Davison) Shrader, natives of Jefferson County, Ky., and Virginia, respectively, and of German and English descent. He had born to him by this union five children: Olivia T. (now Haggard), Nancy R. (now Mason), Joseph A., Mary E. (deceased) and George T. Mr. Miller is a Mason, and cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Taylor, but now votes the Democratic ticket.

BENJAMIN L. MOORE was born October 12, 1842, in Christian County, Ky., and is the youngest of eleven children—four boys and seven girls—born to John A. and Amelia W. (Elliott) Moore, natives of Virginia and Tennessee respectively. In 1844, with his parents, he came to Ballard County, five miles south of Ogden's Landing, where his father purchased 1,000 acres of land, and on this farm Benjamin L. was reared. He lived with his parents till the war broke out, when he enlisted in the fall of 1863, in Company C, Seventh Kentucky Confederate Infantry, under Capt. Hinkle. He took part in the battles of Harrisonburg, Franklin, Guntown, Nashville, and Murfreesborough, Tenn.; was in the numerous skirmishes and surrendered at Paducah in the spring of 1865. He returned home and engaged in farming; at the age of twenty-five years he commenced farming for himself, and now owns 280 acres of fine land. Mr. Moore was married May 10, 1868, to Jennie Jones, of Ballard County, a native of Virginia and a daughter of Allen and Harriet (Harper) Jones, natives of Buckingham County, Va. To this union have been born six children: Benjamin E. (deceased), Eugene E., Henry Clay, Maudie, Frank J. and Birdie. Mr. Moore is a member of the Baptist Church.

JAMES H. MOORE, farmer and stock raiser, was born March 28, 1829, in Obion County, Tenn., and is the second of the twelve children (seven boys) born to Samuel and Abigail (Addams) Moore. The father was a son of John and Margaret (Ervin) Moore, of English and Irish origin, came from Virginia, and was in some of the Indian wars; the grandparents on the mother's side were John and Margaret Addams, natives of Pennsylvania. John Addams was a farmer, of Irish descent, and was a Revolutionary soldier. The father and mother of our subject were respectively born in the counties of Nelson and Henry, Ky. They came to the Purchase in 1830, and settled near Mayfield, Graves County, where the father entered and improved lands; they came to

Ballard County in 1840, remained a few years, and then returned to Graves County to educate their children; five or six years later they returned to Ballard County, where the father died in 1856. He was born in 1801; his wife was born in 1802, and died about ten days after her husband. James H. Moore lived with his parents till eighteen years of age, when he engaged in flat-boating down the Mississippi River, which he followed for about ten years, trading a part of the time. He located in Ballard County in 1861, where he resided on 200 acres of land, which he had improved. He has added to this till he now owns about 1,000 acres—about 400 acres cleared and in good condition, embellished with good buildings. Our subject is the architect of his own fortune, which he has accumulated mostly since the war. He was married in August, 1861, to Mrs. Sarah Haws, of Ballard County, a daughter of Benjamin and Nancy (Boren) Crice, natives of Illinois, and of German descent. Six children have been born to this union: James H., Marshall, Thomas L., Creighton, William and Samuel. Mr. Moore is a Mason, and has been engaged in the pork business in Cairo, also in tobacco speculation, and is now the owner of one of the finest farms in the county.

WILLIAM W. MORRIS was born February, 16, 1844, in Holmes County, Miss., and is the seventh of nine children, six boys and three girls, born to Noah and Martha (Erwin) Morris, born in South Carolina and Louisiana, respectively. His grandparents were Benjamin Morris of Irish origin and a farmer, and Joseph Erwin of English descent, also a farmer. William W. Morris was reared on a farm, receiving a good English education and was attending school at Monticello, Ark., at the time the war broke out, when he and all his brothers enlisted in the Confederate Army. He enlisted in July, 1861, in Company B, Ninth Arkansas Infantry, under Capt. Iron, Bradley commanding colonel, and engaged in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Barnsville, Port Hudson and Vicksburg, and was in Gen. Loring's division from Dalton to Atlanta, and was also in the Nashville and Franklin fight; was in Forrest's command on Hood's retreat and afterward went to Mobile and South Carolina, to join the army of Virginia; his last fight was in Bentonville, N. C., and in April, 1865, surrendered. He was wounded at Shiloh in the right side, and at Bentonville in the left side. After the close of the war, he returned to Goodman, Miss., engaged in the drug business and studied medicine for two years. In 1868, he came to Ballard County, where he taught school for fifteen terms and preached, having been licensed in February. 1872; about 1882, he turned his entire attention to farming. His only ally in life has been his wife, and he has a farm of 123 acres, 100 improved. He was married September 21, 1876, to Miss M. H. Reeves, of Ballard County, daughter of W. H. and Penelope (White) Reeves, natives of Kentucky and of Irish and Scotch descent. To this marriage have been born four children: William W., Charles C., Fannie E., and Nellie W. Mr. and Mrs. Morris are members of the Christian Church, and he is a Mason. He cast his first presidential vote for Seymour, and he is still a Democrat.

MRS. ELIZABETH A. MORGAN, the worthy subject of this sketch, was born July 27, 1826, in Ballard County, Ky., where she has all her life resided. She is the daughter of Tolly C. Gholson, a Virginian, who was born in 1798, and died in 1833. His wife, Phoebe, daughter of John Dyer, was born in 1801, and died in 1878. This union was blessed with the following children: Ellis D., John W., Mary J. (Reddick), subject, and Tolly C. On April 19, 1849, our subject was married to Thomas M. Morgan, a native of Daviess County, Ind. He was born November 25, 1822, and died January 28, 1879. To subject and her husband were born Georgia A. (Biggs), Thomas T., Rev. John J., Sarah E. (Flint), Elena T., Fredonia, Robert M. and Mary T. (Pease). Since the decease of her late husband, Mrs. Morgan, with her children, has carried on farming, having an estate of 600 acres of medium land in a fair state of cultivation. She is an honored member of the Christian Church.

WILLIAM W. MOSBY was born April 19, 1825, in what is now Ballard, but then Hickman County, Ky, and is the third of ten children born to Daniel and Mary (Watson) Mosby, the former of whom was a native of Boone, and the latter a native of Bourbon County, Ky., and of Scotch-English and Irish descent. Daniel Mosby was married in Indiana, and soon after removed to Missouri. From there, in 1825, he came with his family to Hickman County, Ky., which was then almost an unbroken wilderness, and included nearly all of the Purchase District. Here he afterward entered several hundred acres of land, erected a rude log cabin, and subsequently improved a farm. He afterward sold and bought several different farms in the neighborhood, and was extensively engaged in agricultural pur-

uits and stock-breeding until his death, February 9, 1876, in his eighty-second year. He was magistrate in Hickman and Ballard Counties for more than twenty years, and was the second sheriff of Ballard County. The first court ever held in Ballard County was held in Mr. Mosby's tobacco barn. He was a veteran of the war of 1812, having served under Gen. Harrison throughout the entire struggle. He and wife were devoted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church —the first religious services in Ballard County having been held in his cabin. He was also an earnest advocate of the temperance cause. William W. Mosby acquired an excellent practical business education, mainly by his own exertions, after he became a man. He was employed on the home farm until he attained his majority. He then bought wild land near the present site of Bardwell, where he subsequently improved a farm and resided until 1866, when he sold out and bought 320 acres of wild land immediately east of Arlington, on the old State road. Here he improved another farm, upon which he still resides, and to which he has added from time to time, now owning well improved farms, amounting to some 600 acres. He is also quite extensively engaged in breeding fine horses, both roadsters and draft horses. Recently he has quite extensively engaged in breeding short-horn cattle. He was married January 26, 1855, to Miss Matilda F. Berry, a native of Ballard County, Ky., and a daughter of Isaac N. Berry, one of the early pioneers of western Kentucky. Eleven children have blessed their union, seven of whom—five sons and two daughters —are yet living. Mr. Mosby and wife and all their children are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is also a member of the I. O. O. F., belonging to both the subordinate lodge and the encampment. In politics Mr. Mosby is a Democrat; is the oldest native-born citizen of Ballard County, and is one of its leading representative farmers.

JOHN L. MOSS, Ballard County, was born in Green County, Ky., August 21, 1852, and is one of the eight sons born to William H. and Sarah J. (Price) Moss, both natives of Green County, Ky., and of Welsh descent. William H. Moss was educated and married in his native county, where he also learned the blacksmith trade, which he has followed nearly all his life. In the fall of 1857, he removed to Columbus, Hickman Co., Ky., and remained two years. He then removed to the eastern part of the same county, where he now resides, and has since been engaged in agricultural pursuits. He is a veteran of the war with Mexico, having held a lieutenant's commission in one of the Kentucky regiments, and participated in the battle of Buena Vista, under Gen. Taylor. He also held a lieutenant's commission in Faulkner's Partisan Rangers during the late civil war. He and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church; he is also a member of the Masonic fraternity, and was for a time sheriff of Hickman County. John L. Moss was employed on the home farm until he was twenty-five years old. He then leased a farm in the southwestern part of Ballard County, where he was employed in agricultural pursuits until 1882, when he sold out, and has since been engaged in the grain trade at Berkeley. He was justice of the peace in Ballard County for three years, from 1880 to 1883. He was married, December 27, 1876, to Miss Sarah A. Evans, a native of Hickman County, Tenn. Three children blessed this union, two of whom, one son and one daughter, are yet living. Mrs. Sarah A. Moss departed this life, January 13, 1883. She was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Moss is a member of the same church, and in politics is a Democrat.

JOSEPH T. MURPHY was born October 24, 1846, in Graves County, Ky., where he was reared and lived till 1869, when he came to Ballard County, the place of his present residence. His father, William Murphy, a native of Pittsylvania County, Va., was born in 1808, and died in 1876. William married Charity E. Wynn, of Caswell County, N. C., born in 1812, and now living. Their children are: Mary S. (Ross), Edward H., subject, Zachary T., George W., Rebecca G. and Adda B. (Lovelace). In youth our subject procured a common school education, and is a reading man. He is a member of the I. O. O. F.; also a Baptist and affiliates with the Democratic party.

JESSE W. NANCE was born January 28, 1852, in Christian County, Ky., where he grew to manhood. In 1874 he came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Lilborn Nance, a native of Trigg County, Ky., was born in 1822 and died in 1859. He was the son of Joel Nance, a Virginian, who served in the war of 1812, and died in 1878, at the age of eighty-four years. Subject's mother, Dollie, daughter of Jesse and Disia (Jones) Giles, a native of Halifax County, Va., was born in 1823, and is still living. She was married to Lilborn November 24, 1844, and to them were born: Joel G., Mary E. (Bracken), Sarah J. (Hines), subject, Emma T. (Harding), and

Edward V. Joel (senior's) children were William, Lilborn, Benjamin B. and Mary T. (Lindsay and Cayce). Our subject is a farmer, superintending his mother's farm of 380 acres, upon which he is successfully cultivating wheat, corn, tobacco and other products of the country. In politics Mr. Nance affiliates with the Democratic party.

J. C. NEELY was born in Doddridge County (now West) Virginia, on July 22, 1847, and is a son of Matthew and Maria (Newlow) Neely. The parents were natives of Virginia and of Irish descent. The paternal grandfather was a soldier in the Revolutionary war. The father was a soldier in some of the early Indian wars. The parents lived and died in Virginia. Subject is the youngest of twelve children, of whom ten are now living. Subject's education was received in the schools of Morgantown, Va., and in 1867 he accepted a position as time-clerk in the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; served there a short time and then entered the employment of the Knoxville & Kentucky Railroad, and subsequently was with the Western North Carolina Railroad. In 1871 he turned his attention to railroad contracting, which he has followed extensively ever since; the following being some of the railroads with which he has been engaged: In 1871, the North & South Alabama; in 1872, the Illinois Central; in 1874, the Cincinnati Southern; in 1876, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé; in 1879, the Cincinnati Southern; in 1880, the Pensacola & Alabama; in 1881, the Knoxville Branch of the Louisville & Nashville; in 1882, the New Orleans & Northeastern. In 1883 he was appointed by the United States Government as contractor on the Mississippi levee at Fairview, La. Mr. Neely was married at Bardwell, Ballard County, on June 24, 1874, to Miss Virginia Anderson, a daughter of David M. and Elizabeth (Knight) Anderson. The parents were brought to this State when children, and settled first in Logan County. In 1869 they came to this county and settled on the farm of 100 acres, now occupied by the widow. There the father died in 1870. Mr. Neely is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

R. B. NEVILLE, Ballard County, was born September 27, 1822, in Montgomery County, Tenn., and is one of twins who were eighth in order of birth. His grandfather, Joe Neville, was a native of South Carolina, was born in 1739, and there his son, George Washington Neville, was born in 1772. At the age of sixteen, the latter accompanied his father to the vicinity of Nashville, Tenn, and at the age of twenty-two moved to Montgomery County, Tenn., where his son R. B. was born, as above stated. In 1823, George W. moved to Weakley County, Tenn.; in 1827 to Hickman County, Ky. In early life George W. was a trader in horses, which he sold in Natchez, Miss., carrying them down the river on flat-boats. There being no steamboats in those days, the stock and flatboats were disposed of at their destination, and the traders walked home. In this traffic Mr. N. was successful, and afterward became sheriff of Montgomery County, and married Rachael Kilebrew, who bore him eleven children. Robert B. Neville, at the age of five was taken by his father to Hickman County, Ky., where he remained until 1851, when he came to Ballard County. In 1849 he was married to Clarissa J. Berry, daughter of Isaac Newton and Sarah Ann Berry, of Ballard County. Seven children are the result of this marriage, all of whom are still living and five of whom are married. In the year 1872, Mr. Neville bought a farm which was near a place known as Cana Creek, and which is now the site of the town of Arlington, Ky. The same year the Illinois Central Railroad was surveyed through his land, and before the road was completed, Arlington had grown to be a respectable commercial center. At present Arlington is a town of 500 inhabitants, and is one of the best shipping points in the country. In politics Mr. Neville is a Democrat. He is a Baptist in faith and practice. Throughout his life he has advocated temperance both by precept and example. In his earlier life schools were not nearly so numerous as now, and most of his education, which is limited, was gained in the great world's school. He is a farmer and at one time was justice of the peace of Ballard County.

THOMAS NEWMAN, was born October 4, 1829, in Ballard County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1855, removed to Parker County, Tex., where he joined the Texas Rangers, and served three years during the late war; in 1866 he returned to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Andrew Newman, a native of Butler County, Ky., was born in 1801, came to Ballard County in 1832, where he long served as constable and magistrate and died in 1881. He was the son of, Thomas, of Nelson County, Ky. Subject's mother, Abigail, daughter of James Arm strong, of Butler County, was born in 1804. The children of herself and husband are: Nicy J. (Stovall), Isaac L., Elizabeth A. (Kimmell), subject, Irena, Cyrene (Burrow), David P. and Andrew L. On March 3, 1853,

subject was married to Miss Sarah E., daughter of Wilson and Marrilla (Rhea) Copeland, of Ballard County, born October 3, 1833, and to them have been born: Marrilla J., Sardinia R. (Hook), Andrew W., Samuel A. (deceased), Sarah T. (Hook), Ida (Preston) Isaac B., Joshua E., Annie, Abigail, Olivia and Thomas T. Subject is a farmer having 160 acres of good land in a high state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and in politics a Democrat.

JOHN M. NICHOLS, one of the leading attorneys of Ballard County, was born December 25, 1846, in Caldwell County, Ky., and is the youngest of nine children (five of them boys) born to Jesse and Elizabeth (Wadlington) Nichols, natives of Kentucky, the father of German and English, the mother of Welsh and English descent. The mother died in September, 1862; the father was born in October, 1804, and died July 23, 1884. The family moved to McCracken County, Ky., about 1849, thence to Missouri, in 1852, but returned in a very short time to Ballard County, and to McCracken. John M. Nichols was reared a farmer, but at the age of nineteen years commenced the study of law with Col. George W. Morrow, of Paducah, also studied with Z. W. Bugg, of Blandville. In the meantime, he taught school and worked on the farm to get funds to continue his studies; he was admitted to the bar, in the fall of 1869, by Judge Boone and Judge Crossland; in 1870 he located at Blandville, where he has pursued with unabated energy the practice of his profession till to-day he stands at the head of his profession in Ballard County. He has accumulated a goodly property in Blandville. He was married in November, 1871, to Joseph Ann Foree of Ballard County, daughter of Joseph and Agnes (Young) Foree, natives of Shelby and Ballard Counties, Ky., respectively. There have been born to this union six children: Jesse F., Nora, Willie (deceased), Agnes, Andrew and Sallie. Mrs. Nichols is a member of the Christian Church. Mr. Nichols cast his first vote for Seymour and Blair, in 1868, and still votes with the Democratic party.

GUSTAVUS A. NORTHINGTON was born February 28, 1832, in Robertson County, Tenn. He is the third of thirteen children (six boys) born to Samuel and Sarah W. (Walton) Northington, natives of North Carolina, and of Scotch and English descent. Subject's father was the son of Samuel Northington, who married a Miss Jones, both natives of Virginia. His grandfather, on mother's side, was Edward Walton. Gustavus A. Northington was reared on a farm, attended Clarksville (Tenn.) Academy, and at the age of eighteen years engaged as salesman for three years, when he commenced business on his own account. In 1853 he clerked in a commission house, in Memphis, for six months. In April, 1858, he moved to where he now resides on 1,200 acres of land, about one-half cleared and in good condition, and has also carried on a general store ever since he has been in the county. He owned a number of negroes before the war, but has made most of his accumulations by his own industry and economy. He married in June, 1862, Susan Vaughan, of Ballard County, a native of Montgomery County, Tenn., and daughter of Granderson and Elizabeth (Nevel) Vaughan, natives of North Carolina, and had born to him by this union five children, three living: Samuel G., Bettie W. and Vaughan. His wife died in 1881, a member of the Christian Church. In September, 1847, Mr. Northington married M. J. Maner, of Ballard County, a native of Todd County, and daughter of W. C. and Mary (Ferguson) Maner. He had born to him by this union four children: Mamie, Carrie, Jennie and Jesse. Mr. Northington cast his first presidential vote for James Buchanan and is still a Democrat.

JOHN LEE ODONILEY was born March 9, 1833, in Montgomery County, Tenn., and is the sixth of twelve children (six boys) born to James and Mary E. (Lee) Odoniley, natives of Halifax County, Va., and Davidson County, Tenn., respectively, and of Irish and Scotch origin. Mary E. Lee was a descendant of the noted Lee family of Virginia. James Odoniley was a son of Benjamin Odoniley, who married Lucy Johnson, and both were natives of Virginia. James Odoniley was also a soldier in the war of 1812, was in the battle of New Orleans and was a farmer. Mrs. Mary Odoniley was a daughter of Braxton Lee, who was also a farmer. John Lee Odoniley was reared on a farm and attended school about one year in all. He came, with his parents, to Christian County, Ky., in 1845, and settled twelve miles south of Hopkinsville, where his father purchased and improved a farm of 400 acres, being then the owner of eleven negroes. They moved to Ballard County in 1858, and settled near Hinkleville, on 260 acres, where the father died in March, 1872, at the age of about sixty-seven years. The mother died in 1865; both parents were members of the Baptist Church. John Lee Odoniley lived with his parents till he became of age, when he engaged in superintending on a farm in Chris-

tian County, till 1863. In December, 1870, he moved to Ballard County, and located near Hinkleville, on 134 acres, where he lived six years. Thence he went to Blandville, where he engaged in the hotel business about two years; then returned to Hinkleville, and purchased 120 acres of land. He now owns 190 acres. In July, 1883, he moved to Wickliffe and engaged in the hotel business, which he still follows, with his son-in-law, Henry Watwood. He was married February 1, 1855, to Susan R. Buchanan, of Christian County, a native of Warren County, N. C., and daughter of James C. and Martha T. (Mabry) Buchanan, natives of North Carolina. To this union were born three children: Cammatia (now Grimes), Alma J. (now Watwood) and Anna W. (now Watwood). Mrs. Odoniley is a Presbyterian; Mr. Odoniley is a Mason, and also a member of the K. of H. and K. & L. of H. He cast his first presidential vote for James Buchanan and is still a Democrat. Henry Watwood was born in Ballard County, Ky., near Hinkleville, August 24, 1857, and is the sixth of nine children (four boys) born to Alexander and Fannie (White) Watwood, natives of Montgomery County, Tenn. and Louisiana County, Va., respectively, and of English descent on father's side. The father was a son of William Watwood, who married Nancy Dycus. Henry Watwood was married in December, 1883, to Miss Anna W. Odoniley, of Ballard County, born in Christian County, and daughter of J. L. Odoniley. Mr. Watwood was reared on a farm and attended the common schools, and is engaged in the hotel business, with his father-in-law, J. Lee Odoniley, and owns one-half interest. He cast his first presidential vote for Hancock.

THOMAS B. OGDEN was born October 29, 1840, in Shelby County, Ky. He is the third of five children born to John M. and Martha (Hawthorn) Ogden, natives of Henry County, Ky. John M. Ogden was a son of Masterson and Rebecca (Rice) Ogden, of English and Welsh-Scotch descent, respectively, and natives of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Masterson was a captain in the war of 1812, and was a farmer. The mother of our subject was a daughter of James Hawthorn, who married a Miss Rollen, and these were of Irish and English descent respectively. The father of our subject was a colonel of State militia, and was also a teacher; he died August 30, 1866, aged sixty-eight. His wife died February 23, 1854. Thomas B. Ogden succeeded in gaining a good business education by his own energies and with the aid of his father. His grandfather had charge of schools at Lexington, Ky., at an early day. Thomas B. came with his parents to Ballard County, in the spring of 1846, and settled at Ogden's Landing, on the Ohio River, where he has since resided, and where his father had purchased about 1,000 acres of land, which he partly improved. Our subject has been engaged in the general commission business. He has charge of the government lights, and has been acting as deputy clerk of Ballard for three years. He was constable for two years and served as deputy sheriff fourteen months, in 1873–74. He enlisted November 12, 1862, in Company C, Seventh Kentucky Confederate Infantry, but was discharged in May, 1863. He was formerly a member of the I. O. O. F. and K. of P., and cast his first presidential vote for Seymour in 1863. F. H. Ogden, brother of the above, was born November 17, 1848, in Ballard County, and is the youngest of the family. He was married in February, 1871, to Miss Ida D. Crenshaw, of Ballard County, a native of Henry County. To them was born one child, Thomas B. Mrs. Ogden died in February, 1878, and Mr. Ogden was next married in September, 1878, to Eliza Iliff, of Elizabethtown, Ill., daughter of Thomas H. and Pheba (Hufman) Iliff, of Irish descent. One child was born to this union, John M. Mrs. Ogden died in June, 1883; she was a member of the Christian Church. Mr. Ogden's third marriage was on January 16, 1884, to Miss Bertie Hunt, of Paducah, a daughter of Dr. W. D. and Carrie (Feturel) Hunt. Mr. Ogden is a member of the I. O. O. F. He cast his first presidential vote for Seymour and Blair in 1878. The father of our subject owned eleven negroes before the war. Ogden Bros. have been farming together, and own at present 1,200 acres of land, in good condition. They are two of the most energetic and progressive young men in Ballard County.

O. H. OLDHAM was born February 25, 1841, in Montgomery County, Tenn., and is the eldest of six children (three boys) born to Joel and Mary A. (Hardey) Oldham, natives of Montgomery County, Tenn., and of English origin. Grandfather Jesse Oldham was a farmer, one of the first settlers of Tennessee, and was a soldier in the war of 1812. Mary A. Oldham's father was Obadiah Hardey, a farmer and from Virginia. At the age of twenty years O. H. Oldham commenced life for himself at farming, which he continued until the war broke out, when he enlisted, in the spring of 1862, in Capt. Faulkner's company, cavalry, and took part in the battles of Belmont, Shiloh, Fort Pil-

low, Chickamauga and also in numerous skirmishes; he was an orderly and was discharged at the expiration of his term of service, which was eighteen months, when he returned home and re-engaged in farming. He first settled in McCracken County, where he lived till 1864, when he moved to where he now resides near Barlow City, Ballard County, and where he purchased 160 acres of land; he is now the possessor of 208 acres of land in good condition, which he accumulated by his own industry and perseverance. He was married April 6, 1865, to Miss L. F. Potter, of McCracken County, and daughter of James and Polly A. (Kirby) Potter, natives of Warren County, Ky. He had born to him by this union seven children: Ellen (deceased), Mary J., James H., Richard E., Jacob, Claude and Alva, two last deceased. Mr. Oldham and wife are Baptists. He cast his first presidential vote for Seymour and Blair, in 1868, and still votes the Democratic ticket.

JOHN F. OWEN was born February 25, 1844, in Ballard County, Ky., where he continues to reside. His father, Rev. Joseph W. Owen, a native of Robertson County, Tenn., was born in 1810, and came to Ballard County, Ky., in 1844, where he died in 1873. He married Sarah, daughter of John Simmons, of Robertson County, born in 1813, and this union was blessed with William W., Lemuel T., Rev. Thomas J., John F. (subject), Sarah A. (Ashbrook), Joseph B., Jerritta E. (Stahl) and James O. Subject was married November 15, 1866, to Miss Julia A., daughter of Alfred and Anna E. (Chiles) Watwood, of Ballard County, and born January 23, 1851; to them have been born Lou W., Anna R., Thomas J., Oba J., Wilks U. and Ula B. Our subject is a farmer, having 103 acres of fine land in a high state of cultivation. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M., also an active member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and in politics a Democrat.

DR. J. R. OWEN was born September 15, 1839, in Ballard County, Ky. He is a son of T. J. Owen, who was born June 8, 1808, in Warren County, Ky. T. J.'s parents were John H. and Elizabeth (Humphreys) Owen. The father was born in Halifax County, Va., and from the age of twenty-one until his death was engaged in the ministry. The mother was born in Caswell County, N. C.; she died at the advanced age of eighty-four years. T. J. Owen was reared on his father's farm, and at the age of twenty-two moved to Calloway County and entered 160 acres of land; two years later he sold this land, and in 1832 came to what is now Ballard County; he there married Garthena (familiarly called Gettie) Willingham, of Hickman County; she died in 1844, leaving two children, Dr. J. R. Owen and Margaret E. (wife of Joel B. Reese). After marriage, the father-in-law gave Mr. Owen 160 acres of land, on which he resided until 1876, when he moved to Arlington, and has since been living with his son. When living on his farm, he held the office of postmaster several years. Dr. J. R. Owen commenced the study of medicine in September, 1865, under the preceptorship of Dr. George Beeler, of Clinton, continuing two years; he then attended a course of lectures at the Louisville University, after which he practiced in Hickman County four years; he then returned to Louisville, and graduated from the University in March, 1872; he then returned to Hickman County and continued the practice of his profession there five years. In December, 1876, he came to Arlington, where he has since been engaged in practice. He is a member of the Southwestern Kentucky Medical Association, the Masonic fraternity, and Knights of the Golden Rule. Dr. Owen was married January 7, 1866, to Fannie J. Wray of Hickman County; this union has been blessed with nine children—seven sons and two daughters. He enlisted, in 1861, in Company A, Second Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army; was wounded at the battle of Hartsville, and battle of Chickamauga, Tenn., and served to the end of the war.

DR. J. M. PECK, of Ballard County, was born October 23, 1857, in Graves County, Ky. He is a son of J. M. and Melinda (James) Peck. The father was born in Massachusetts, and in 1830 came to Graves County, and settled in Mayfield, where he carried on the blacksmith trade, and was admitted to be one of the best workmen in his time. He died February, 1873, aged sixty-four. The mother was born in Henry County, Tenn., and is now living in Arlington. In 1875 our subject commenced the study of medicine under the preceptorship of Drs. R. T. Hocker and A. T. Hobbs; two years later he entered Clinton College, and graduated therefrom in 1880, with the highest honors of his class. Going to Nashville, he entered the medical department of the Vanderbilt University, and graduated in 1882. He then came to Arlington, where he has since been engaged in the practice of his profession; he is also carrying on the drug business in company with Dr. Hocker. This business was established in the spring of 1884. The Doctor is a member of the South-

western Kentucky Medical Association, and of the Graves County Medical Society. He was married October 23, 1883, to Miss Minnie I. Dupree, of Arlington. They are members of the First Baptist Church.

THE PENN FAMILY. William H. Penn, the progenitor of this worthy family, was born in Patrick County, Va.; lived for some years in Todd County, Ky., and came about 1835 to Ballard County, where he now resides. He married Mary A. Pollock, daughter of George Pollock, of Todd County, who is still living. Their children are: William H., George P., Levi, Alfred D., Shadrach M., Jaquilon and Jacob. Alfred D. Penn was born September 23, 1840, in Todd County, Ky., and in youth came with his parents to Ballard County, where he still resides. He procured an English education, and is a reading man. On November 7, 1861, he married Miss Mary H., daughter of Richard Wyatt, of Ballard County (born in 1843), and this union was blessed by the birth of Minnie and Lenner. Our subject is a farmer, owning 327 acres of fine land, well improved. He is a member in good standing in the order of Knights of Honor, and in politics is a Democrat.

JACOB PENN was born December 31, 1844, in Todd County, Ky., and in childhood came with his parents to Ballard County, where he has since resided. In youth he obtained a common school education, and is a reader of good books and papers. He was married, January 9, 1866, to Miss Willie F., daughter of Richard and Mary (Glenn) Fortson, of Ballard County (born in 1851), and to them have been born Mary E., Richard B., Clarrie L., Lillie A. and Jacob R. Subject is a farmer, having 230 acres of good and valuable land in a fine state of cultivation. He is a Methodist in religion, and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

WILLIAM H. PENN, one of the old settlers of Ballard County, was born February 10, 1810, in Patrick County, Va., and is the second of eight children (five boys) born to Abraham and Sally (Crite) Penn, natives of Patrick County, Va.—the father of Irish and Dutch descent and the mother of Dutch descent. Abraham Penn was a captain in the war of 1812, and was the son of Thomas Penn, a Revolutionary soldier and farmer. Sally (Crite) Penn's father, Hamon Crite, was also a farmer. The Penns are descendants of William Penn, who settled Pennsylvania. William H. Penn came with his parents to Todd County, Ky., in 1820, where his father purchased 150 acres of land, improved it and resided on it till his death, about 1847. William H. moved to where he now lives in 1852 on 400 acres, of which he has cleared 230 acres. He owned about fifteen negroes before the war, and lost five good mules during the conflict. He was married March 15, 1831, to Miss Mary A. Pollock, of Todd County, Ky., and daughter of George and Nancy (Goren) Pollock, natives of Montgomery, Tenn., and Warren County, Ky., and of English descent. Nine children were the result of this marriage: William H., Henry (now dead), George T. (deceased), Levi M. (died in the army), Alfred D. (deceased), Shradrach, Jaquillon, Thelbert (deceased), and Mary A. (deceased). Mr. Penn had two sons in the Confederate Army. He and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Jackson.

W. H. PENN, JR., was born March 15, 1832, in Todd County, Ky. He is the eldest of nine children born to W. H. and Polly A. (Pollock) Penn. W. H., Jr., was reared on a farm, and lived with his parents until he was twenty-two years old, when he engaged in superintending a farm for two years. In 1852 he came to Ballard County with his parents. In 1855 he located near his father in north Ballard County. In 1860 he located near Woodville. In 1870 he moved to where he now lives on a farm of 210 acres of land in good condition and well improved. This he has accumulated by his own industry and perseverance. He lost some property during the war, about thirteen head of horses and mules. His father lost about twenty negroes by the war. Mr. Penn's first milling experience was with a horse-mill, and was all day grinding two bushels. He was married January 24, 1856, to Miss Sarah E. Wyatt, of Ballard County; she was born in Christian County, Ky., a daughter of R. N. and Martha E. (Harelson) Wyatt, natives of King and Queen County, Va., and of English and German descent. To this union were born ten children: Thomas L., Etta (now Jones), Emmett B., William M., Charles R., Addie H., Anna, Ula M., Lillie T. (deceased) and Madie A. Mr. Penn and wife are members of the Presbyterian Church. Subject is a Mason, was master of the Grange, and is a descendant of the great William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania.

REV. THOMAS H. PETTIT, Ballard County, was born June 1, 1828, in Greene County, Tenn. He is a son of Joel and Mary (Black) Pettit, both born in the same county and State. The father died in Johnson County, Ill., in 1874, aged seventy years. Our subject was reared on his father's farm,

received a good common school education, and at the age of nineteen engaged in teaching school; this he followed for several years, after which he engaged in farming and preaching, and for the past twenty years his time has been devoted exclusively to the ministry connected with the Missionary Baptist Church. Since the age of sixteen, Mr. Pettit has been a resident of the Purchase District, except two years passed in Stewart County, and has held a pastorate in all the counties in the Purchase. In 1884 he was pastor of four churches, viz.: at Arlington, Corinth, Oak Grove, Weakley County, Tenn., and Mount Olive, in Obion County, Tenn. He is now serving Arlington Church two Sabbaths each month, and Corinth and Oak Grove, in Weakley County, Tenn., the other two. He was married September 14, 1851, to Adaline Belisle, of Stewart County, Tenn. These parents have had eight children, of whom five are living—two sons and three daughters. At the age of eighteen, Mr. Pettit was baptized into the fellowship of the Olive Baptist Church, in Marshall County, by the Rev. Ephraim Owings, of Wadesborough, Ky.

CHRISTOPHER R. PILE, Ballard County, was born in Washington County, Ky., January 6, 1825, and is the only son in a family of three children born to William and Mary (Barlow) Pile, the former of whom was a native of Virginia, and the latter a native of Washington County, Ky. They were of English and German descent respectively. Christopher R. Pile was employed on his father's farm and in his mill and store until he attained his majority. He then purchased the saw and grist-mill on Obion Creek, formerly owned by his father, which he operated by water-power for several years, but eventually put in steam-power. In 1875 he removed the mill to Arlington, where he continued the business until January, 1883, when he sold out and returned to his farm of 400 acres, three miles east of Arlington. Here he has since been extensively and exclusively engaged in agricultural pursuits and stock breeding. During the years 1873–74, he was engaged in the milling business near Boulder, Col., his mill in this county being rented. Mr. Pile has been three times married; first, in 1849, to Miss Sarah S. Cave, a native of Gallatin County, Ky., and a daughter of Daniel Cave; one daughter blessed this union, Hanie A., now Mrs. Bartell, who is the mother of an only daughter, viz.: Christie P. Bartell. Mrs. Sarah S. Pile departed this life October 23, 1857, in her twenty-sixth year, a devoted member of the Christian Church. Mr. Pile's second marriage was in 1858, to Miss Susanna Richards, a native of Nelson County, Ky. She died without issue December 7, 1871, in her thirty-ninth year; she was a consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Pile married his present wife, Miss Mattie Howle, a native of Ballard County, April 1, 1873. Mr. Pile and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity. In politics he is a Republican.

WILLIAM R. PILE was born in Ballard County, Ky., March 6, 1845, and is the seventh of eight children born to William and Elizabeth B. (Stayton) Pile, the former of whom was a native of the "Old Dominion" and the latter of Washington County, Ky. They were both of English descent. William Pile was married in Washington County, whither his parents had removed from Virginia when he was only a small boy. He married, and was there engaged in the distilling business for a number of years, and in 1835 came to what is now Ballard County, and bought a farm near the present site of Arlington, where he resided until his death, November 18, 1850, in his sixtieth year. In addition to the home farm, Mr. Pile also owned other lands in Ballard County, McCracken and Hickman Counties, amounting to some 4,000 acres. When he first came to Ballard County, he bought a horse-power grist-mill, to which he afterward attached a thrashing machine of his own invention, which was probably the first thrashing machine in the county. Soon after, he purchased an old dilapidated water-mill on Obion Creek, which he tore down, and probably erected the first water grist-mill in the county. Almost every trade or branch of merchandising was represented on Mr. Pile's plantation. He also owned a stock of merchandise at Milburn. He and wife were for many years devoted and consistent members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in politics he was a Whig. William R. Pile was employed on his father's farm until December, 1863, when he enlisted in Company E, Thirtieth Mounted Infantry, Kentucky Volunteers, and served until the close of the war. After his return from the army he engaged in the saw and grist-mill business in connection with farming. After his mother's death, which occurred September 5, 1869, he bought the old homestead upon which he has ever since resided. Since 1876 he has been exclusively engaged in agricultural pursuits and stock-raising. He was married, June 27, 1872, to Miss Sarah E. Magruder, a native of Ballard County,

Ky. One son and three daughters have blessed this union, all of whom are yet living. Mr. Pile and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In politics he is a Republican.

GEORGE L. PORTER, Ballard County, was born December 12, 1813, in Fauquier County, Va. The following year his parents moved to Henry County, Ky.; there they remained until 1831, when they removed to Columbus, Ky., coming on a flat-boat; they at once settled in the vicinity of Arlington and engaged in farming. His father, Eli Porter, died in 1832, aged sixty-two. In 1834 George secured a position as clerk on a flat-boat (which carried a large stock of dry goods), running from Columbus to Natchez, which position he filled for three years; he then accepted a position as a salesman in a dry goods store in Columbus, where he remained one year, after which he went to Pine Bluff, Ark., and was clerk there in a similar business fifteen months; he then went to Newcastle, Ky., and remained there several months with his sick brother; he then went to Cape Girardeau, Mo., where he remained as salesman for about seven years. In 1847 he returned to Columbus, and accepted a situation as dry goods salesman, which he retained twenty-five years, but on account of ill health was obliged to resign; in 1881 he came to Arlington, Ballard County, where he has since resided.

RICHARD PORTER was born in Bedford, Trimble Co., Ky., September 25, 1827, and is the fourth of six children born to Jeremiah and Nancy W. (Hardy) Porter, the former a native of Pennsylvania and the latter of Maryland. They were of Irish and English descent respectively. When only a small boy Jeremiah Porter removed with his parents to Woodford County, Ky. At the age of twenty-one he enlisted in Shelby's regiment and served with the same under Gen. Harrison through the war of 1812. He participated in all the principal battles of the northwest, and in the Canada campaign. He was married immediately after his return from the army, and soon afterward removed to Bedford, Trimble Co., Ky., where he was engaged in merchandising until 1832, when he came with his family to Hickman County. There he entered land near Columbus, and subsequently improved a farm. After a few years he sold this place, and bought another in the same neighborhood, where he resided until 1844. He then came to Ballard County, which had then just been organized, and was one of the commissioners who located the first county seat. He bought a farm near Blandville, which he sold after a few years, and bought another near the present site of Arlington, where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits until his death in the spring of 1862, in his seventy-first year. Mr. Porter served as sheriff in Hickman County for some eight years. He and wife were lifelong members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Richard Porter was employed on his father's farm until he attained his majority. He then went to Phillips County, Ark., where he bought a partially improved farm of 120 acres, to which he afterward added 270 acres. There he was engaged in farming until the breaking out of the late civil war. In January, 1862, he enlisted in Company E, First Regiment of Arkansas Cavalry, and served under Gen. Price until the fall of 1864, when he was taken prisoner while on detached service. He was paroled, but being in very poor health he was never exchanged. After the close of the war he returned to Ballard County and purchased the old homestead, upon which he still resides. He was married February 28, 1854, to Miss Matilda A. Sullenger, a native of Ballard County, Ky., and a daughter of Robert Sullenger, an early pioneer. To this union were born four children, of whom two sons and one daughter are yet living. Mrs. Matilda A. Porter departed this life May 21, 1865. She was a member of the Baptist Church. March 20, 1866, Mr. Porter married Miss Frances L. Birkhead, a native of Ballard County, Ky.; one son and two daughters have blessed this union. Mr. Porter and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church; he is also an earnest advocate of the temperance cause. In politics he is a Democrat.

P. C. PUCKETT was born in Chesterfield County, Va., on November 16, 1829, and is a son of William and Nancy (Hood) Puckett. The parents were natives of Virginia, and of English descent. In 1837 they came to Kentucky and settled in Ballard County. The father purchased 400 acres and turned his attention to farming, and here resided until his death in 1873. The mother died in 1867. Our subject was the second of ten children, of whom six, four sons and two daughters are still living. Subject's schooling was received in the neighborhood. He remained at home until he was nineteen, and then settled on part of his father's farm, where he resided seven years. He then came to his present farm, where he now owns 160 acres, with 100 in cultivation. Mr. Puckett was married on June 27, 1861, to Miss Letsey A. Riley, a daughter of William Riley, of Ballard County. Six children, four of

whom are now living, are the result of this union. Mr. Puckett and family are members of the Baptist Church, and he is also a member of New Retreat Lodge, No. 484, A. F. & A. M.

CURRAN P. RAY (deceased) was born December 19, 1815, in Trigg County, Ky., was a son of Dr. John and Nancy (Chilton) Ray, and was reared on a farm. He was first married on April 30, 1840, to C. E. Chappell of Christian County, Ky. He had born to him by this union five children: Elizabeth (dead), Lysias C., John S., Curran H. and Benjamin (now dead). His second marriage was to Susan Johnson, a native of Henry County, Ky., who has borne him two children: Fannie (now Russell) and Richard. In September, 1855, he married Ellen P. Trewolla, of Ballard County, born in Truro, England, and a daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bany) Trewolla. By this union there were born nine children: William W. (dead), James M. (dead), Elizabeth C. (dead), Belle E. (dead), George W., Lizzie C. (dead), Robert Lee, Jeff Davis and Sidney J. Mr. Ray was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; his widow is a member of the Reformed Church. He had been engaged in the mercantile business and farming; was in the Confederate Army and took part in the battle of Shiloh, but sickness compelled him to return home. His third wife came to the United States in 1836, and lived in New York City, Philadelphia, Richmond, Va., and thence came to Christian County, Ky., and finally to Ballard County, in 1855, where she still lives on a good farm.

LYSIAS C. RAY was born July 3, 1842, in Christian County, Ky., and is the second of five children born to Curran P. and Cynthia E. (Chappell) Ray, of Scotch extraction. He was reared on a farm, and received an ordinary common school education, and subsequently taught three terms of school in Ballard County. In the fall of 1842 his parents moved to Ballard County, Ky., and first settled near Hinkleville, then lived on different farms, and finally located one mile east of Blandville. Our subject lived with his father till he was married in October, 1873, to Susan B. Violet, of Ballard County, and daughter of T. and Harriet (Grimes) Violet. He had born to him by this union four children: Ellen (deceased) and Harriet E.; the third died unnamed; the fourth was Curran M. The wife of our subject is a member of the Christian Church.

WILLIAM F. REDDICK was born in Nelson County, Ky., on January 8, 1815, and is a son of William and Mary (Lent) Reddick. The father was a native of Pennsylvania, the mother of Nelson County, Ky. In 1834 the parents came to the Purchase and settled in Milburn. Here the father carried on farming until his death on February 22, 1872. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. The mother died in July, 1874. Subject was the third of six children, of whom three are now living, viz.: Nancy Thompson, in Milburn; Elizabeth Bishop, in Nelson County; and William F., our subject. The latter received an education from the old subscription schools, remained at home until twenty-six years old, and then, commencing life for himself, he settled on a farm that he received from his father, resided thereon about two years, and then came to his present farm. He now owns about 800 acres in this and other counties, of which there are about 350 acres in cultivation. Mr. Reddick was married on June 4, 1844, to Miss Mary Goldson, a daughter of Tolly and Phoebe (Dyer) Goldson, natives of Virginia. Mrs. Reddick was born in this district in March, 1824, and is the mother of eleven children, of whom eight are now living: Kittie (widow of Jasper Pennybocker), Tolly, John, Richard M., Silas, Fannie (wife of Dr. H. L. Wiley), Enoch and Virginia (wife of John Stoveall). Mr. Reddick was a soldier in the Mexican war, having enlisted at Paducah April 1, 1847, and served six months. Mrs. Reddick is a member of the Baptist Church.

DR. HERMAN REID, deceased, was born in Green County, Ky., on July 16, 1816, and was a son of John and Mary (Lockett) Reid. The father died when subject was quite young. He was then taken to east Tennessee, where he lived with his mother's people. He remained with his grandfather until he was sixteen, and then started out for himself and acquired an education. He then turned his attention to the study of medicine, and graduated from the university at Louisville about 1840. In 1841 he came to Milburn, where he practiced almost constantly until his death, which occurred on January 7, 1874. At one time he also had a drug store in Milburn, which he conducted until the breaking out of the war. He was married to Miss Lucretia R. Pile, who still survives him. The result of this union was the following children: E. O., born November 19, 1845; M. E., born September 27, 1849, now wife of W. S. Duncan; F. Q., born January 23, 1852, and now wife of G. W. Greenup; W. C., born February 24, 1854; A. L., born December 6, 1856, and now wife of A. E. Crews; H. C., born May 8, 1859; R. L., born December 4, 1861; Lillie H., born October 23, 1868;

E. H., born March 26, 1871. Subject was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Masonic fraternity, and was at one time postmaster at Milburn. Dr. E. O. Reid, the eldest son, was born in Milburn. His education was received in the schools of his native county, and at the age of nineteen he commenced reading medicine with his father; he studied with him two years and then attended lectures at Louisville, graduating in the class of 1869. He then settled in Dublin, Graves County, but only remained one year. He then came to Milburn and entered into business with his father. This partnership continued until the death of the latter, and then E. O. continued by himself. He also established a drug and dry goods store, which he conducted until 1881. He then sold out and moved to Clinton. There he has since engaged in the dry goods business under the firm name of E. O. Reid & Co., and in the real estate business with the firm of Ray & Reid. Dr. E. O. Reid was married in 1870 to Miss Alice L. Trainnum, of Paducah. This lady died in 1876, leaving two children, a son and a daughter. In 1880 he married Miss Sue M. Dodge. This lady is a member of the Methodist Church South. Dr. H. C. Reid, the sixth of the nine children of Dr. Herman Reid, was also born in Milburn. His literary education was received in the schools of his native town and at Lebanon, Ohio. He read medicine with his brother, E. O. Reid, and then attended lectures at the Kentucky School of Medicine, graduating in the class of 1881. Returning to Milburn he entered upon the practice of his chosen profession, and has since met with fair success. In 1881 he also purchased the drug store which had been previously operated by his brother, and now carries a stock of about $1,000. He is at present postmaster at Milburn; as was also his brother before the latter's departure. Dr. H. C. Reid was married on October 17, 1883, to Miss Lena M. Milburn, a daughter of C. W. and A. E. (Smedley) Milburn. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and his wife is a member of the Christian Church. Dr. W. C. Reid read medicine under Dr. E. O. Reid, attended lectures at Bellevue Hospital, New York, and at Louisville, Ky., from which latter city he graduated. He next practiced a year in Hickman County, Ky., and then with Dr. E. O. Reid, at Milburn, until his removal to California, in 1877. He now resides at Mariposa, Cal., has charge of the county hospital, and is also engaged in a general mercantile business, in connection with the practice of his profession.

GEORGE C. REEVES, Ballard County, was born July 16, 1839, in Warren County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1862 came to Ballard County, where he now resides. His father, Col. Peter M. Reeves, a native of Henry County, Ky., was born in 1810, was nine years acting magistrate, and died in 1882. He was the son of George Reeves, of Virginia. Peter M. married Sarah A. Hudnall, of Warren County, Ky. (born in 1814, and died in 1884), and to them were born Elizabeth F. (Phelps), Polley A. (Phelps), James H., subject and Zerilda P. (Scott). Subject was married October 24, 1865, to Miss Laura S., daughter of Richard and Mary F. (Glenn) Fortson, of Ballard County (born February 23, 1846), and the following offspring have been born to them, viz.: Lillie M. (deceased), Edward D., George J. and Kate. In 1882 our subject was chosen magistrate and member of the county court, which honorable position he is now filling to the satisfaction of his constituents. He is a farmer, owning 200 acres of good land, which he is successfully cultivating in the staple products of the country. In politics, Esq. Reeves, is identified with the Democratic party.

S. F. RICHARDSON, Ballard County, was born December 27, 1839, in Appomattox County, Va., and is the eighth of eleven children (six boys and five girls) born to T. D. and Martha (Spencer) Richardson, natives of Appomattox and Prince Edward Counties, Va. He lived with his parents on a farm till he was eighteen years of age, when he emigrated to Trigg County, Ky., in the fall of 1858, where he remained one year; thence he went to Christian County, where he farmed for several years; then back to Trigg. In 1875 he moved to McCracken County and farmed two years; then went to Paducah, where he handled tobacco two years, and then came to Lovelaceville, Ballard County. In the fall of 1881 he moved to where he now lives, near Blandville, and engaged in farming. In the fall of 1864 he enlisted in Col. Woodward's regiment, was in two skirmishes, and returned home after three months' service. He was married in November, 1863, to Mattie B. Settle, of Christian County, daughter of Josiah and Amy D. (Martin) Settle, natives of North Carolina and Kentucky. There were born to this union eight children, seven living: Addie L., Thomas T., Susie H., J. Settle, Rob A., Lillian B., Samuel G. Mr. Richardson and wife are members of the Christian Church. He cast his first presidential vote for Hancock.

LEVI C. ROARK was born September 20,

1841, in Montgomery County, Tenn., removed with his parents in 1848, to McCracken County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1875, to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, Charles Roark, a farmer of Wythe County, Va., was born in 1800, and died in 1865. He was the son of Timothy, of Virginia, who died in 1804. Charles married Sarah Rudolph, of Montgomery County, Tenn. (born in 1802. and died in 1883), and from this union sprang James B., Margaret J. (Bonds), Henry E., William R., Mary S. (Armistead), Jacob M., John L., Charles T., subject, Virgil T. and David L. On March 20, 1861, subject married Miss Sarah E., daughter of John and Nancy (Cox) Frank, of McCracken County (born in 1840, and died July 24, 1878), to whom was born one child, Avery S. Subject was next married, September 15, 1880, to Miss Caroline C. Frank, sister of his first wife (born in 1837, and died December 24, 1880). On March 20, 1883, he married Miss Lula Elliott, of Ballard County (born in 1861). In 1880 he commenced business as general merchant, in which he has met with fair success. He has been twelve years an elder in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He is deputy G. M. of this district of I. O. O. F. He is also a member of the council of the village corporation, and in politics is a Democrat.

CHARLES N. B. ROLLINGS, an active business man of Ballard County, was born October 8, 1828, in Christian County, Ky., where he grew to manhood; he came with his parents in 1846 to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, John T. Rollings, a native of Halifax County, Va., died about 1852, aged about fifty-six years. He was twice married; first to Elizabeth Simmons of Virginia, to whom were born John A., subject, Nathaniel L., Margaret (Parrum) and James W. To his second wife were born Martin V., Francis M. and Sarah (Elliott.) Our subject received but a common education in youth, but has improved his opportunities by reading good books and papers. He was married December 31, 1856, to Miss Ann R., daughter of Richard and Prudence (Chapell) Bugg, of Ballard County, and to them were born Lula M. (Bailey), Dr. Jefferson D., Charles R., James W., Elizabeth and Lena. Subject is a farmer, owning 1,343 acres of good land, in good condition, 450 of which are in a high state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and an active member of the Christian Church, and in politics an uncompromising Prohibitionist.

MARTIN V. ROLLINGS, son of John T. and Eliza Rollings, was born January 24, 1844, in Christian County, Ky., where he remained until 1846, when he came with his parents to Ballard County, his present place of residence. On December 3, 1867, Martin V. married Mary J., daughter of David and Theresa (Worsham) Moore of Ballard County, Ky., and this union has been blessed with the following children, viz.: Lee Ella, Anna Belle, David W., Lewis M., Lulu May and Oscar T. Our subject is a farmer, owning 100 acres of valuable and productive land, in good condition, which he is successfully cultivating in the staple products of the country. In his political affiliations he is identified with the Democrats.

NATHAN A. ROSS was born August 26, 1837, in Trigg County, Ky., where he grew to man's estate, and in 1857, removed to Ballard County, where he now resides. His father, Eli Ross, a native of Tennessee, born in 1805, is still living. Eli married Elizabeth Strowbridge, who was born in 1805, and died in 1877. This union resulted in the birth of James B., William H., Charles A., Reuben C., George W., subject, Elizabeth (Neely), John E. and Thomas J. In youth subject's educational advantages were limited, but he is a reading man and keeps well posted in the current literature of the day. He was married August 19, 1880, to Miss Willie H., daughter of William H. and Amanda (Hayes) Hardy, of Christian County. Mr. Ross is one among the many enterprising and successful of Ballard County's farmers, turning his attention chiefly to raising tobacco, corn and wheat. He is the owner of 723 acres of valuable and productive land, well improved and in a fine state of cultivation. He served the community fourteen months as constable, ten months as deputy sheriff, and three years as deputy assessor. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M. and a Democrat.

WILEY B. RUDOLPH was born March 9, 1817, in Montgomery County, Tenn. He is the fifth of seven children, five boys and two girls, born to John and Margaret (Welker) Rudolph, natives of North Carolina. The grandfather, John Rudolph, was born in Germany, and was a soldier in the Revolution. The father of our subject emigrated to Tennessee about 1800, and was with Gen. Jackson at the battle of Horse Shoe in 1812. Wiley B. Rudolph was reared on the farm, received a common school education, and in 1833, moved, with his parents, to McCracken County, where his father died in 1842, at the age of sixty-two years. Wiley B. lived in

McCracken County until 1874, when he came to Ballard County, Ky., and settled on 1,000 acres, where he now lives, and which he has given to his children, with the exception of 150 acres, which he still retains. Mr. Rudolph was married in July, 1837, to Jane Lynn, of Montgomery County, Tenn., daughter of Andrew and Nancy (Smith) Lynn, natives of North Carolina, and of English origin. To this union were borne eleven children: David C., Martha A. (deceased; she was married to D. M. Rudolph), William M., John W., Nancy A. (now Mrs. Hedges), Vinecia (deceased), M. H., Felix G., Jemima A. (deceased), Marrietta R. and Finice N. Mrs. Rudolph died in September, 1859, a member of the Presbyterian Church. Our subject was next married in September, 1861, to Mrs. Nancy H. Stephens, a native of Montgomery County, Tenn., and daughter of W. R. and Sarah (Bevell) Lee. This union was blessed with eight children: Melissa B. (now Hague), Jefferson (deceased), Hillin B. (deceased), Mattie M., Sarah M., Minnie, Robert D. and Cora L. His second wife died in June, 1878, a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Rudolph's third marriage was on December 16, 1880, to Martha J. Hall, of McCracken County, Ky., daughter of William and Malinda (James) Hall, natives of Tennessee and Kentucky, respectively, and of Irish and German and Welsh and Irish descent. Mr. Rudolph is a member of the Presbyterian Church, also of the Masonic fraternity; Mrs. R. is a member of the Baptist Church. J. W. Rudolph enlisted in Company B, Third Kentucky Cavalry, April, 1864, and was engaged in the battles of Harrisburg, Guntown, Oxford, Athens, Alabama, Sulphur Trestles and Pulaski. He took the oath of allegiance after his return home in 1865.

J. N. SANFORD was born in Milburn, March 24, 1836, and is a son of Daniel B. and Catherine (Reddick) Sanford. The father was a native of Virginia, and came with his father to Henry County, in an early day. The grandfather of our subject had been a soldier in the Revolution. His death took place in Henry County. In 1832, subject's father came to Ballard County, and settled in Milburn. He was a blacksmith by trade, and was also a farmer. In 1834, he was married to a daughter of William F. Reddick. He continued to reside in this county until his death, in 1849. At one time he served as deputy sheriff in this county. The mother died here in 1848. Subject's education was received in the schools of Milburn. After his father's death he went to Nelson County, where he spent some time with his uncle. At the age of eighteen, he commenced life for himself, as a clerk for T. M. Horn, at Milburn. He remained thus employed for two years, and then opened a saddle and harness shop. In 1859, he opened a general store, with a stock of about $4,000. He has since followed merchandising very successfully, and is at present carrying a stock of about $12,000. He is also engaged in buying and prizing tobacco, and is the only dealer in the county. For the season of 1883, he put up 210 hogsheads, besides losing 85,000 pounds by fire. He was married on September 20, 1859, to Miss Sallie H. Gregory, a daughter of Hardin and Susan (Roswell) Gregory, probably natives of Tennessee. The result of this union has been nine children, viz.: Kate (wife of T. F. Owens), N. H., Hardy, Pryor, Molly, Guy, Ora, Thomas and Bertha. Mr. Sanford is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; Mrs. Sanford of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He is a member of the Milburn Lodge, No. 1989, K. of H.

JOHN S. SEAY, M. D., one of the leading physicians of Blandville, was born April 26, 1843, in Fulton County, Ky. He is the only child of John G. and Ann E. (Thompson) Seay, natives of Kentucky and Illinois, respectively; his grandparents were Samuel Seay, of English origin, and Moses Thompson, of Scotch-Irish descent, one of whom was in the battle of New Orleans. Our subject was reared on a farm and his early education was limited. His father died in September, 1843; his mother, in 1846, married W. W. Adams, by whom she had one boy and two girls. Mr. Adams died in 1852, and the subject of our sketch necessarily had to assist in taking care of the family. He came with his mother to Ballard County, in 1846. He commenced the study of medicine in 1859, and from that time on, applied himself closely. In the spring of 1865, he graduated from University Medical College, at Louisville, Ky., and located in Blandville, where he has continued his practice ever since. He married Margaret S. Beech, of Ballard County; she was born in Williamson County, Tenn., and is the daughter of David and Elizabeth (Robinson) Beech. This union was blessed with seven children, Mary E. (dead), John D. (dead), Ida May, Lora G. (dead), Ersie D., sixth, not named and dead and Ortie M. Mrs. Seay is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Our subject cast his first presidential vote for Horace Greeley.

R. W. SHELBOURNE, a prominent citizen of Ballard County, was born October 27,

1836, in Mayfield, Graves County, Ky., and is the first and surviving one of two children born to Morean T. and Mary Ann (James) Shelbourne, natives of Nelson and Caldwell Counties, Ky., respectively. The father of our subject is the son of Robertson W. Shelbourne, who married Amelia Rodman; he was a cooper by trade, a soldier of 1812, and both natives of Virginia. He was of English and his wife of Scotch descent. R. W., the elder, was the son of John Shelbourne, who came from England in the king's service as a soldier in the war of 1776, served his term and enlisted in the American Revolutionary Army, before the close of the war. Subject's mother was the daughter of Thomas W. James, who married a Mary James; his occupation was that of a miller and saddler, and he sent a substitute to the war of 1812. He was a son of David James, who was a soldier of the Revolution, was born in Landaff, Wales, and was by occupation a blacksmith. Morean Shelbourne was a blacksmith. Our subject was reared in town and lived with his parents till he was about eighteen years of age, when he engaged in blacksmithing in Paris, Tenn. Thence he went to Columbia, Tenn.; thence to Nashville; thence to Memphis and Paducah; thence home. In the fall of 1855, he moved to Ballard County, Ky., where he purchased lands, improved them and worked at blacksmithing for about three years. In 1859, he commenced running a saw and grist-mill, which business he continued till 1880, when he commenced the study and practice of law. He was married December 20, 1855, to Sarah J. Paige, a resident of Ballard County, and born in St. Johnsbury, Vt. She was educated at the Teachers' Seminary, New Hampshire, was a member of the Congregational Church, and died in May, 1856. On September 30, 1858, Mr. Shelbourne married Amanda J. Mott, of Ballard County, a daughter of John and Ann (Helm) Mott, and had born to him by this union nine children: William O., Mary A., Robert E. Lee, Belle B., John M., Joseph M., Algernon S. and two dead, not named. The second Mrs. Shelbourne died October 1, 1872, and March 31, 1873, Mr. Shelbourne married Amelia L. Beckwith, daughter of Robertson and Elizabeth (Rodman) Shelbourne. This lady had four children by her former husband, Emily A. (now Smith), William S., John S. and Luna H. Mr. Shelbourne is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the I. O. O. F., and owns a pleasant home one-half mile east of Blandville.

ADOLPHUS W. SHELBY was born October 26, 1824, in Stewart County, Tenn.; was taken by his parents, in 1826, to Hardeman County; in 1832 to Fayette County; in 1835 to Marshall County, Miss.; 1840 to Johnson County, Ill., and in 1841 to Ballard County, Ky., where he still resides. His father, Alfred M. Shelby, born in 1799, in Montgomery County, Tenn., was a finely educated teacher, and died in 1880. He was the son of John, a native of east Tennessee, a cousin of Gov. Shelby; was ten years a legislator, and died in 1818, aged forty-eight years. He was the son of John, of Maryland. Alfred M. married Alvira Reed (born in 1807, died in 1856) of Livingston County, Ky., and their offspring are Louisa (Bradley and Davidson). subject, John L., Alfred M., Isabella (Bratton), Elvira (Earnhardt), Orelia (Scott), Napoleon B., Orvil M., Elizabeth and Ivan. On November 30, 1851, subject married Miss Amanda F., daughter of Archibald and Nancy (Thombs) Terry, of McCracken County, Ky., and to them have been born, John L., Alfred M. (deceased), Ivan H., Emma (Earnhardt), Laura (Chrice). Della (deceased), Luella, Dora, Isaac and Joseph O. Subject is a farmer, having 325 acres of medium land in a fair state of cultivation. He is a worthy member of the Christian Church, also of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics is a Democrat.

ROBERT M. SHELTON, M. D., Ballard County, was born January 26, 1832, in Henry County, Tenn., and is the first of three children born to Abraham and Susan G. (Lewis) Shelton, natives of Halifax County, Va. Abraham was the son of Jeremiah and Sallie (Green) Shelton; Jeremiah was the son of the Jeremiah Shelton, who was the son of Ralph Shelton, of England; Susan G. Lewis was the daughter of Richard and Sallie (Wood) Lewis, of English origin. Robert M. Shelton was reared on a farm, and received a good common school education. He lived with his parents till he was twenty-five years old. He taught school for about six years, and in the meantime studied medicine. He attended medical lectures at the university at Nashville, Tenn., in the winter of 1858–59. He located at Hinkleville, Ballard Co., at which place he formed a partnership with Dr. T. J. Jenkins, and practiced there four years with good success. About this time he was elected surgeon of the Seventh Kentucky Confederate Cavalry, but did not accept the position. He next moved two miles south of Hinkleville, where he engaged in farming, and also continued his practice. As a farmer, he was successful. In 1870 he moved to Blandville, where he has been engaged in the practice of medicine ever since.

He has a good mill and sixteen or seventeen farms, in all about 3,000 acres, and also owns a house and lot in Blandville and one in Wickliffe. He came to Ballard County with his parents in 1836, and located in the nor h part of the county. His father entered lands that were covered by military titles, lost all, and died in 1866, aged seventy-four years. He was a Whig. Dr. Shelton was married in October, 1864, to Mrs. Susan Marion, of Ballard County, Ky., daughter of Cadmus B. and Angeline (Linthicum) Young, who were of the first families of Nelson County, and came to South Ballard about 1834. The doctor had born to him by this union three children: Edwin L., Lalie Ann (now dead) and Susan A. Mr. and Mrs. Shelton are members of the Christian Church, and he is a member of the Masonic fraternity, K. of H., and was formerly a member of the K. of P. He cast his first presidential vote for the Whig candidate in 1856, but is now a Democrat.

DR. F. N. SIMPSON was born on August 2, 1846, in Montgomery County, Tenn., and is a son of Edmund and Margaret (Keller) Simpson. The father was a native of North Carolina, the mother of Virginia. In 1854 the parents came to the Purchase, and settled in McCracken County, near Paducah. The father was a silversmith by trade, but after his arrival in the Purchase, he paid most of his attention to farming. He died in February, 1855. The mother died in 1864. Our subject is next to the youngest of a family of eight children, of whom but two are now living, viz.: Emma, wife of Samuel Ragland, of North Ballard, and Frank N. The latter was reared on a farm, and his schooling was received principally in Ballard County. In 1871 he began the study of medicine with Dr. C. McKinney, of Milburn. He read with this gentleman one year, and then attended lectures at the Physio-Medical College at Cincinnati, graduating from that institution with the class of '75. He immediately settled in Milburn, where he has had an excellent practice ever since. Dr. Simpson was married on December 7, 1876, to Miss Mary Lovelace, of McCracken County, a daughter of Archie and Mary (Purdom) Lovelace. The result of this union has been five children, three of whom are now living, viz.: Alvin, Guy, and Lloyd. Dr. Simpson is a member of Milburn Lodge, No. 1,989, K. of H. He has served as trustee of the town of Milburn, and he and wife are members of the Methodist Church.

JAMES R. SKAGGS was born February 15, 1843, in Todd County, Ky., and is the sixth of the seven children born to Eli and Margaret (Manion) Skaggs, natives of Missouri and Todd County, Ky., respectively, and of Irish descent. His mother died in 1850, his father in 1852, and thus our subject was thrown upon his own resources early in life. He came to Ballard County about 1857, and lived with his cousin, John Manion, until the latter's death in 1863. In January, 1864, he enlisted in Company F, Third Kentucky (Confederate) Cavalry, under Capt. W. L. Stevenson, Holt colonel commanding, and took part in the battle of Harrisburg, and three or four other fights in Alabama, and was also at Memphis and Nashville; at Owensboro, he was wounded in the right and left shoulders, and also received a wound in the head during a skirmish elsewhere. After Forrest's surrender, he returned to Ballard County and engaged in farming; in 1868 he was elected constable, and re-elected in 1870; in 1872 he was appointed deputy assessor, and in 1876 was elected to the same office for four years; in 1880 he engaged in the drug business at Blandville, and in February, 1883, moved to Wickliffe, where he is still engaged in the same trade. October 12, 1875, he married Alice Moss, daughter of Frank and Rebecca (Cole) Moss, and had born to him one child, which died unnamed. His wife died in May, 1876, a member of the Baptist Church. December 23, 1880, he married Anna Bondurant, daughter of P. H. and Helen (Jackson) Bondurant, and to this union has been born one child, Margaret Helen. Mr. and Mrs. Skaggs are members of the Christian Church, while he is a Free Mason, an Odd Fellow, a Knight of Honor, and a member of the K. & L. of H. He cast his first vote for Seymour and Blair, and is still a Democrat.

CORNELIUS D. STAHL, Ballard County, was born October 16, 1835, in Todd County, Ky., was taken by his parents in 1836 to Simpson County, and in 1853, to Marshall County; in 1869 he came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, David Stahl, died in 1880, at the age of eighty-seven years. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Cornelius Turner, of Warren County, and from this union sprang Franklin, John W., William, Lapsey, Ruth A. (Lockhart), Mary E. (Appling), subject, Chesterfield, Winchester and Daniel P. On October 14, 1869, subject was married to Miss Jeretta, daughter of Joseph W. and Sarah (Simmons) Owen, of Ballard County, born June 4, 1851, and to them have been born: C. D., Sallie, Maud and Lizzie Fay. Subject is a successful farmer, owning 270 acres of fine land in a

high state of cultivation, on which he grows wheat, corn, tobacco, and other products. He is a member of the Knights of Honor, and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

THOMAS L. STANLEY was born in Franklin County, Tenn., on September 16, 1826, and is a son of James and Ann (Ellis) Stanley. The parents were natives of Cobb County, Ga. The father was of English-Welsh descent; the mother of Scotch-Irish. The father came to Tennessee about 1812, and moved to Scott County, Mo., in 1832. There the father died, August 11, 1836, the mother died in 1849. Subject was the eleventh of sixteen children, of whom but two are now living: Lucy A., wife of Nicholas M. Carr, and Thomas L. The latter's education was received in the schools of Missouri. He remained at home until the age of twenty-one, and then settled on a farm in Mississippi County, Mo. There he remained until 1854, when he came to Kentucky, and settled on Wolf Island, where he now owns about 1,800 acres. In 1870 he came to Milburn, where he has since resided. Until the last few years, he has dealt very extensively in stock. Mr. Stanley was married in 1848, in Mississippi County, Mo., to Mrs. Amanda C. Kennedy (*nee* James), a native of Pulaski County, Ky. The result of this union was a son. Mrs. Stanley died in 1849, and subject was married in October, 1850, to Miss Sarah E. Dyson. Eight children, three sons and five daughters, are living as the result of this union. This lady died in 1875, and he was next married to Mrs. Sallie A. Thomas (maiden name Linthicum), of Nelson. The result of this marriage has been two sons. Mr. Stanley is a Mason, and Mrs. Stanley is a member of the Christian Church.

GEORGE O. STONE was born December 5, 1846, in Scott County, Ky., and is the second of eight children (four boys) born to George W. and Elna (Stone) Stone, natives of Fayette County, Ky., and of German descent. His grandparents were William Stone and Jacob Stone. He was reared to and followed farming, till 1877, when he was appointed deputy sheriff, which office he held many years. In 1858 he came to Ballard County, with his parents, who settled at Milburn, and here he has lived ever since. In August, 1884, he was elected sheriff of Ballard County, Ky., by a good majority. He is very popular in the county and is a member of the K. of H. He cast his first presidential vote for Seymour and Blair in 1868 and is still a Democrat. His father died in May, 1880, aged sixty-one years.

JAMES H. SUBLETT was born October 22, 1827, in Butler County, Ky., where he was reared to manhood; in 1849 he removed to Christian County, and in 1856 came to Ballard County, where he still resides. His father, William B. Sublett, a Virginian, was born in 1800, removed to Butler County in 1815, and died in 1862. He was the son of Benjamin, who died in 1842, and whose father was a Revolutionary soldier. William B. married Mary, daughter of John and Margaret (Mitchel) Tyler, of Butler County, born in 1810, and died in 1864, and this union resulted in the birth of subject, Paulina (Williams), Mary (Robinson), Angeline (Farmer), Brinkley C., Joseph J., Curran T., Amanda (Hobbs), Tabitha (Hurt), and Adeline (Morris). Our subject is a man of extensive reading. He was married November 15, 1852, to Miss Margaret E., daughter of Matthew and Martha B. (Tolbert) Kuykendall, of Butler County, born in 1830, and to them have been born Lou C. (Ransdell), Mary E. (Snook), James K., Robert W., Margaret E., Addie D. and Maud J. Subject was formerly a blacksmith, but is now a farmer having 190 acres of valua le and productive land in a fine state of cultivation. He is a Royal Arch Mason, a member of K. of G. R. and a Democrat.

H. SULLIVAN was born February 10, 1828, in Dickson County, Tenn., and is the fifth of seven children (four boys) born to Zachariah and Emily (Goss) Sullivan, natives of Kentucky and Germany, respectively. The father was a son of Joseph Sullivan. Both grandfathers were in the Florida and Mexican wars. H. Sullivan was reared on a farm and lived with his parents till he was twenty-three years old, when his mother died. He was married about this time, and then his father lived with him the remainder of his days. He died in the spring of 1864, aged seventy-nine years. Mr. Sullivan came to Ballard County with his parents in 1841, and settled in the community in which he still lives, and where his father entered and improved sixty acres of land. Mr. Sullivan is now the owner of 390 acres of land, three miles northwest of Blandville, in good condition. He has made what he has by his own industry and perseverance; having contracted in railway construction for about three years, at which business he made some money. He was married in October, 1850, to Miss Macedonia Dennis, of Ballard County, a daughter of Abner and Martha Ann Dennis, and had born to him by this union three children: Jerry, John, and

Jennie (now Richmond). His wife died in 1861, a member of the Baptist Church. In the spring of 1862, he married Mrs. Fannie Edes, daughter of Carney and Emily (Bugg) Richmond, and had born to him by this union seven children: Albert, Richmond, Emma, Edda, Jodie, Charley, and Allie. Mr. Sullivan and wife are both members of the Methodist Episcopal Church; he was a member of the Grange and votes the Democratic ticket.

A. S. TAYLOR, Ballard County, was born January 18, 1838, in Oldham County, Ky., and is a son of William G. and Angie (Smith) Taylor, both Kentuckians. Subject's paternal grandfather was George Taylor, a native of Virginia, which State he left in an early day, coming to Kentucky, and settling in Clark County, where William G. was born in 1795. Subject's maternal grandfather was a Virginian also; he died in Henry County, Ky., about 1846 or 1847, aged sixty years. Subject's father was a merchant and for a number of years carried on an extensive business in the town of La Grange, Oldham County, in which county he also served as clerk. He died in 1868, aged seventy-three years. The mother of subject is still living and resides at Blandville. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor were the parents of six children, four of whom are still living, A. S. being the second child. At the age of seventeen years he began life for himself as clerk in a wholesale dry goods house in Louisville, where he remained for eight years, at the end of which time he engaged as a salesman for the wholesale clothing firm of Kahn & Wolf, with whom he remained one year. He was next employed by his uncle, G. P. Smith, one of the business men in Louisville, with whom he remained until 1862, when he came to Blandville and engaged in general merchandising, which he continued about four years. He then went back to his native county, but in 1866 returned to Blandville, where he has since resided. He is now at the head of one of the largest dry goods houses in the town and is doing a fine business. On the 21st of October, 1862, he was married to Miss Theresa, daughter of Judge T. A. and Jane Rodman. This union has been blessed with the following children: Ellen T. (deceased), George S., Thomas G. (deceased), A. S., Angie (deceased), Angie S., Theresa (deceased), William G. and Anna. Mr. Taylor was appointed commissioner of Ballard County in 1883 and still holds the position. He is a member of the I. O. O. F. and in politics a stanch Democrat.

JOHN TAYLOR, Ballard County, was born May 6, 1832, in Nash County, N. C. He is the youngest of six children born to John and Mary (Weaver) Taylor, natives of North Carolina and Maryland, respectively, and of English and Scotch descent on the father's side; Irish and Scotch on the mother's side. The grandfather, John Taylor, was a soldier for five years during the Revolution. He was born in England. Our subject was partly reared on a farm; was but three years old when his mother died and thirteen when his father died. At this tender age he was thrown upon his own resources, working at anything he could find to do. At the age of seventeen he commenced the carpenter's trade, and worked in Virginia and North Carolina. He followed his trade for about twenty years exclusively. In October, 1855, he moved to Paducah. In the spring of 1856 he moved to Woodville, and lived in the vicinity until 1873, with the exception of two years, between 1859 and 1862, when he lived in Independence County, Ark., where he had purchased 500 acres of land, which he afterward sold, and returned to McCracken County, Ky. In 1873 he moved to where he now resides, in Ballard County, on ninety-three acres of land in good condition. In 1878 he was elected justice; after one year's experience, having no desire to hold an office, he resigned. He has been school trustee several terms. Mr. Taylor was married November 12, 1857, to Myra E. Beck, of McCracken County, Ky., a daughter of Dr. Jesse and Mary (Woodard) Beck, natives of Virginia and Tennessee respectively. To this marriage several children were born: John W., Laurie E., now Penn; Mary E., Fernando E., Anna M., Gertrude (deceased) and Lillie (deceased). Mr. Taylor is a Mason and was one of the principal members of the Grange. He cast his first presidential vote for James Buchanan and has voted the Democratic ticket ever since. His wife and three of his children are members of the Christian Church; he is a member of no church.

C. C. TERRELL (deceased), was born July 28, 1812, in Caroline County, Va., and is the eldest of four children (two boys) born to Menan and Miriam (Terrell) Terrell, natives of Virginia, and of Irish descent. The father died when our subject was about eighteen years old, when the duty of caring for the family fell upon the latter, who came to Kentucky with his parents about 1824, and started in life at the age of eighteen years for himself. He went to Holly Springs, Miss., where he was employed as superintendent for a Mr. Clayton, till 1838, when he came to Ballard County, where he purchased 200 acres of land near Hinkleville and assisted in survey-

ing all the lands in North Ballard. He accumulated what he had by his own industry and perseverance, owned twenty-two negroes when the war broke out, and lost his best cattle and five head of horses and mules during the disturbance. He was married February 14, 1841, to Mary E. McDade, a native of Georgia, and daughter of John McDade. He had born to him by this union five children: Virginia M. (now Webb), Paul M., Wilmot A. (deceased), William E. and Edgar (deceased). His wife died February 14, 1851, and Mr. Terrell next married in April 5, 1853, Ann E. Hall, of Ballard, but a native of Virginia, and daughter of Benjamin and Martha (Waldren) Hall, natives of Halifax County, Va., and of Dutch descent. Her grandparents were William and Ann (Miller) Hall and Reuben and Mildred (Irley) Waldren, natives of Virginia. Benjamin Hall was a soldier of 1812. Mr. Terrell had born to him by this union eleven children: Mary E. (deceased), Thomas B., Martha C. (deceased), Diego, Lena, Viella (deceased), Otho, Clinton, Necho (deceased), Leo and Ovid (deceased). Mr. Terrell was a Mason, also a member of the Grange; he was a Democrat, and one of the prominent and influential farmers of the county, and died March 29, 1876. His widow is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

DR. J. D. TERRELL is a native of Ballard County, Ky., and the seventh of a family of eleven children born to Thomas S. and Margaret N. (Meriwether) Terrell, both of Virginia. Subject's paternal grandfather was Jonathan Terrell. His grandfather on his mother's side was Nicholas Meriwether, a native of Virginia and a descendant of the famous Douglass family, of Scotland. Thomas S. Terrell, subject's father, was a teacher by profession. He came to Ballard County in 1830, and died in November, 1843, at the age of fifty-five years. Subject was born December 8, 1830, and at the age of eighteen years commenced life for himself at farming, which he followed three years, at the end of which time he went to Mississippi and commenced the study of medicine under the instruction of his brother, Dr. Charles N. Terrell. He commenced the practice of his profession in Mississippi about 1856, and two years later came back to Ballard County, locating at Blandville, where he has since resided. He has been practicing medicine continuously for twenty-eight years, and is one of the oldest physicians in the county. He was married September 8, 1858, to Miss Sarah J., daughter of G. B. and Mary E. (Meriwether) Wilds, of Mississippi, by whom he had two children: Charles N. and Nannie L. (deceased). Mrs. Terrell died in March, 1863, aged twenty-two years, and in March, 1864, the doctor married Fannie A., daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth S. (Sumner) Corbett. To this union have been born the following children: Lucian B. (deceased), Thomas F., Elizabeth S., Susan H., Mary R., Margaret B. (deceased), Annie C., J. R., C. and Robert D. The doctor is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and in politics a Democrat. Mrs. Terrell is a member of the Baptist Church.

DR. G. A. THOMAS was born February 3, 1845, in Ballard County. He is a son of William and Catharine (Valandingham) Thomas. The father was born in Henry County, Ky.; he died in February, 1867, aged fifty-five, from being thrown from a horse. The mother was born in Owen County, Ky.; she died in July, 1867, aged forty-eight. Dr. Thomas was reared on his father's farm, and attended the schools of the neighborhood. He enlisted in 1862, with Polk's scouts, Confederate States Army, and remained with this company about five months, when they disbanded. In the fall of 1862 he joined the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry and served till the end of the war. He participated in the battles of Okolona, Miss.; Union City, Tenn.; Brice's Cross Roads, Harrisburg, Athens, Ala.; Sulphur Trestle, Ala.; Pulaski, Tenn.; Columbus, Franklin, Murfreesborough and others. On his return from the army, he attended Notre Dame College, Indiana, about ten months. He then came to Ballard County and commenced the study of medicine, under the preceptorship of Dr. W. H. Parkham, and continued about one year. He then went to Louisville, and there graduated from the medical department of the Louisville University, in the class of 1870, after which he returned to Ballard County and engaged in the practice of his profession and also in farming. He was married, in 1873, to Miss H. J. Webb, of this county. This union is blessed with five children, three sons and two daughters. Both of the doctor's grandfathers, as well as Thomas Woolfolk, the grandfather of Mrs. Thomas, served in the war of 1812, the latter being a commissioned officer.

ALFRED THOMPSON, an enterprising farmer and stock-raiser of Ballard County, was born March 23, 1837, in Greenup County, Ky. He is the first of three children born to Jackson and Winny (Alexander) Thompson, natives of Lee County, Va., and Wilkes County, N. C., respectively, of Scotch and

English descent. The father was a son of William Thompson, who was a soldier in the war of 1812. The mother was a daughter of Willis Alexander, who married a Miss Holbrook. Alfred was reared on a farm, and attended the common schools when not engaged in the duties incident to farm life. He taught school three terms, and lived with his parents till he became of age. He moved with his parents to Catlettsburgh, Boyd Co., Ky., where he engaged in the hotel business. In 1872 the hotel was washed away, and in 1875 he was burned out. In 1879 he moved to where he now resides, in North Ballard County, on 400 acres owned by his wife, 250 of which are cleared and in good condition. While in Catlettsburgh he was constable one term, and one year police judge. He was married, May 1, 1863, to Adeline D. Fisher, of Greenup County, daughter of Jacob and Mary (Sutton) Fisher, natives of Bedford County, Penn., and of Dutch descent. To them were born three children: Eva A. (now Brown), Ella M. and Eugene (deceased). Mr. and Mrs. Thompson are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

HENRY H. TRICE was born April 25, 1840, in Montgomery County, Tenn., where he grew to manhood and in 1861 enlisted in the Fourteenth Tennessee Infantry, with which he remained until the close of the war. In 1869 he removed to Ballard County, where he still resides. His father, Henry Trice, also a native of Montgomery County, died in 1866, at the age of sixty-one years. He married Mahala Harris, of Montgomery Co., Tenn., and the following-named offspring were born to them: Elizabeth (Trice), Richmond S. and our subject. On January 30, 1868, Henry H. was married to Miss Augusta E., daughter of James A. and Mary Trice, of Ballard County, and to them were born Arlington (deceased) and Alma. For nine years Mr. Trice has been engaged in the saw and grist-mill business, at which he has met with fair success. In politics he is an independent Democrat.

WILLIAM R. TURK was born in Henry County, Ky., July 23, 1847, and is the third of seven children born to Thomas R. and Elizabeth (Crisler) Turk, the former a native of Henry County, and the latter of Jefferson County, Ky. Thomas R. Turk in early life removed to Jefferson County, Ky., where he was married and resided a short time, but soon returned to Henry County, where he was engaged in merchandising at Campbellsburg for several years. He then removed to Trimble County, Ky., where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits for some twelve years. In 1858 he came with his wife and family to Ballard County, and bought a farm about half way between Blandville and Bardwell, where he was extensively engaged in farming and the stock business until his death, which occurred August 31, 1870, in his fifty-third year. He was one of the magistrates in Ballard County for several terms. Both himself and wife were for many years members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was also a member of the Masonic fraternity. William R. Turk received a good common school education in youth, and was employed on his father's farm until he attained his majority. He then engaged in agricultural pursuits and stock growing on his own account and continued the same for some three years. In December, 1874, he came to Bardwell, where he, in company with his brother, J. W. Turk, engaged in general merchandising, continuing the same until 1879, when the firm was dissolved. Since that time each brother has continued in business on his own account. During all these years, however, our subject has also been engaged in agricultural pursuits, owning a well improved farm, the old homestead, of some 110 acres. In addition to general merchandising, Mr. Turk is also extensively engaged in the grain, live stock and produce trade at Bardwell. He is yet unmarried. In politics he is a Democrat.

JOHN W. TURK was born in Henry County, Ky., October 20, 1852, and is the fifth of the seven children born to Thomas R. and Elizabeth (Crisler) Turk. He was employed on his father's farm until the latter's death, after which event he was employed as a salesman in a general store at Ft. Jefferson, Ballard Co., Ky., for some two years. He then engaged in general merchandising at Bardwell, in company with his brother, W. R. Turk, under the firm name of Turk Bros. In February, 1879, the partnership was dissolved, since which time our subject has conducted business alone. He carries a large and well-selected stock of general merchandise and agricultural implements, amounting to about $10,000, his annual sales amounting to some $27,000. He is also extensively engaged in the grain, live stock and provision trade. He also owns a farm of 160 acres two miles west of Bardwell, upon which he resides. Mr. Turk was postmaster at Bardwell for some six years. He was married November 9, 1876, to Miss Alice Bodkin, a native of Ballard County, and a daughter of Daniel Bodkin, one of the early pioneers of the county. Three daughters have blessed their union, all of whom

are living. In politics Mr. Turk is a Democrat.

DR. G. W. TURNEY was born April 19, 1849, in DeKalb County, Tenn. He is a son of Joseph and Lucinda (Groom) Turney, who were born in Tennessee. The father was engaged in agricultural pursuits and the rearing of live stock; he died in 1878, aged forty-nine; the mother died in 1880, aged fifty-two. Dr. Turney was reared on his father's farm, and was educated in the schools of the neighborhood. At the age of twenty-four he commenced the study of medicine under the preceptorship of Dr. J. M. Turney, and studied with him twenty-two months, after which he went to Nashville and attended the medical department of the Vanderbilt University five months; he then returned to his native county, where he practiced medicine about six months; then returning to the university, he graduated in 1873; he then went to Warren County, Tenn., where he engaged in the practice of his chosen profession. September 15, 1881, he came to Boswell, where he has since been engaged in practicing and carrying on the drug business. Dr. Turney was married March 19, 1880, to Miss Nannie Hutson, of Ballard County. Two children have blessed this union, one son and one daughter. The doctor and his wife are members of the Baptist Church.

THOMAS R. TYER, was born June 14, 1840, in White County, Ill. In 1842 he removed with his parents to Stewart County, Tenn.; in 1845 to Trigg County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1863 entered Company G, Fourth Kentucky Infantry; he was captured and remained a prisoner at Rock Island to the close of the war. In 1865 he settled in Crittenden County, Ky.; in 1874 he removed to Williamson County, Ill.; in 1875 to Texas, and then came to Ballard County, Ky., where he now resides. His grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier, and his father, Council Tyer, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1793, and died in 1863. Council married Luticia Saury, of Tennessee, who died in 1859, and their children are Jefferson, Jane, Elizabeth (Cunningham), Martha (Adair) and subject. On August 19, 1866, subject was married to Mrs. Amanda M. Hardy, daughter of John and Cynthia (Griffin) Hayes, of Christian County, born January 4, 1843, and to them have been born Magnolia, Charles B. (deceased), Jasper E., Florence L., Lula M., Cula and Thomas J. Subject is a farmer, and is very successful in growing wheat, corn and tobacco. He is a member of the Baptist Church and a Democrat.

BERNARD ULRICH, Ballard County, was born June 5, 1841, in Stark County, Ohio. He is a son of Bernard Ulrich, who was born in Bavaria, Germany, and who when a boy immigrated to America, and settled in Ohio. He died in October, 1883, aged seventy-two. Our subject enlisted in 1862 in Company B, Twenty-ninth Missouri Infantry, Union Army, and served to the end of the war; he entered the service as orderly-sergeant, and for marks of gallantry was soon promoted to a commission officer in which capacity he served to the close of the war, and mustered out as captain. He participated in the siege of Vicksburg, battle of Arkansas Post, Chattanooga; was with Sherman on his march to the sea, etc; he then returned to Missouri and engaged in the mercantile business; after that in farming; he then took up book keeping and for many years has followed this business as a practical book-keeper; in 1873 he came to Columbus; two years later he came to Arlington, where he has since resided. His residence is one of the finest in Arlington, being constructed of brick; this with the grounds is valued at $3,000; he also owns thirty-three acres adjoining Arlington on the south; also a store building and dwelling; he is now engaged in farming and merchandising. Mr. Ulrich was married in 1866 to Miss Amelia Winthrop, of Cape Girardeau, Mo.; this union is blessed with three children, one son and two daughters.

PLEASANT A. VANCE was born July 24, 1824, in Todd County, Ky., where he grew to manhood. In 1851 he removed to Muhlenburgh County, and in 1857 came to Ballard County, where he now resides. His father, John Vance, a native of South Carolina, was born in 1767, removed to Todd County, Ky., in 1801, was high sheriff there and died in 1834. He was the son of David, a Scotchman, who served in the American Revolution. John married Martha, daughter of Silas Davidson, of South Carolina, and this union was blessed by the birth of Daniel W., William, Samuel, James, John, Andrew, Massena, subject, Elizabeth (Vance), Ruth (Chesnut) and Jane. Mrs. John Vance died in 1834, aged fifty-two years. In youth subject procured a common school education, but is an extensive reader of good books and standard literature. He was married March 9, 1849, to Miss Althea A., daughter of John and Cicely (Thomas) Halsell, of Todd County, born in 1831 and died in 1875, and to them were born Olive A. (Wilkinson), Emma A. (Duke), Samuel A., William E., Beulah and Lena E. Subject is a farmer, having

100 acres of land in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Baptist and a Democrat.

GEN. J. VAUGHN, Ballard County, was born September 19, 1834, in White County, Tenn., and came with his parents, in 1849, to Ballard County, Ky., where he still retains his residence. His father, James Vaughn, a native of Halifax County, Va., was born in 1806, and is still living. He was the son of Jourdan Vaughn, of Virginia. James married Lutricia, born in 1808, daughter of Spencer Holder, and this union was blessed with William H., Francis M., Hickison F., subject, Azariah M., James N., Britannia (Davis) and Spencer. Subject received a fair education, and is well informed by general reading. He was married August 28, 1853, to Miss Agnes, daughter of William and America (Dale) Bishop, of Ballard County, born March 1, 1838, and to them have been born Caledonia T. (Webb), Berryman B., Robert L., Lucretia C., Azariah, Nannetta and Ionia P. Subject is a successful farmer, owning 125 acres of good land, ninety of which are cleared and in a fine state of cultivation. He is a worthy member of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

A. W. VIOLETT was born October 23, 1816, in Henry County, Ky., and is a son of John and Nancy (Thomas) Violett. Both parents were born in Virginia, and were of English and French origin. The father died in 1833, aged fifty-six; the mother died in 1843 aged about fifty. A. W. Violett has been a resident of Ballard County since 1843, and has been mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, but was also engaged in merchandising several years. He owns three farms, consisting of 550 acres. One of these farms, consisting of 200 acres, lies in and adjoining Bardwell. Mr. Violett has owned most of the land where Bardwell is situated, and at present owns about one third of the town, together with twelve houses and the hotel. All of this property he has acquired by good management and close attention to business. He was married in 1856 to Mrs. Mosby, of Owen County, Ky. She died in 1880, leaving five children—four sons and one daughter. Mrs. Violett had one daughter by her former marriage, Dink Mosby, now Mrs. Halterman, of Arlington.

ROBERT R. WAKEFIELD was born in Spencer County, Ind., August 4, 1828, was removed by his parents in 1831 to Nelson County, Ky, and in 1845 to Louisville; in 1857 he came to Ballard County, where he has since resided. His father, William B. Wakefield, of Nelson County, Ky., was a soldier in the war of 1812, and died in 1856, at the age of sixty-six years. He was the son of John of Pennsylvania, a Revolutionary soldier. William B. married Charlotte, daughter of James and Nelly (Jackson) Headdy, of Nelson County; she died in 1853, aged fifty-six years, having borne her husband the following children: Squire H., Ellen (Graham), Louisa (Froman), Elizabeth A. (Smith), Susan (Bailey), subject, Samuel K., Charlotte (Grooms), Lois (Grooms), and Rebecca (Chickering). Subject was married, February 27, 1852, to Miss Henrietta, daughter of John and Ellen (Medcalf) Smith of Nelson County (born March 20, 1832), which union has resulted in the birth of one daughter, Ellen (Wakefield). Our subject is a farmer and stock raiser, having 400 acres of fine land, with as fine improvements as any in the county. He is a member of the Knights of Honor, and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

A. J. WARDEN, lawyer, was born October 1, 1816, in Lincoln County, Ky., and is a son of William B. and Elizabeth (Martin) Warden, both natives of North Carolina. Robert Warden, subject's paternal grandfather, was a native of Wales, which country he left as early as 1755, coming to America and settling in one of the Carolinas, where about 1815 he died. Subject's maternal grandfather was David Martin, a native of North Carolina. He emigrated from that State in 1810, settling in Hardin County, Ky, and later moved to Indiana, where he died in 1835. William B. Warden, subject's father came to Hickman County in 1832, and located near the town of Clinton. He afterward moved to Ballard County, and died at the village of Milburn in 1865, aged seventy-five years. Subject's mother died in Missouri about 1820, at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four years. A. J. Warden commenced life for himself as a teacher, engaging in that profession in Ballard County, when but seventeen years of age. He was elected constable in an early day and filled the office for a period of ten years, employing his leisure moments in reading law. In 1862 he was elected to the offices of circuit and county clerk, filling both positions for six years. He was admitted to the bar in 1867, and since that time has given his attention to his profession in Ballard and adjoining counties. He was married December 27, 1842, to Miss Zillah, daughter of James L. and Zillah Gray, of Ballard County. To this union were born eight children as follows: Jane (deceased), Elizabeth (deceased),

A. J.; Margaret, Ann (deceased), Henry C. (deceased), Harry and Maud. Mrs. Warden died March 12, 1874, aged fifty-two years. Mr. Warden is a member of the Masonic fraternity and belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Politically he is a Republican

JOHN P. WARE was born May 8, 1844, in Todd County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1870 came to Ballard County, where he still resides. His father, Robert P. Ware, a native of Virginia, was born January 1, 1801, and died in 1868. Robert P. Ware's mother was Susan Payne, whose sister Nannie married Lord Fox of England. Robert P. married Martha, daughter of James Saunders, of Christian County, Ky. (died in 1870 aged sixty-four years), and from this union sprang Mary A (Lane), William N., Thomas E., Susan H. (Burrus), Virginia E. (Hilton), subject and Martha E. (Ingram). On September 30, 1869, subject was married to Miss Deborah M., daughter of Henry F. and Naomi (Davis) Townly, of Todd County, born May 10, 1846, and to them have been born Henry, Mary A., Mattie and Johnnie. Subject was for several years a carpenter and builder but is now a farmer and tobacco factor, having 250 acres of fine land in good condition. He is a member of the Knights of Honor, and a Democrat.

WILSON S. WATSON, an old pioneer of Ballard County, was born in Christian County, Ky., June 20, 1820. He is the first of three boys and one girl born to Samuel B. and Clarissa (Lowder) Watson, natives of Christian County, Ky. and Pennsylvania, and respectively of Scotch and Dutch descent. His grandfather was Robert Watson, a millwright. Our subject was reared on a farm and received a fair common school education. He lived with his parents till he was sixteen years old, when he commenced the saddler's trade in Lafayette, Christian Co., Ky. After an apprenticeship of four years, he worked one year in Hopkinsville, then returned to Lafayette, where he was married in May, 1839, to Miss Sally Ann Roberts of Christian County, Ky. She was born in February, 1825, and is a daughter of Thomas F. and Mahala (Wells) Roberts. He had born to him by this union eight children: Martha (now Stoveall), Thomas S., William L., Clementine (dead), Lucy M. (now living in St. Louis), Nancy M. (dead, Henry B. (dead), and one that died in infancy. Mr. Watson, four years after his marriage, moved to Canton, Trigg County, where he remained three years and then returned to Lafayette, where he remained till January, 1844, when he settled in the northern part of Ballard County. In 1848, he moved to Blandville, where he has lived and successfully carried on his trade ever since. In 1846, he was assessor and has also been constable four or five years, he was elected county judge, in 1854, for one term, and was constable during the war. While performing his duty as an officer, he had all his papers and saddle-bags taken from him. He was elected justice after the war, which office he has held ever since, except four years. He had two sons in the Confederate Army. His wife died in April, 1863; she was a member of the Christian Church. He was next married in June, 1872, to Mrs. Pelina (Childs) Linthicum, of Ballard County; she was the mother of four children by her former marriage; she is a member, of the Christian Church. Mr. Watson was formerly an Odd Fellow and in politics is a Democrat.

SQUIRE WILLIAM T. WESTON was born in Bertie County, N. C., April 19, 1812, removed in 1827 to Stewart County, Tenn., and in 1858 to Ballard County, Ky., where he still resides. His father, Ephraim Weston, Jr., a native of Bertie County, N. C., was a soldier in the war of 1812, and died in 1819, at the age of sixty-three years. He was the son of Ephraim, Sr., a Scotchman. Ephraim, Jr., married Catherine Barnes, of Gates County, N. C., who died in 1814. Their offspring are Elizabeth (Butler), Barnes, Catherine (King and Wall), Ephraim, Benjamin, Parthena (Creasey), subject and Richard. Subject received a common school education in youth, but is possessed of a fine store of information by general reading. He married March 19, 1835, Miss Martha L., daughter of Henry and Harriet (French) Gibson, of Stewart County, Tenn. (born December 13, 1812), and to them have been born Æmilius T., Isabella M. (Thomas and Richardson), and Alice E. (Thomas). Squire Weston served twelve years as a magistrate in Tennessee. He is a farmer, having 136 acres of fine land in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and a Democrat.

R. H. WEBB was born in what is now the Pickett District, Ballard County, Ky., on June 27, 1848, and is a son of William and Ann Eliza (Woolfolk) Webb. The father was a native of Henry County, Ky., and came with his father to this county, in 1832. The mother was born in Owen County, Ky. Her father, Col. Thomas Woolfolk, was a colonel in a regiment that was enlisted for the battle of New Orleans, but the battle took place before the men arrived there. Col. Woolfolk came to this county with his family

about 1833. The parents of our subject were married about 1847, and immediately settled down on part of the farm now owned by the latter. There the father died September 15, 1877. For many years he served as magistrate of the district, and died a member of the Christian Church. The mother died in January, 1863. Our subject was the eldest of seven children, of whom six are now living: Robert H., Hannah, wife of G. A. Thomas, of Bardwell; Julia, wife of W. L. Violett; William, John and Wallace. His education was received in the neighborhood and at Clinton College. He began life for himself at twenty-one, and at present owns about 100 acres, of which there are about seventy-five under cultivation. In 1875 he began teaching school and taught seven sessions. In 1882 he was elected to the office of county examiner, and was re-elected in 1884. While acting in this capacity, he attended the meeting of the examiners of the State, which was held at Louisville, in 1883, and took a very active part in the proceedings. Among the resolutions which he offered was one to the effect that all banks, railroads, and other corporations should be taxed for the benefit of the schools. This resolution was adopted unanimously. He was also chairman of the committee on permanent organization, and was also one of five of a committee that was appointed to confer with a legislative committee, on the amendment of the present school law for the State. He is a member of South Ballard Lodge, No. 499, A. F. and A. M.

JAMES D. WHITE, a self-made man, and one of the prominent men of Ballard County, was born October 31, 1831, in Hickman County, Ky. He is the fifth of nine children born to Willis and Mary (Wright) White, of Hickman, and of Irish and German descent, respectively. He was reared on a farm and received a common school education. At the age of eighteen years, he left home and worked on a farm for two years. In 1851, he commenced the study of law with Judge J. M. Bigger, at Blandville, and was admitted to the bar in 1852; in 1857, he was elected county attorney for one term; in 1869, he was elected judge of the Court of Common Pleas, to fill the unexpired term of E. Crossland, who was sent to congress, and was re-elected for a term of six years. He was one of the Hancock and English electors in 1880, and was a delegate to the Democratic convention at Chicago, in 1884. He came with his parents to Blandville, when but two years old. He has made life a success, established a reputation as an able lawyer, and ranks among the best legal talent in the Purchase; he is the possessor of two farms of 200 to 400 acres each; also two residence lots in Blandville. He was married June 19, 1860, to Mary E. Coil, of Ballard; she was born in Pendleton County, Va., and was the daughter of Adam and Dorcas (Morrow) Coil, of German descent. To this union were born seven children: William T., Addie (deceased), W. J., James D. (deceased), Florence and Samuel J. Mrs. White was a member of the Christian Church and died May 10, 1875. Mr. White was next married, October 20, 1881, to Mrs. M. A. Utterback, of Ballard, a daughter of T. J. and Emily (Kouns) Juett, and mother of two children by her first husband, viz.: T. J. and Adda (now Marshall). Mr. White is a member of the Masonic fraternity, is a Sir Knight and is also a member of the I. O. O. F., K. and L. of H. and U. W.; he has also been a member of all the local temperance organizations.

R. C. WHITESIDE was born in Clinton County, Ky., January 20, 1838, and is the first of eight children born to O. H. P. and Eliza (Campbell) Whiteside, natives of Kentucky and of German and Scotch descent respectively. His grandfather was Joel Whiteside, who married a Miss Lynch. He was the son of Robin Whiteside, who was born in Germany. The grandfather on the mother's side was Isaac Campbell, who married a Miss Wells; he was a son of Col. William Campbell, who married a Miss Dean, was a colonel in the Revolution and commanded at King's Mountain. The grandparents were slaveholders. R. C. was reared in Creelsborough, Ky. He received a limited education and lived with his parents till he was twenty-two years old, when he hired to work in a mill. He moved with his parents to Iowa in 1856; he returned to Ballard in 1857, settled in the neighborhood of Ogden's Landing and located where he now resides on fifty-four acres of land, which is in a good state of cultivation. He enlisted in September, 1861, in Company B, Third Kentucky Infantry, under J. H. Bowman, captain, Tilghman colonel commanding. He was in the battles of Shiloh, Baton Rouge, Cornith, Miss.; Jackson, Miss.; Farmington, Paducah, Guntown and Harrisburg. He was wounded in the left thigh and left arm, and remained in the hospital until March, 1865; was on furlough, when paroled at Grenada, Miss., in May, 1865. He returned home and engaged in farming, saw-milling and threshing. He was married in October, 1867, to Vitula Duncan, a native of Daviess County, Ky., and

daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Muffit) Duncan, who were natives of Daviess and Breckinridge Counties, Ky., respectively, of Scotch and German descent. To Mr. and Mrs. Whiteside were born five children: Samuel O., Flora B., Ella, Jesse C. (deceased), and Leslie. Subject and his wife are Baptists, and were both members af the Grange. Mr. Whiteside was Master in the Lodge. He was elected justice in August, 1883. He cast his first presidental vote for John C. Breckinridge, in 1860. He now votes the Democratic ticket.

JOHN D. WILDS, attorney at law and ex-judge, was born in September, 1841, in Carroll County, Miss., and is a son of George B. and Mary E. (Meriwether) Wilds, the former a native of South Carolina, and the latter of Todd County, Ky. Subject's paternal grandfather was John Wilds, a native of South Carolina. He left that State about 1811, and emigrated to Mississippi, settling near Natchez, where he died several years later. Subject's maternal grandfather was Douglass Meriwether, a descendant of the Douglass family of Scotland. He was born in Virginia, and immigrated to Kentucky in 1818 or 1819, and settled in the southern part of the State, went to Carroll County, Miss., in 1833, where he died about 1836. Subject's father was a man of considerable ability, and was a member of the Mississippi Legislature at the time of his death, in 1848, aged thirty-seven years. His widow departed this life in 1851, aged thirty-three years. They were the parents of five children: James R. (deceased), Jonn D., subject, Sarah (deceased), Anna (deceased), and George B. John D. spent his youth in Mississippi, and at the age of seventeen entered the State University at Oxford, where he remained until the breaking out of the civil war, when he enlisted in the Twenty-second Mississippi Volunteer Infantry, under command of Col. Barnum, with which he served during the greater part of the war. While with this command he served in the western campaign under Gens. A. S. Johnston, Polk and Breckinridge, and participated in the battles of Vicksburg, Baton Rouge and a number of other engagements. At Baton Rouge his regiment was led in a charge against the enemy by Capt. Hughes and Gen. Clark, of Mississippi, and was received by one of the most terrific and deadly fires of the war; both said officers were shot from their horses, and many of the men were killed and wounded, and the regiment fell into disorder. At this crisis Mr. Wilds seized the flag of his regiment, ran forward half way between the lines of the two armies and stood there waving the flag and rallying the men till the lines were reformed, and until he fell pierced by a musket ball in the hip and the enemy retreated under cover of their gun-boats. His wound in the hip necessitated an absence from active service for five months. On account of his wound he was ordered to the hospital, but soon tiring of inactivity, he obtained a discharge from the infantry and joined the First Mississippi Cavalry, under command of Col. Dick Pinson, and remained until the close of the war. While with the cavalry he participated in several bloody battles, prominent among which were Murfreesborough, where he received a wound in the right breast; Franklin, Ponchatoula and Wolf River, where he was wounded the third time, receiving a pistol shot in the left thigh. At the close of the war he came to Ballard County, and engaged in teaching—reading law in the meantime. He attended the law school at Oxford, Miss., one term, and in 1869 was admitted to the bar in Blandville, where he has since been actively engaged in the practice of his profession. In 1870, he was elected county school commissioner, which office he held two years, and was elected county judge in 1874. Since 1878 he has been out of office, giving his entire time to his profession, which is very extensive and lucrative. He is a member of the law firm of Bugg & Wilds. He was married December 25, 1876, to Mrs. M. E. Byrne, daughter of Benjamin Hammond, who was born and raised in Jefferson County, Ky., but resided at his death in Union County, Ill. Their union has been blessed with three children: Anna D., John E. and Beatrice. Mr. Wilds is a stanch Democrat and a recognized leader of his party in the county. It may be added that, as a singular incident of Mr. Wild's army career, with the same ball that was shot through his breast at Murfreesborough, he killed, about the close of the war, a large old antlered buck in the swamps of Mississippi, and afterward secured the ball, and still has it in his possession. He was a mere schoolboy when he entered the service, was a confirmed consumptive, and his physician had assigned but a few weeks of life, yet hard riding and fighting in the cavalry service made him a sound and healthy man again, notwithstanding fifteen or eighteen months' confinement from his disorder in the hospital at the beginning of his service, and his several wounds.

GEORGE B. WILDS, Jr., is the fifth child of George B. and Mary E. (Meriwether) Wilds. He was born August 5, 1846, in Sun Flower County, Miss., and until the age

of fifteen years lived with the family of his uncle, R. E. Meriwether, his parents having died when he was quite a small boy. At the breaking out of the civil war he espoused the cause of the South, and at the early age of fifteen enlisted in Company C, Seventh Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and served throughout the greater part of the struggle. He was in the western campaigns under Corps Commander Polk, Van Dorn, Breckinridge and Forrest, and participated in a number of bloody battles, prominent among which were Shiloh, Baton Rouge, Corinth, Vicksburg, Guntown and Paducah. He surrendered with Gen. Forrest's column at Grenada, Miss., and at the close of the war came to Ballard County, Ky., where he engaged in teaching, and, in 1867, commenced the study of law under the instruction of his brother, Judge John D. Wilds. He was admitted to the bar in 1870, but continued teaching, practicing his profession during vacation in the courts of Ballard and adjoining counties. In 1872 he was appointed principal of the Blandville High School, which position he filled until 1874, when he was elected surveyor of Ballard County, in which capacity he served for a period of three years. In 1876 he commenced merchandising in Blandville in partnership with Andrew Bodkin. Later he purchased the entire interest, and at present has one of the largest stores in the county; his stock represents a capital of over $8,000. He was married December 24, 1874, to Mrs. Eva Evans, daughter of Thomas M. and Ellen Horrell, by whom he has one child, George B.; Mrs. Wilds by a previous marriage had one child, Mary Ellen Evans. Mr. Wilds is a member of the I. O. O. F., and belongs to the Christian Church of Blandville, in which he has held the office of deacon for seven years.

WILLIAM J. WILLS, a farmer, was born February 20, 1821, in Montgomery County, Ky. He is the youngest of four children, three boys and one girl, born to James S. and Mary (Kelly) Wills, natives of Virginia and of Welsh and English descent. His grandfathers were Euclid Wills and Alexander Kelly, the latter a Revolutionary soldier. William J. Wills was reared to farming and to blacksmithing; received a common school education, and lived with his parents till of age. He moved to Todd County in 1847, where he purchased 160 acres of land. In 1857 he sold out and came to Ballard County and located where he now lives on 202 acres of land, one-half of which is cleared. He was married in February, 1850, to Tolitha A. Lee, of Todd County, a native of Logan County, Ky., and a daughter of John B. and Julietta (Davis) Lee, natives respectively of Kentucky and North Carolina, and of Irish origin. He has had born to him by this union seven children: James S., John B., William L. (deceased), Onias, David T., Mary E. (now Miller) and Anah D. Mr. Wills has been a member of the Masonic fraternity for thirty years, and he and wife are members of the Christian Church. He cast his first presidential vote for James K. Polk, and has voted with the Democrats ever since.

DR. H. L. WILEY, Ballard County, was born in Carroll County, Ky., on September 17, 1847, and is a son of John W. and Sarah A. (Brent) Wiley. The father was born in Shelby County, Ky., in 1819, his parents being natives of Virginia. In 1846 he came to Carroll County, where he resided until his death on August 15, 1865. The mother is still living in Arlington, Ballard Co., Ky. Subject is the eldest of four children, of whom three are now living, viz.: Henry L.; Archie F., in Berkeley, Ballard Co., Ky., and Bettie, widow of Martin Mulvoy. Subject's education was obtained in the schools of his native county, and at the Eminence High School. He read medicine at Campbellsburg, Ky., with Dr. L. R. Martin, for eighteen months and then attended lectures at the Cincinnati University of Medicine in 1866–67. He returned to Carroll County, where he practiced until 1869. He then came to Ballard County, but only remained one year, and subsequently removed to Fancy Farm, Graves County. At that point he practiced four years and then went to Missouri. A year later he returned to Graves County, and this time opened a drug store at Water Valley. After a short time he moved to Arlington, Ballard County, and opened a general store. In 1881, he came to Milburn and opened a dry goods store. Here he has since remained and now carries a stock of about $5,000. Dr. Wiley was married on December 14, 1870, to Miss Molly E. Reddick, a daughter of William F. and Mary J. (Goldston) Reddick. This lady was born in Ballard County and was the mother of two children, Cora Lee and DeLeon. Her death occurred August 9, 1881, and our subject was next married, February 9, 1882, to Miss Fannie Reddick, a sister of his first wife. By this last marriage there are two children, Bonnie and Mabel. Mrs. Wiley is a member of the Baptist Church.

RICHARD N. WYATT, Ballard County, was born June 15, 1830, in Christian County, Ky. He is the fifth of nine children born

to Richard and Martha (Harrelson) Wyatt, natives of Virginia, of English and Welsh descent. The grandfather Wyatt came from England. Richard N. was reared on a farm, and lived with his parents till twenty-three years of age, when he started in business for himself. He moved with his parents to Ballard County in 1844, and settled in the northern part of the county. He located where he now lives in 1854, on 150 acres of land, which he has improved with a fine residence. He was married in October, 1853, to Lucretia Garrett, of Ballard County; she was born in Carroll County, Ky., and is a daughter of John and Isabella (Hawthorn) Garrett. To them were born ten children, seven now living: Martha I., now Turner; W. T., H. A., C. W., Eva M., Edward L., Nannie V. Mr. and Mrs. Wyatt are members of the Baptist Church. Mr. Wyatt is a member of the K. of H., and cast his first presidential vote for Gen. Scott in 1852; he voted the Whig ticket until 1864, since which time he has been a Democrat.

ANDREW J. WYATT was born July 28, 1828, in Christian County, Ky., and in 1845 came with his parents to Ballard County, where he still resides. His father, Richard Wyatt, a native of King and Queen County, Va., a soldier in the war of 1812, died in 1868, at the age of eighty years. Richard married Martha Harrelson, of Christian County, Ky. (she died in 1853, aged about seventy years), and their offspring are William B., John T., Myra J. (Brame), subject, Richard N., George W., Elizabeth A. (Dance), Sarah E. (Penn) and Mary H. (Penn). On November 11, 1866, subject married Miss Mary E., daughter of Benjamin F. Moses, of Paducah, Ky., born June 23, 1850, and to them have been born James H., Carrie A., Lula E., Frank R., Ned T. and Norma Kate. Our subject is a farmer, owning 649 acres of valuable land in a fine state of cultivation. In politics he affiliates with the Democratic party.

CALLOWAY COUNTY.

FELIX C. ALLEN, of Murray, was born in Calloway County, July 10, 1848, the second of nine children born to Matthew and Elizabeth J. (Alexander) Allen, natives respectively of Kentucky and Tennessee. The father has devoted his time to mercantile and agricultural pursuits, and has served a term of four years as jailer of Calloway County. Our subject was able to secure a good education in the schools of his time, which was augmented by home study. He worked on the farm and in his father's store, and at twenty years of age engaged in the tobacco business as wholesale salesman, continuing in this capacity for a period of six years. Coming to Murray he opened a grocery and hardware store on a small scale; his business rapidly grew, till now he is a partner in the dry goods firm of Allen & Ryan, aside from his own extensive grocery establishment. He is a live business man, and by personal industry and business talent has made his own property. January 24, 1877, he married Miss Mary S. Sledd, of Murray. They have one child—Lura. Mr. Allen favors temperance, and is a member of the K. of H.

ANDREW J. BARNETT, assistant cashier and manager of the interests of the Paris (Tenn.) Commercial Bank in Murray, was born in this county September 22, 1844, to James L. and Hannah D. (Hardison). The father was a farmer, born in Christian County, this State, but resided principally in Calloway County, where he died in March, 1853. Our subject is the fourth of nine children, seven of whom are yet living. He was reared on a farm and received his early schooling in the common district schools, which was followed by a course in the Evansville (Ind.) Commercial College, from which institution he graduated in 1867. Returning to Murray he was variously engaged four years, when a partnership was formed with T. McElrath, and a general hardware and grocery business was carried on for fifteen months, when Mr. McElrath died. Mr. Barnett purchased the entire stock and carried on the business until 1880. He was interested also in a blacksmith and wagon factory, and in the Murray Mills. In 1880 he became interested in the Paris (Tenn.) Bank, and in dealing also in real estate. He has large farming interests, makes a specialty of shorthorn cattle raising, and has invested heavily of late in the cattle business in Texas. Mr. Barnett is one of the most energetic, successful business men of the State, and has accumulated his large property by close attention

to business and keen sagacity in financial matters. He is the present treasurer of the school board. May 12, 1878, he married Mrs. Laura A. (Curd) McElrath, widow of his former partner. She has two sons: Felix B. and John P. McElrath.

ROBERT S. COLEMAN, Calloway County, is a native of Stewart County, Tenn. He was born March 8, 1829, and is a son of William H. and Mary (Gatlin) Coleman. The father was a farmer by occupation, a native of North Carolina, who came west in 1816, and died in Stewart County, Tenn., in 1850. Our subject was the only child of his parents, and his early life was spent upon the home farm. After becoming of age he was variously engaged in steamboating, clerking and farming until 1855, when he began the study of medicine, and, removing soon after to Henry County,. Tenn., completed his preparatory studies there; he then attended the university at Nashville, and graduated from the medical department of that institution in 1862. He then accepted a position in the Confederate hospital service, but was taken prisoner in the fall of the same year at Fort Heiman, and paroled. He then continued the practice of medicine in Henry County, Tenn., until 1872, when he came to Murray, where he has since resided, and enjoys the confidence of the community in his professional skill, and occupies an eminent position as a physician, surgeon and citizen. November 7, 1856, he wedded Miss Fannie A. Williams, of Henry County, Tenn. There are five children living of this marriage: John R., who graduated with honors from the medical department of the University of Louisville in 1882, is a young man of fine social and intellectual worth, a thorough physician, has an extensive practice and bids fair to rise to distinction in his chosen profession; James H., a counselor at law, with fine intellect and fair promise; Thomas E., Mary A. and Fannie P., all children of splendid sense. Subject is a member of the Masonic order. He is chairman of the board of health and has served as president of the medical association.

EUCLID H. COVINGTON, proprietor of the Covington House, was born in Calloway County, December, 1840. His father, William H. Covington, was born in Warren County, Ky., near Bowling Green, January 25, 1813. During his boyhood days educational advantages were limited, but having fine natural abilities, and improving his time in home studies, when not working on the farm, he was enabled later in life to fill with honor the several eminent positions of trust conferred upon him. While yet a boy he began teaching, and dealing in stock, and when a young man made several trips with the same to New Orleans; he was generally successful in his dealing, and at an early day, came to Calloway County, and located on a farm, the county being then poorly developed. At the breaking out of the war, he was a Whig and stanch Union man, and during the war was well known as such by the Federal authorities, with whom he had great influence, which he used in the interests of his county and her citizens. He suffered heavily at the hands of guerrillas of both armies; and was finally broken financially. In 1865 he was elected as a Democrat to an adjourned session of the State legislature, and the same year was re-elected for two years. January 15, 1834, he married Mildred H. Spillman, which union has given seven children, only three of whom are living. Euclid H. Covington, the subject or these lines was reared on the farm and attended the district schools and the Murray Institute; then he clerked in his father's store and next accepted position as deputy county clerk; for many years subsequently he was interested in the mercantile and tobacco business, at one time manufacturing plug and twist tobacco in Murray on an extensive scale; in partnership with two others he built the Murray saw and grist-mill, which is still in operation; in 1872 he was appointed postmaster at this place, but resigned two years later and engaged in the hotel business, to which he has since given his attention with good success. August 2, 1861, he married Lucy B. Curd, an accomplished daughter of Capt. Edward Curd, of Mexican war fame. They have three children living: Gustavus C., William E. and Curtis C. Mr. and Mrs. Covington are devout members of the Missionary Baptist Church, of which he is trustee. He is also a member of the Masonic and Knights of Honor fraternities.

GEORGE W. CRAIG was born in this county, January 6, 1845, at Pine Bluff, on the Tennessee River. He is the eldest of six children born to George W. and Lavinia (McCuiston) Craig. The father was a native of the State and was engaged through life in mercantile and farming pursuits. He died in July, 1867. He was of Irish descent and a son of James Craig. Our subject assisted in early life in the management of his father's warehouse, and clerked in the store. At seventeen he accepted a clerkship in the warehouse and commission store of Whitlock & McNichols, and after continuing in this capacity two years came to Murray and served three years as deputy circuit

clerk. He then engaged in farming and continued the same up to 1880, excepting two years, during which time he was employed as salesman by Harding & Adair, of Graves County. In 1880 he was elected circuit clerk for a term of six years. He is a member of the I. O. O. F. and Knights of Honor, and is an eminent and active worker in the cause of temperance. May 19, 1867, he married Miss Nannie Eaker of Murray. This union has been blessed with seven children, three of whom are living: Mary, Harmon E. and George C.

HON. GEORGE N. CUTCHIN, present member of the State legislature from Calloway County, of which he is a native, was born in 1851. His father, William H. Cutchin, was born in North Carolina, removing to Calloway County, Ky., in early life, where he engaged in general farming, with which he combined the honored and laborious work of pioneer school teacher. He died in this county in 1869. Catherine L. (Martin) Cutchin, who is still a resident of Calloway County, Ky., is the mother of our subject. She was born in Kentucky, and is a grand-daughter of Gen. William Green of Revolutionary fame. George N. Cutchin is the fifth of a family of nine children born to these parents, and was reared on the farm, to which industry he still devotes his attention. He received the benefits of his father's teaching, supplemented by a course of study in the Murray Institute, obtaining thereby a good English education. In August, 1883, he was elected by the people of Calloway County to represent them in the lower house of the State legislature, a position which he now occupies with acceptance. In 1879 he married Miss Sallie B., daughter of Joel H. and Mary Curd, and to them have been born three children: Tommie, Ethel G. and Carlisle Cutchin.

EDWIN S. DIUGUID, Murray, was born in Calloway County, August 13, 1854. His father, William H. Diuguid, is a native of Virginia, and came to Calloway County with his parents in 1835; he is a cabinet-maker by trade and carried on business a number of years in Murray, but has given his attention more of late years to agricultural pursuits. His wife, Catherine Churchill, is a native of this State. Their union has been blessed with nine children, of whom our subject is the fifth. The latter was reared on a farm, principally, and attended the district schools of the neighborhood, and after a year's course at the Murray Institute, taught school for a term of five months; for four years following he was employed as salesman by J. D. A. Hale, of Murray, two years. With the money thus earned, he was enabled to enter a business partnership with W. P. Gatlin. The firm continued four years up to 1884, since which date Mr. Diuguid has been alone. He carries a large line of groceries, hardware and general merchandise, and enjoys a flourishing trade. Mr. Diuguid is a deacon in the Christian Church, and is one of the trustees of the town. He married, December 9, 1879, Miss Lottie C. Scott, a native of Mississippi. They have two children: Robert S. and Mary E.

DR. M. H. EAKER, whose portrait appears elsewhere in this volume, is the seventh of a family of eight children, born to Michael and Polly (Armstrong) Eaker. The father, a native of Georgia, and the mother of Tennessee, both removed to Trigg County, Ky., in early childhood; there they married, and there spent several years of their lives. It was there Dr. M. H. Eaker was born, in 1818, two years subsequent to which date his parents removed to the Purchase, settling on Terrapin Creek, in the south part of Graves County. About 1836, they removed to Mayfield, where they passed the remainder of their lives. Michael Eaker died in 1855, at what age is not absolutely known. His father was a Revolutionary soldier, and was killed in that struggle; according to the best information, Michael Eaker was born about 1770; his wife, Polly (Armstrong) Eaker, died in Mayfield, Ky., about 1858. Of their children, Squire John Eaker, of Mayfield, and the subject of this sketch are the only ones living. Practically, Dr. Eaker was reared to the pursuits of the farm, receiving in the meantime the benefits of such education as the infant settlement then afforded. At the age of twenty he began reading medicine under the preceptorship of Dr. Dallam, of Mayfield. After the usual preliminary reading, he entered the medical department of the Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky. Having thus qualified himself for his profession, he began the practice of medicine in his adopted county, but in 1844 removed to Murray, Calloway County. Here his efficient service soon commanded an extensive practice. We wish to emphasize the expression "efficient service," as Dr. Eaker is not one of those, who, by exterior appearance, seek to prepossess the public; choosing rather to "prove himself a workman, who need not be ashamed." Sympathy and generosity are qualities happily blended in his nature, which, combined with his native ability as a physician, have drawn around him a host of ardent friends. He does not affiliate with

any church or religious denomination, but is a worthy member of the Masonic fraternity. Dr. Eaker was married in Tennessee, in 1848, to Miss Mary Ellison, a daughter of Thomas and Lucy (Grisson) Ellison. Thomas was a son of the Rev. Lewis Ellison, a minister of the Baptist faith, and was born in Kentucky. He died about 1832, in Christian County, Ky., leaving six children, Mrs. Eaker being the third. His widow married Cornelius Atkisson, had a family of six children, and died in Murray, Ky., in 1864. Mrs. Eaker was born in 1828, in Cumberland County, Ky. Dr. Eaker has a family of seven children, viz.: Nancy, wife of George W. Craig; Michael T., Robert W., John V., Franklin P., Harmon D. and Bailey I. Eaker.

ROBERT L. ELLISON, of Murray, Calloway County, now arranging to reside at Fort Worth, Tex., was born in Boone County, Mo., November 19, 1831, and is a son of Thomas and Lucinda (Grisson) Ellison. Thomas Ellison was a Virginian by birth, and a tanner by occupation; his father, Lewis Ellison, was one of the pioneer preachers of Kentucky. He died in Murray at the advanced age of ninety years. Thomas Ellison came to Kentucky when a boy, with his father, and after marriage moved to Missouri, but returned to Christian County, this State, where he died; his family removed to Calloway County in 1838. Mrs. Ellison married a second husband, a Mr. Atkisson, and moved to Wadesborough, coming finally to Murray in 1846. At sixteen years of age our subject began clerking for D. C. Carlton, receiving the first year his board and $16. He then served as deputy circuit and county clerk under his brother, for several years. In 1856 he defeated two opponents for the office of circuit clerk by handsome majorities, receiving more votes than both, and held the position until 1862. In the same year the Federal forces arrested him for running for office, took him to Paducah, but released him shortly after, and he returned to his home. At the close of the war, under the firm name of Ellison, Godwin & Co., he built two brick business houses and carried on a grocery in one and a dry goods store in the other. A branch store was established at Crossland, Ky., under the firm name of B. Harding & Co., and for some time a heavy business was done in each of these stores. That in Murray was sold in 1871, and continued at Crossland, and in 1877, Messrs. Ellison and N. Harding established a State bank at Paris, Tenn., with Mr. Ellison as president. There Mr. Ellison built a fine business house and engaged also in the mercantile trade, all of which interests he disposed of preparatory to his departure to Fort Worth, Tex., where, in 1883, he secured an interest in a banking institution, which has since been converted into a national bank. He is also extensively interested in a Texas cattle company. He is entirely a self-made man, having started in life without a cent of capital. He has always taken a deep interest in educational matters, and was prominent in the management of the Murray Institute for many years. He is a member of the Masonic order and has taken a deep interest in the orphan's home under the auspices of that fraternity. August 7, 1853, he married Lucy B. Curd; she died May 1, 1861, leaving three children, Thomas B., Mary L., and Lucy J., now deceased. In 1862 Mr. Ellison wedded Miss Thankful Ryan, of Murray; they have three children, Alice R., Sula P. and Robert.

JOHN B. ENGLAND, one of the most thrifty and enterprising farmers of Calloway County, was born in Cumberland County, Va., July 30, 1823. He is the fourth of a family of six children of John and Mary B. England, who settled in Calloway County in 1839, emigrating at that date from Virginia. John England, the father of John B., was born in 1786, in Hanover County, Va., where he grew to manhood. He served as a soldier in the war of 1812, at the close of which he married Miss Mary B. Cayce, who was born in Virginia in 1792. She lived to the advanced age of eighty-two years, and died in Calloway County, her husband having died two years subsequent to their settlement in this county. They were both advocates of pioneer Methodism, in the faith of which they trustingly died. John B. England received a common school education, chiefly in Virginia, and has assiduously devoted his life to the pursuits of agriculture, in which he has been quite successful. He now owns near Murray a tract of land consisting of 560 acres. In political faith Mr. England is a stanch Republican, and has been repeatedly called to fill positions of public trust. In 1851 he was elected to the office of county assessor, serving one term; next, in 1862, he was elected to the office of county clerk of Calloway County, serving four years; was assessor of internal revenue from 1867 to 1869, and for several years has served as United States commissioner for the Sixth District of Kentucky, which position he now holds. Mr. England has been twice married; first to Mrs. Lizzie Smothermen formerly Bramlett, of Memphis, Tenn.; she

died in May, 1871, leaving two children: Etna C. and Bernard B. England. The second wife was Susan M., daughter of the late Dr. John B. Graham, of Calloway County. She died in September, 1883, the mother of two children: Kenton B. and John G. England. Mr. England is a worthy member of the Masonic order, I. O. O. F., and of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

WILLIAM P. GATLIN, Calloway County, was born at Iron Mountain Furnace, Tenn., June 6, 1859. His father, George W. Gatlin, is a native of the same place. The latter has engaged during life in farming and various mercantile pursuits in Tennessee. During the war he captained a company organized by himself in the Fiftieth Tennessee Regiment. He was wounded severely in a skirmish which occurred in the engagement at Forts Henry and Donelson. His wife, Minerva Gray, is a daughter of Gen. James A. Gray, who served with distinction during the Mexican war. To them were born seven children. Our subject successively attended the various schools in his native State, Tennessee, and in the State of Kentucky. Concluding his scholastic course he entered upon the stage of business life as clerk in a retail store. After seven and a half months he began for himself, the mercantile business in September 1879, in the town of Murray, Calloway Co., Ky., where he has since resided. Mr. Gatlin started in life with but a few dollars, but by his indefatigable industry, energy and business sagacity has built up a lucrative business, and placed himself among the prominent citizens and merchants of Murray. October 1, 1883, he married Miss Effie Oury, of Murray, Ky. They are the parents of one child, Gray. Mr. Gatlin is a member of the K. of H. and A. F. & A. M., and is an active supporter of the temperance cause.

JAMES W. GILBERT, Calloway County, was born in Marshall County, Ky., February 20, 1840. His father, Hugh Gilbert, is engaged in business in Paducah, Ky., having been previously identified with the business interests of Benton, Ky. To him and wife, Sarah A. Walters, were born twelve children. The subject of these lines, the second child, was reared on his father's farm; and after attending the common schools of the neighborhood, continued his studies at Benton and Murray Institutes, afterward teaching school himself. In 1861 he enlisted in Company G, Third Kentucky Confederate Regiment, served three years, and was engaged at the siege of Vicksburg, and various other battles. Returning home at the close of the war, he devoted his time to teaching and farming, the latter of which continued to be his principal occupation up to 1876, when he went into the tobacco business, which has since been his occupation. He has 500 acres of valuable land and a fine residence adjoining the town limits of Murray. He has attained his success in life through his own efforts, and has given to public enterprises freely. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and with his wife a member of the Baptist Church. He was first married to Miss McClain, who died in 1868, and later to Albina P. McClain, sister of his first wife. They have five children.

THOMAS M. GRAVES, Calloway County, was born September 18, 1824, in Marshall County, Tenn., the youngest of ten children born to Samuel and Ellen (Wilson) Graves. The father was a farmer, was a native of Georgia, whence he moved in 1800 to Tennessee. He died in 1879 at the advanced age of eighty-nine years. Our subject was reared on a farm, but at the age of nineteen began reading medicine with Dr. Moore of Bedford County, and practiced for several years; moved to Kentucky in 1852; in 1854 went to Nashville, attended one course at the Nashville College. After several years' practice in his native county, he came in 1852 to Calloway County, and located on a farm four miles northwest of town, and has since been in active practice, and stands high in his profession. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M., and heartily indorses the temperance movement. He has been married three times. His first wife was Miss Martha Fleming; she died soon after marriage. By his second wife, Susanna M. Wilson, there are three children living: James A., Ula and Cora. The doctor's present wife is Miss Nannie E. Harding; this union has given three children: Wildy H., Rube E. and Polly C.

NATHAN T. HALE, Calloway County, was born in Henry County, Tenn., December 6, 1833, and is a son of Nicholas and Rhoda (Crouch) Hale. The father was a native of Tennessee, and about 1834 removed to Warren County, Ky., and from there to Arkansas some time later. Returning to Kentucky he located in Graves County, where he died two years afterward. His widow followed him four years later, and our subject went to live with an uncle, Nathan Hale, who was a farmer in Graves County, and remained with him until becoming of age. Going to Boydsville, Tenn., he began clerking in the dry goods house of E. R. Cook for $75 per year, and remained in his employ two years, his wages being increased in the meantime. He

J M Gilbert

then went into the dry goods business in partnership with R. M. Haupe, in Boydsville, whom he bought out nine months later; then he moved his goods to Lynnville, Ky., and went into business with his brother, W. H. Hale. They continued together five years till 1862, but during the same period N. T. Hale was partner in a store at Boydsville with E. R. Cook. In 1862 he sold his store in Lynnville, and took charge of his father-in-law's farm and hands for one season, after which he moved on a farm in Graves County, where he remained three years, when he removed to Calloway County, and purchased a farm three miles from Murray, which he afterward exchanged for one nearer the town. He then re-entered the mercantile trade, forming the partnership of Hale, Jones & Co., and purchasing the stock of Ellison, Godwin & Co., the firm continued thus for three years, and thereafter for a similar period of time as Hale, Head & Co. Mr. Hale purchased his brother's interest in the firm, and for two years following business was carried on under firm name of Hale & Head, when Mr. Hale bought out his partner, and was alone up to February, 1884, when his son and son-in-law were admitted to the firm. Mr. Hale is interested in a branch store at Warburg, Ky. The firm in Murray carry a stock of goods of from $15,000 to $20,000, and enjoy a steady and heavy trade throughout the surrounding country. Mr. Hale started in life with but little assistance furnished by his uncle, and has made his way through the world with nothing but his own energies to rely on, which, however, have been sufficient to place him in the foremost rank of business men, and among the most respected and esteemed citizens. He and wife are members of the Christian Church, in which he has been elder for many years. He has taken a common interest in the local schools, and now holds the position of trustee, with others of the Murray Institute. He was married March 4, 1858, to Miss Margaret C. Sims, of Tennessee, daughter of John and Jane (Cook) Sims. The union has been blessed with ten children, eight of whom now survive: Orlando T. (now in partnership with his father), Virgie H. (wife of W. H. Stubblefield, also a partner in the store), Drucilla, (a young lady thoroughly proficient in music), James M., Rhoda J., William N., Burnett S. and Artie (an infant).

RICHARD F. HAMLIN, of Calloway County, was born in Rockingham County, N. C., November 15, 1835, a son of Peter S. and Virginia A. (Micheaux) Hamlin, both of whom are yet living. The mother is a descendant of Abraham Micheaux, a Huguenot, whose wife, when a child, was shipped out of France as merchandise, in a hogshead, during the period of persecution of the Protestants in that country. The captain of the vessel, being friendly to the Huguenots, released her from confinement, and landed her safely in Holland, where she met and married Abraham Micheaux, who had preceded her as a refugee. The father of our subject is a Virginian by birth, removed at an early date to North Carolina, where he was married. In 1839 he came to Calloway County, Ky., when our subject was four years old. Richard F. worked on the farm and around his father's mill, and attended subscription schools until nineteen years of age, when, upon the proceeds of a small legacy derived from his grandfather, he attended school at Rockingham Court House (or Wentworth), N. C. Then by the financial aid of his aunt was enabled to attend Chapel Hill University in North Carolina, and graduated in 1859. His career as a student is exemplary, holding the position of class orator, associate editor of the college paper, president of the literary society, and always a perfect grade in deportment. During his last year in college he took a course of law in connection with his other studies. After leaving school he went to Todd County, Ky., where he was first tutor in a wealthy family at a liberal salary, then took under his instruction the children of several other families of the vicinity. During the fore part of the late war he was Union in sentiment, but was influenced by relations and friends to enter the Confederate service. He joined Company H, Third Kentucky Infantry, participating in the battle of Shiloh, and the numerous other engagements of the Southwest. In said command he staid until close of the war. Returning to Calloway County he worked in his father's mill, and taught school, was then president of a college in Ballard County two years. Then came to Murray, having previously invested in a stock of groceries, and continued in the same line nine months. He afterward taught school, and in 1882 was elected county clerk. Mr. Hamlin was married June 28, 1868, to Miss Laura Boggs. The union has given four children: Roberta, Virginia, Juliet K. and Richard F. Mr. and Mrs. Hamlin are members of the Christian Church. He also is a Mason and member of the Knights of Honor.

JAMES G. HART, M. D., Calloway County, is a son of James M. and Dolly (Marsh)

Hart. He was born July 5, 1849, in Henry County, Tenn., and was brought when a year old to this county by his parents. He was reared on a farm and received what education was afforded by the common schools. At twenty years of age he began the study of medicine under the instruction of Dr. E. B. Curd of this county, and a year later attended the Eclectic Medical Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio, from which institution he graduated in 1873. Returning to Calloway County he began the practice of his profession, locating in the town of Murray in 1880, and has rapidly attained a leading position, enjoying an extensive lucrative practice, as well as the esteem of the community. Educational matters receive from him a hearty support, as well as the temperance cause. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and with his wife a member of the Christian Church. He married May 15, 1873, Miss Sarah E. Thompson, daughter of Abraham Thompson of this county, which union has been blessed with four children: Abraham B., Pocahontas, Prince A. and Fannie.

WILLIAM HOLLAND, whose portrait appears elsewhere in this volume, and who has lived in this county since 1831, was born in 1819, in Robertson county, Tenn., and is a son of Daniel Holland, an old-fashioned gentleman, of great personal popularity, who settled in this county in 1831, and who died in 1852. The mother of William Holland, whose name was Rebecca Skinner, was a native of Robertson County, as was also her husband. She died in Calloway County, Ky., two years subsequently to the death of her husband. They had a family of twelve children, of whom William is the eldest, and of whom but seven are now living: William, Jesse, Andrew J., Elizabeth (Boaze), B. C. Holland, Lydia (Bowman), Temperance (Mahan). Referring to the early education of our subject, we have but to present a mental picture of the primitive log schoolhouse, with stick chimney, clapboard roof and door, puncheon floor and seats and writing-desk of same material; the latter placed beneath an improvised window, made by removing a section of one log, over which opening was often placed a greased paper, in lieu of glass, and we then have a view of the "temple of learning" common to his boyhood, and the benefits of which were shared by very many of the old settlers now living. Though hedged about in his early youth with many disadvantages common to pioneer life, our subject developed a fondness for reading, which, combined with his native business energy, has made him conspicuous among his fellows, and the impress of his influence has long been felt in the moulding of character, and the advancement of the common good in the community in which he has lived so long. As a citizen, as a magistrate, as a conservator of the interests of widow and orphan, and in the administration of his own private business, Mr. Holland has proven himself an efficient and an honest man. He has been twice married; first in 1841 to Miss Martha J. Miller, who was born in 1821, and died in 1882. As a result of this union, seven children are living, viz.: George M., Mary A. (Roberts), John G., Robert B., Layfayette W., Stanford S., and Rebecca E., wife of S. S. Nix. The second marriage occurred, in 1883, to his present wife, Martha Martin.

ANDREW J. HOLLAND is a son of Daniel Holland, a physician, and native of Robertson County, Tenn., where our subject was born February 22, 1830. The father died in 1852 and his widow, Rebecca (Skinner) Holland, two years later. Subject was reared on the farm of his father, and attended district school. He remained at home until of age, when he came to Murray and further prosecuted his studies, his father having in the meantime moved to the eastern part of the county. After attending school one year, he taught one for same period of time, and then engaged in the mercantile trade at Flint Springs, this county, continuing there four years; selling out he purchased a dry goods store in Murray, and was in the business two years, being burnt out in 1861. He was later engaged in the dry goods trade in Murray from 1865 to 1868, and has been largely identified with the tobacco business both here and in Graves County adjoining, and was burnt out for a second time while engaged in the manufacture of plug tobacco in the latter county. He is now in the milling business, owning a half interest in the Murray Mills. October 25, 1856, he married Elizabeth Pitt, of Murray; she died in 1865, and he was subsequently married to Ellen Curran. Mr. Holland is a member of the Masonic order, and of the Missionary Baptist Church; also a member of the Knights of Honor, and gives his support to the prohibition cause.

ROBERT B. HOLLAND was born August 12, 1853. His father, William Holland, is a native of Robertson County, Tenn., and was born April 19, 1819. He has been engaged mostly in farming and mercantile pursuits. He came to Calloway County with his parents when thirteen years of age, and has since been engaged in business, principally in the county. His wife, who was a Miss Martha J. Miller, died July 1, 1882.

They were parents of twelve children, of whom Robert B. was the eighth. Our subject was reared on a farm and obtained a good schooling, December 23, 1882, he married Miss Mattie L. Hay, of Calloway County, and began in life for himself as a farmer. He was soon after elected constable, and served as deputy sheriff during the years 1879-80. In August of the latter year he was elected sheriff, and two years later was reelected. He has been a prompt and efficient officer, and enjoys the confidence of the community. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and Knights of Honor, and gives active support to the cause of prohibition. His family consists of three children: Lula, Bertie and Myrtle.

COL. G. A. C. HOLT, of Calloway County, ex-president of the State senate and lieutenant-governor of Kentucky, was born in Salem, Livingston Co., Ky., March 2, 1840, a son of James P. and Julia K. (Hodge) Holt. The father was born in Louisville, educated at the State university, and attained eminence throughout the State as a physician. His distinguished son, the subject of this sketch, was early thrown upon his own resources. He received his early education mostly at a private academy at Henderson and Murray, Ky., and before attaining the age of fifteen years he was able to teach school. He was graduated in law by the State university at Louisville, in March, 1859. He located in Murray, Ky., and opened a law office, and rapidly laid the foundation of an extended and lucrative practice, but the breaking out of the war temporarily interfered with his efforts in this direction. He responded to the call to arms by assisting in the organization of Company H, Third Kentucky Regiment of Infantry (Confederate), and was elected captain of the company. The regiment participated in the battle of Shiloh, in which most of the officers fell; took part in the principal engagements of the Southwest, and, as a part of Forrest's command, surrendered at Gainesville, Ala., at the close of the war. At Jackson, Miss., Col. Holt received a wound in the shoulder. In March, 1864, he was made lieutenant-colonel, his commission dating November 1, 1864, to rank as such from March 25, 1864, and in November following was promoted to the rank of colonel. Upon the close of the war he returned to Murray and resumed the practice of law, taking also an interest in political affairs. In 1868 he was elected to the State senate, and in 1871 defeated Carlisle for the presidency of that body. As president of the senate he filled the position of lieutenant-governor of the State—the governor having been elected to the United States senate, and the vacancy being filled by the lieutenant-governor. Mr. Holt was again sent to the senate for a term of four years at the expiration of his first term, and through his efforts was secured material State assistance in the erection of the Murray Institute. He was also prominently identified with the passage of the Cincinnati Railroad Bill. Returning from the senate, he gave his exclusive attention to his professional interests, and has since resided in Murray. He is an active supporter of the temperance movement, and takes a warm interest in educational matters and home enterprises. Col. Holt was married October 28, 1878, to Miss Ina L. Berry, a daughter of C. A. and Mary L. Berry, of Salem, Ky.; she was educated at St. Vincent College, this State, and McPherson's Female College, Memphis, Tenn. This union has been blessed with three children: James P., Mamie and Maggie. Col. Holt's service in the army, amidst the perils and hardships of the Confederate cause, so impaired his health and constitution as to render him an invalid for life, and to confine him to his bed and room for seven or eight years after the war. He has won distinctions beyond most men of his age—lieutenant-colonel and colonel at twenty-four years of age. He was elected to the senate at twenty-eight or twenty-nine years of age, while the constitution requires thirty years of age. He was elected speaker and lieutenant-governor in 1881, at the age of thirty-three years—the constitution requiring the governor and lieutenant-governor to be thirty-five years old. He has won an enviable distinction at the bar in both the State and Federal courts; his practice now being in the State courts of his district, and the United States circuit and district courts of Louisville and Paducah.

THOMAS R. JONES, Calloway County, Ky., was born in Paris, Tenn., November 19, 1835, the second child born to Thomas M. and Mary (Cluselle) Jones. The father was a Kentuckian by birth and figured prominently in the history of the State. He was a saddler by trade and came to Calloway County in 1836, and was the county judge of said county for sixteen years; he served two terms in the legislature, and died in 1877; he had been three times married, his second wife being Martha Brame of Christian County, Ky., and his third, Martha Simpson, of Calloway County, Ky. Our subject remained at home until his marriage, when he started out in the grocery business in Murray, and for many years afterward was

engaged in the mercantile trade. In 1879 he was employed as salesman in the establishment of Ellison, Head & Co., of Paris, Tenn. He afterward went to Paducah, and for over two years was employed by C. H. Reike & Sons, and J. R. Smith & Co., wholesale dry goods dealers and grocers respectively. After this he went to Mayfield, where he was one year in the dry goods business with J. D. A. Hale, when he came to Murray and opened a dry goods store under the firm name of Thomas R. Jones & Sons; six days later, the establishment burned, but stock of goods saved and was opened out in new quarters of the town. January 20, 1856, he married Celia Malone of Murray, by whom there were six children, five living: Emma J., widow of ex-Circuit Clerk James M. Hutchens; Lula D., now wife of Nathaniel Ryan, merchant of Murray; James P. and William O., both in partnership with their father, and Lera L. Mrs Jones died July 27, 1873, and Mr. Jones was subsequently married to Miss Mattie Boggs, of Murray, July 20, 1875. Mr. Jones is a member of the Christian Church, and also of the Masonic fraternity, in which he has risen to the rank of Royal Arch Mason. He was a charter member of the Murray Institute, and for many years a member of the board of trustees. William O. Jones was married to Miss Lee Nix of Marshall County, Ky., May 6, 1885. Miss Lera L. Jones was married to Hardy G. Keys, of Calloway County, Ky., December 25, 1884.

JUDGE WILLIAM B. KEYS, Murray, was born in Calloway County, May 3, 1849. His parents were Isaac and Mildred M. (Curd) Keys. His father was a native of Hart County, this state, and removed to Calloway County about 1828 with his father John Keys, who was a Virginian by birth. He was elected sheriff of this county in 1865, was re-elected to a second term, but was accidentally shot August 27, 1866. Subject's maternal grandfather, Edmond Curd, was one of the earliest settlers of Kentucky, and kept the land office at Wadesborough, Calloway County. Subject was brought up on a farm, and attended the common schools until nineteen years of age, when he gave his attention to farming and teaching school. In 1876 he was elected sheriff of Calloway County, and served two terms; during this time he improved every opportunity of studying law, which qualified him for the office of county judge, a position to which he was elected in 1882, and now holds. The judge is a man of his own making, rising from obscurity to positions of social and professional prominence, through his own untiring and determined efforts. He is a Democrat politically, and an active leader in temperance. He was the first sheriff who promptly settled up his accounts in full with the State since the war of 1860, and all the positions with which the people have favored him, he has filled to their outspoken satisfaction. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and takes an active part in all measures and enterprises calculated for the general good of the masses.

JOHN C. McELRATH was born in Marshall County, now Calloway County, Ky., September 6, 1831, a son of John T. and Jane (McCorkle) McElrath, both of whom were natives of South Carolina. The father was a farmer, and gave, during his life, some attention also to real estate dealings. He came west in 1805, with his father, William McElrath, and located first in Montgomery County, Tenn., and in 1821 removed to Marshall County, Ky. The father of William McElrath was born in Ireland, of Scotch parentage; came to America at an early date and served in the Revolutionary war. The subject of this sketch is the sixth of eleven children born to his parents, and was reared on the home farm, attending the common schools of the vicinity until seventeen years of age, when he was given a position in a store at Benton, Ky., and served a year and a half. Then he came to Murray, opened a drug store on his own account, and continued in this business five years. Then he entered the dry goods trade, and with the exception of the years during the war, has since carried on business in this line, with an average stock of $18,000. The firm is at present known as McElrath & Graham, who have a branch store in the country in charge of Mr. McElrath's son. Mr. McElrath made his own start in life, and his success is due alone to his own energy. He is a member of the Odd Fellows and Masonic fraternities, and is one of the trustees of the Murray Institute, and has contributed largely to many educational measures. He is a Democrat in politics. September 25, 1861, he married Miss Rella Atkisson, of Murray. There are three children of this marriage: John T., Jessie and Lenona. Mrs. McElrath died January 5, 1869, and he was subsequently married June 30, 1873, to Miss Fannie Nold. Of this union there are three children living: Henry P., William W. and Helen. Mr. McElrath has taken a great interest in the education of his children, having graduated his two eldest daughters at Miss Knowles' female seminary, Louisville, Ky.

MORGAN W. MARTIN, of Murray, was

born near Murray, Calloway County, April 2, 1844. His father, R. J. Martin, was a native of Hopkins County, Ky., was a farmer, and engaged also in tobacco dealing and mercantile pursuits. His wife, formerly Miss Harriet Williams, is a native of the State of Delaware. To them were born four children, of whom our subject is the only one living. His grandfather, James Martin, came from Virginia; was one of the first settlers of Calloway County, Ky. His other grandfather, Morgan Williams, was one of the pioneer Methodist ministers of the State. Subject was fairly educated, but his plans for the future were interrupted by the breaking out of the war, when he enlisted as a private in Company G, Seventh Kentucky Infantry, and served three years, being in the battles of Shiloh, Guntown and other battles of the southwest campaign. At Shiloh he was wounded. He served till the close of the war, and for gallant conduct was promoted to sergeant. In 1865 he returned to Murray, and continued his studies in the Murray Seminary, was afterward teacher in that institution, and has later taught various district schools. In 1876 he went to Morley, Mo., and engaged in the drug business; returning to Murray, he taught school in Calloway and in Marshall Counties. In 1878 he purchased an interest in the drug business of W. E. Dale, the style of the firm being Dale & Martin. Mr. Martin is the clerk and treasurer of the Christian Church of Murray, and is also a member of the Masonic fraternity. He is the present chairman of the town board of trustees, and also chairman of the trustees of the Murray Male and Female Institute.

IVASON B. MARTIN, Calloway County, is a native of Williamson County, Tenn., born August 30, 1855. His father, Ivason B., was a native of North Carolina, a farmer by occupation; he came to Tennessee at an early date, and died in 1871; to him and his wife, Sallie A. Roberts, were born fourteen children, of which number our subject was the fifth. The last named remained on the farm until of age, attending in the meantime the schools of the vicinity, and afterward the schools at Hico, Ky., after which he taught school in Trigg County, Ky.; then for a year was engaged in selling general goods on the road; then he accepted a situation as salesman in a mercantile establishment at Shiloh, Ky. He next sold tobacco a year in the South for R. C. Stubblefield, and after traveling one season for a Paducah wholesale confectionery house, settled in Murray, gave some attention to farming interests, and then opened his present grocery and confectionery establishment. He gives active support to the temperance movement, and is interested in enterprises of a public character. October 9, 1882, he married Miss Lina Danial, of Murray; they are both members of the Christian Church.

JOHN G. MILLER, Calloway County, attorney at law, was born January 10, 1853, in Caldwell County, this State, a son of John H. and Laura J. (Goodrum) Miller, natives respectively of Kentucky and Mississippi. The parents had seven children, our subject being the eldest. The father was descended from Scotch-Irish stock. Subject was reared on his father's farm, and educated at the district schools, and at Bethlehem Academy. His father suffered heavily on account of the war, and becoming broken in health, the responsibility of supporting the family fell largely on the shoulders of the eldest son. At eleven years of age he assumed this responsibility, and to the same energy and fixity of purpose, which characterized his early life, as in this illustration, he has always adhered. In 1874 he began teaching school; later began the study of law, and was admitted to the Eddyville bar in 1878, where he practiced a short time; then removed to Murray in 1879. He has here established himself in an extensive paying practice, and is recognized as a thorough lawyer. January 18, 1881, he married Miss Capitola L. Higgins, of Eddyville, Ky., a member of the Baptist Church in high standing. Mr. Miller is a Mason, a member of the Presbyterian Church, and an ardent advocate of prohibition.

TIPTON A. MILLER is a native of Trigg County, this State, was born October 16, 1842, and is the fifth of eight children born to John and Nancy B. (Williams) Miller, natives respectively of North Carolina and Virginia. The father was a farmer, came to Kentucky in 1831, located in Trigg County, and in 1848 came to Calloway County. He was a son of John, who was a son of William Miller, of Irish birth, and who was a major of North Carolina troops during the Revolutionary war. Tipton A. Miller spent his early life on his father's farm, and obtained some schooling at the district schools in his neighborhood, which he supplemented by a thorough course in the Murray schools, graduating in the English branches. He soon after went to Johnson County, Ill., where he taught school for two years. He then returned to Murray and prosecuted his studies further. Next he engaged in business at Snow Hill, this county, but discontinued in the spring of 1861, and assisted in recruiting Company

H, Third Kentucky Infantry, Confederate Service, and was mustered into the three years' service. His regiment participated in most of the heavy battles of the Southwest, and held responsible positions in the front at Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg and other equally sanguinary battles. Mr. Miller received a painful wound at Shiloh, and was shot many times through the clothes in different battles. He went out as a first lieutenant of the company, was promoted to captain, but refused to leave his company to accept still higher offices. He was taken prisoner near Selma, Ala., and held six weeks. Returning to Murray at the close of the war, he engaged in teaching school, dealing in tobacco, and farming. He was then a teacher in the Murray schools for a period of twenty months. In 1867 he was elected to the State legislature, and in 1871 re-elected. Since 1881 his attention has been devoted to his present business, that of grocer, the firm being Miller & Whitnel. Mr. Miller was married October 24, 1868, to Miss Mattie A. Lassiter of this county; this union has been blessed with three children: Hontas, Galen and Bunyan, the first of whom received a first-class teacher's certificate at the age of twelve years. Mr. Miller is a member of the Masonic order.

WILLIAM F. PETERSON, Murray, attorney at law and master commissioner of the Calloway circuit court, was born in Calloway County, January 14, 1853, a son of Morton and Carolina (Gardner) Peterson, natives of Virginia and Kentucky respectively. The father is a farmer by occupation, and came to Calloway County in 1835. The parents had eight children; our subject was the fifth, and was reared on the farm; by home study, and having the advantages of good common schools, he was able to obtain a good education. At twenty years of age, he served as deputy county clerk for ten months and then began the study of law, completed the same under the instruction of Judge James Campbell, the present circuit judge, and was admitted to practice, May 28, 1875. He was elected to the office of town trustee in 1879, and for two terms has served as police judge of Murray. In 1881 he was appointed master commissioner for the term of four years. Though yet a young man, his abilities have given to him a leading position in the community.

NAT RYAN, member of the firm of Allen & Ryan, Murray, was born September 5, 1851, in Calloway County. His father, Nathaniel H. Ryan, was a Virginian by birth. He came to Calloway County about 1848, and was engaged principally in farming and mercantile pursuits; he filled the position of sheriff of Calloway County from 1856 to 1860, and died in 1880. He and his wife, formerly Miss Sarah A. Wills, of Virginia, were members of the Christian Church, and were the parents of nine children, of whom the subject of this sketch is the youngest; the last remained at home until he was eighteen years of age. After following various pursuits, he was employed as salesman in a store at Crossland, Ky., for two years; coming to Murray, he was employed by Hale, Head & Co., as clerk, for three years; then in 1876 he went to Texas, where he was engaged in farming and clerking; returning to Calloway County, he sold goods two years for a firm at Crossland, when he came to Murray, and with his present partner, opened a clothing and furnishing goods establishment, which was finally given to the general dry goods and clothing trade, in which the firm is still engaged. Mr. Ryan was first married to Alice E. Martin, of which union there was one child, Joseph. Mrs. Ryan died April 12, 1880, and he was subsequently married to Lula D. Coleman, of Murray. Mr. Ryan is a member of the Knights of Honor.

WILLIAM T. SCOTT, Calloway County, is a native of Muhlenburg County, this State, and was born November 25, 1828, the eldest son of Nathan and Elizabeth (Gish) Scott, both of whom were Virginians by birth, and who came to this State in 1828, settled in Muhlenburg County, and four years later moved to Hopkins County, where the father died in 1836. Our subject lived with his uncle, Joseph Scott, in Hopkins County, Ky., until he was fourteen years old, when, after a few years' residence in Muhlenburg County, he went to Hopkinsville, Ky., and served a three years' apprenticeship to the cabinet-maker's trade. For the following five years he was engaged at his trade in Cadiz, Ky., and coming to Murray, Ky., in 1856, he continued the same business for two years; afterward he operated a saw and grist-mill, and engaged in various business enterprises. During two years of the war he served as a constable, and was at one time the only civil officer in Calloway County. For several years afterward Mr. Scott was engaged in business at various points, but, becoming partially paralyzed, returned to Murray in 1869, being laid up several months with his malady. He has served as police judge, county examiner, justice of the peace four years, and being a conservative Democrat, was appointed postmaster at this point in 1877, and has since filled that position. November 25, 1851, he married Melissa Miller, of Cadiz, Ky., of

which union there are two children living: Ada N. (widow of Felix G. Boyd), and Jennie E., at home. Mr. Scott is a member of the Odd Fellow and Masonic fraternities, and a stanch friend of the temperance movement.

JOHN R. SCHROADER was born in this county, July 29, 1853. His father, Obadiah A. Schroader, was born near Bowling Green, this State, January 22, 1829, a son of John G. and Spicey (Amos) Schroader. John G. was a native of Maryland, a farmer by occupation, and came to Kentucky when a boy. O. A. Schroader was reared on a farm, and only permitted to attend school during the worst winter weather. At eighteen years of age he began farming for himself, and at twenty began learning the blacksmith trade; in 1849 he came to Murray and opened a shop, and after extended his work to the manufacture of wagons, in which he has continued to the present time, now having a well-established reputation and trade in that line, and employing a number of hands. In a financial way he has been very successful, having a farm of 300 acres, aside from his business interest, which is the result of his personal industry and good management. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and takes an interest in the temperance cause. His wife was a Miss Susan C. Poole, a native of Murray, Ky.; she is a member in good standing of the Methodist Church. They have been blessed with eleven children, five of whom survive. Their son, subject of this sketch, was given a good literary education, and in 1874 began the study of law, and was admitted to practice a year later. He is at present county examiner, a position he has filled since 1875. In the temperance cause he is devoting his voice and influence for its success.

FULTON COUNTY.

MADISON ADAMS was born March 21, 1812, in Henry County, Ky., and is a son of David and Nancy (Shelton) Adams, natives of South Carolina and Tennessee respectively. The paternal grandfather was a native of Ireland, and settled in this country prior to the war of Independence. David Adams was a soldier in the war of 1812, and held the commission of captain in Gen. Jackson's army; he died in August, 1856, at the age of seventy-one years. He was married four times; his first wife's maiden name was Margaret Calhoun, by whom he had two children, both deceased; by his second marriage he had four children, subject being the eldest. Mrs. Adams died in the year 1817; his third wife's maiden name was Nancy Kimberlin. To this last union was born one child, Betsey Ann, deceased. Madison Adams was reared on a farm, and at the age of twenty-two purchased a tract of land in Henry County, Ky., on which he resided for a period of four or five years. He came to Fulton County, in March, 1841, and settled where he now lives, purchasing 160 acres of land, to which he has added other tracts at different times, until he now owns 320 acres, the greater part of which is in a high state of cultivation. In November, 1835, he was married to Patsey, daughter of Jeremiah and Frances Knight, of Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Adams have had eight children: Nancy, wife of Joel Wilson; Frances, wife of John Tyler; William Henry, deceased; Jeremiah, deceased; Madison, Jr., Atchison, Elizabeth, wife of Alonzo Clark, and Alice. Mr. Adams is an active member of the Missionary Baptist Church, of which his wife and the greater part of his family are also members. Madison Adams, Jr., son of the preceding, was born in Fulton County, September 27, 1842, and is one of the active farmers of Hickman Precinct. He has followed various occupations, making farming and stock-raising his principal business, in both of which he has been very successful. In 1874 he served as deputy sheriff under J. F. Tyler, and discharged the duties of his position satisfactorily to his superior and all with whom he transacted business. Upon leaving the office he took charge of the home farm, which he has since managed, looking after the interests of his parents, who are becoming old. Mr. Adams was never married. He votes the Democratic ticket.

J. M. ANDERSON, Fulton County, was born December 5, 1836, in Madison County, Tenn., and is the eldest of eight children of Joshua B. and Martha V. (Sherman) Anderson. The parents were natives of South Carolina and Alabama respectively, and of English and Scotch origin. The father's parents, Jacob and Mary Anderson, moved to Williamson County, Tenn., in

1818. From there the father moved to Madison County, and thence to Haywood County, where he died in 1875, aged seventy-five years. J. M. Anderson, in 1858, began to work at the carpenter's trade, and remained at the bench for three years. In 1861 he enlisted for twelve months in Company A, of the Sixth Tennessse Infantry, under Col. G. C. Porter. Among the battles in which he participated were Murfeesborough, Shiloh and Chickamauga. In May, 1862, he re-enlisted and was detailed as clerk in the quartermaster's department and while serving there he ranked as captain, having first gone out as first lieutenant; he was later promoted to major. In 1865 he was paroled with the rest of Gen. Johnston's army, on its surrender to Gen. Sherman. Returning home he followed the trade of carriage-maker, at Woodville, Tenn., until 1871. He then came to Fulton, where he engaged in the carpentering and undertaking business until 1883. He next began clerking in a dry goods store, and in February, 1884, became a partner in the firm of Browder & Anderson. He was married on December 5, 1868, to Miss Catherine C. Griffith, a daughter of Bennett and Elizabeth (Henry) Griffith. One child, Claudia, was born to this union. Mrs. Anderson died in July, 1874, and Mr. Anderson next married, on January 7, 1881, Miss Samuella Patterson, daughter of the Rev. Samuel G. Patterson. One son, James S., has been the result of this union. Mr. and Mrs. Anderson are members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He is a member of the Masonic and K. of H. fraternities and is at present a member of the Fulton Council.

H. C. BAILEY was born July 31, 1824, in Charlotte County, Va., and is a son of John and Lucy (Palmer) Bailey, both natives of Virginia. The father died in 1846, aged sixty-one years; the mother departed this life in 1873, at the good old age of ninety-three years. Subject commenced life for himself as a clerk with the firm of Winbush & Parnell in Brook Neal, Va., where he remained for a period of five years, when he received the appointment of postmaster t the same place, which position he held about two years. He next w nt to Halifax County, Va., where he engaged as clerk in a mercantile house, and two years later emigrated to Tennessee, locating in Fayette County, near Macon, where he commenced farming, which he continued three years. He then moved to the town of Macon, and opened a boarding house for young ladies, which he continued for several years, and then sold out and moved to Graves County, Ky., where he lived for a period of six years, filling the offices of constable and deputy sheriff in the meantime. In the fall of 1856 or 1857, he came to Hickman, and opened a hotel which he kept until 1860. He then engaged in merchandising and eight years later closed out his city business and purchased his present farm of 160 acres, four miles southeast of Hickman. Mr. Bailey was elected county judge in 1878, serving one term; was appointed commissioner in 1880, and served in that capacity one year. He was married February 13, 1845, to Miss Bettie, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Palmer) Bailey, of Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Bailey have never had any children, but during the first thirty years have reared several orphans, giving them the advantages of a good education and a substantial start in the world. Mr. Bailey is a member of the Masonic fraternity and I. O. O. F. He belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has filled the office of steward for a period of thirty years. His wife is also an active member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

J. D. BAKER, Fulton County, is the sixth in a family of twelve children born to James M. and H. W. (Gillespie) Baker, both natives of Virginia. The father of subject was born April 25, 1796, and is still living in Tennessee. The mother died December 13, 1882, aged seventy-five years. Subject was born at Halifax Court House, Va., December 13, 1835, and remained with his parents until twenty-four years of age. May 13, 1861, he enlisted in the Third Tennessee Volunteers, Confederate Infantry, remaining with that regiment until its reorganization in 1862, and then joined the cavalry command of Gen. N. B. Forrest. He was taken prisoner in 1863, while engaged in a small skirmish near the Tennessee River, and taken to Alton, Ill., where he was kept until June, of the following year, when he made his escape. He found employment at chopping wood near Alton, and soon obtained sufficient money to pay his passage to Hickman, where he was arrested the morning after his arrival. He was soon released, and starting to rejoin his command, which he supposed was stationed near the Tennessee River, was recaptured by a detachment of Federal troops in Obion County, Tenn., and taken to St. Louis. There he fortunately met the man with whom he had chopped the wood after making his first escape. The man vouched for the prisoner being all right, and after satisfying the officer in command that he was

not a Confederate soldier, he was allowed to have his liberty. He came back to Hickman, and made another attempt to rejoin his command, but was again arrested by the Federal authorities and taken to Cairo, Ill., from which place he was afterward paroled. After being paroled he returned to Hickman and engaged in farming, which he still carries on, in connection with gardening and the dairy business. Mr. Baker was married, in 1865, to Miss Hettie Carr, whose parents were natives of North Carolina. Mr. and Mrs. Baker are the parents of three children, Ella A., Willie F. and James T. Mrs. Baker is a member of the Baptist Church.

CHARLES H. BALTZER, Fulton County, was born in the city of Dietz, Germany, March 26, 1838. His father, G. P. Baltzer, was a man of considerable note, being a graduate of the Polytechnic Institute of Munich; he acquired a reputation as a skillful architect, erecting many fine public buildings, noted among which are the St. Peter's Church, of his native city, the palace of the baron of Hohenstetten, the government bridge near Limburg, the key-stone of the central arch of which bears the initials of his name, the government canals and locks at Baldwinstein and Nievern, the noted building at Ems, known as the Cursaal, in the elaborate main hall of which the famous Paganini entertained the assembled crown heads of Europe, and in the rear of which building, took place the historical interview between Bismarck and Louis Napoleon's minister, Benedetti, in 1870, immediately after which Napoleon declared war against Germany. G. P. Baltzer died in 1849, after having been a member of the Revolutionary legislature of 1848 and 1849. Subject's mother was Maria (Bauman) Baltzer, also a native of Dietz; she died in 1847. Subject enjoyed excellent educational advantages, was a pupil of Schübler, doctor of philosophy; Kramer, doctor of philosophy; Lieber and Wilhelmi, and at an early age graduated with honors from the college of Dietz. He remained with his parents until after their death; was then taken by his grandfather, Ludwig Bauman, who continued to send him to college, after which he was sent to John Schaefer, an uncle and attorney at law, to commence the study of law under him, which study he abandoned on his departure for the United States, in 1857. He went to Milwaukee, Wis., determined to make an honest living, and learned the carriage business; worked two years, then went to St. Louis, worked at his trade there a short time; went to Hickman in 1859, and effected a co-partnership with Hertweck Bros., engaging in the manufacture of wagons under the firm of Hertweck, Baltzer & Co. This firm has one of the largest wagon factories in the Southwest, employing from seventy-five to 100 men, and turns out a large number of wagons annually, which wagons are very favorably known in every southern State, by the name of "Hickman Wagon." Mr. Baltzer was married, in 1863, to Miss E. C. Stubbs, a native of Fulton County. To this union were born seven children, whose names are as follows: Mollie, William, Louis, Anna, Charles, Dora and Edward. Mr. Baltzer was next married, in 1880, to Miss Belle Stubbs, sister of his first wife, by whom he has one child, Herman. In politics Mr. Baltzer is an independent Democrat; he is a Mason, was elected and presided as Master over Fulton Lodge, No. 120, and belongs to the German Evangelical Church.

WILLIAM HENDERSON BEASLEY, Fulton County, was born September, 1829, in Williamson County, Tenn., where he lived until he was fourteen years of age. His mother died when he was but seven years old, and his father when he was eleven, leaving him without a home. He was the third of six children born to Zachariah and Nancy (Adams) Beasley. He lived with his grandparents until he was fourteen years old, when he went to Davidson County, Tenn., where he lived one year; thence to Williamson County; thence to Marshall County, Miss., one year; thence back to Williamson County, Tenn.; thence to Hickman County, Tenn., where he lived some time, then back to Williamson County, finally locating, in 1868, in Fulton County, Ky., where he now lives, one-half mile west of Fulton, and where he owns 260 acres of land in good condition, and well improved. He started in life without a dollar, and by industry has established a fine home. Mr. Beasley was married to Melvina C. Wade of Williamson County, Tenn.; she is the daughter of Maston and Mary H. (Smith) Wade. To Mr. and Mrs. Beasley seven children were born: E. H., Eudora (deceased), Saphrona, now Pewitt; John M. (deceased), Louanna F., G. Hardee and J. Girada. Mr. Beasley, wife and two daughters are members of the Christian Church; his grandparents were natives of North Carolina, his parents natives of Tennessee; his wife's people were natives of Tennessee.

JOHN BARNES was born October 24, 1819, in Henry County, Ky. He is a son of Samuel Barnes, whose father, Samuel Barnes, Sr., emigrated from Virginia shortly after

the Revolutionary war, and settled in Kentucky, where he died in 1844, at the advanced age of ninety-six years. Samuel Barnes, Jr., was a farmer and died in Henry County, Ky., in 1880, at the age of eighty-six years; his wife, Sallie (Adams) Barnes, was a daughter of David Adams, of Ireland. She died about the year 1834, aged thirty-six years. Subject is the second child and eldest son of a family of eight children. He stayed with his father until twenty-three years of age, and in 1842 came to Fulton County, Ky., which has since been his home. For the first ten years after his arrival he lived with the family of Mr. Adams, but in the meantime purchased a tract of 160 acres of land, lying about five miles south of Hickman, on which he opened a good farm. He has added to the place from time to time until he is now the possessor of 440 acres of as good land as there is in Fulton County. He was married March 6, 1870, to Sallie, daughter of Samuel and Martha (Growder) Chandler, of Tennessee. Several children were born to this union, but all of them died in infancy.

ROBERT H. BINFORD was born in the village of Moscow, Hickman Co,, Ky., April 9, 1836; was brought by his mother, in 1838, to Fulton County, where he still retains his residence. His father, Robert Binford, was born near Richmond, Va., removed to Kentucky in 1827 and died in 1838. He was the son of Thomas S. Binford of Virginia. Subject's mother, Mary A., daughter of Gideon Jarratt, of Rutherford County, Tenn., died in 1879, at the age of seventy-five years. To her and husband were born Gideon J., Mary R. (Walgamott), subject and Pinkney S. G. February 3, 1858, subject married Miss Sarah P., daughter of Lunsford and Frances (Bird) White of Fulton County, and to them have been born Pinkney L., Gertrude (Robinson), Harriet T., Alonzo, Atlanta (deceased), Virginia B. and a twin brother, Walter (deceased), Lucian R., Charles W., Pompey, Mary I. and Earle. Subject is a farmer and extensive live stock trader, having 184 acres of valuable and productive land well improved. He is an Ancient Odd Fellow and a Democrat.

JOHN W. BLYTHE was born May 1, 1845, near Paris, Tenn., and was the eldest child of William J. and Sarah P. (Howard) Blythe. The father was a native of North Carolina, and was of Scotch descent; the mother of Stewart County, Tenn., and of Irish descent. The father came to Henry County about 1823. Subject received a fair education at the academy at Paris, Tenn., He taught one term in Johnson County, Ill. November 23, 1861, he enlisted in Capt. J. N. Stockton's company, which was afterward consolidated with the Sixth Tenessee Cavalry Regiment. He participated in numerous skirmishes and battles, among which might be mentioned Corinth, Miss. He was in the service one year, when he was honorably discharged on account of disability. In 1864 he commenced clerking in a store in Paducah, where he remained one year. In 1865 he went to Decatursville, Tenn., where he embarked with the firm of Bondurant & Blythe, in the dry goods business. In 1866 he purchased his partner's interest and moved the store to Locust Grove, Calloway County. In the fall of 1869, he went to Lone Elm, Tenn., where he formed a partnership with a Mr. Howard. This firm continued in business until the spring of 1871. In the fall of the same year he came to Fulton and embarked in business there, first with a partner and subsequently alone. October, 1883, he took M. L. Farmer in as a partner, and the firm are now doing business under the name of Blythe & Farmer. He has also been engaged in the cotton and tobacco business. Mr. Blythe was married in November, 1866, to Miss Emma A. Wadlington, a native of Trigg County, Ky., and a daughter of Wayne and Mary A. (Carloss) Wadlington. This lady died July 3, 1880, and Mr. Blythe was next married to Miss Sarah E. Wadlington, a sister of his former wife. One child, Emmet A., is the result of this union. Mrs. Blythe is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Mr. Blythe is a member of the K. of H. and Masonic fraternities. He has served as trustee of the town of Fulton.

JOHN S. BONDURANT, Fulton County, was born April 9, 1825, in Weakley County, Tenn., where he grew to manhood, and in 1847 removed to Fulton County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Robert M. Bondurant, a native of Shelby County, Ky., was born in 1798, removed to Tennessee in 1824, and died in 1859. He was the son of Benjamin, of Buckingham County, Va., who died in 1845. Robert M.'s father, John, was born in France. Robert M. married Nancy, daughter of John Shepherd, of Shelby County. She was born in 1801, and is still living. From this union sprang William W., subject, Susan J. (Cook), Benjamin H., Sarah P. (Mays), Wiley B., Thomas C. and Andy R. Subject was married October 21, 1847, to Miss Julia D., daughter of Alfred and Nancy (Davis) Edmiston, of Fulton County, Ky., (born

February 6, 1828), and to them have been born Francis L. (deceased), Alpheus A., Robert A., Julia A. (deceased), Martha C., (Naylor) deceased, Nancy E. (McClanahan), John C., Kate E., Susan A. and Bailis C. Subject is a farmer, owing 148 acres of good land, well cultivated. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Baptist and a Democrat.

PROF. L. M. BOYLE, Fulton County, was born in Stewartsville, Posey Co., Ind., April 22, 1841. His father, L. H. Boyle, was born in Kentucky, and is still living at Boyle's Station, Ind., where he follows farming. The mother, Augusta (Uhink) Boyle, is a native of Bremen, Germany, and is also living. Subject, at the age of sixteen, entered the Owensville High School, where he enjoyed the benefit of a thorough elementary training. Afterward he attended the military school established by Gov. Morton, at Indianapolis, and still later entered the Union Christian College, at Merom, Ind., where he remained two years, taking the scientific course. He commenced teaching at the age of seventeen, reading law in the meantime under the instruction of Judge Pitcher, of Mt. Vernon, Ind. At the age of twenty-two he entered the law department of the Indiana State University, at Bloomington, and in April, 1864, was admitted to the bar in the State of Illinois. He first began practicing at Harrisburg, Ill., in partnership with C. K. Davis, with whom he remained seven years, at the end of which time he came to Hickman, which is his present place of residence. He was admitted to practice in the courts of Fulton County, but has spent the greater part of his time in teaching and farming. Mr. Boyle was married, in 1864, to Miss Lydia A. Wheeler, of New Baltimore, Ind. To this marriage have been born seven children: Minnie U., Charles W. (deceased), Robert C. (deceased), L. M., George I., John H. and Birdie V.

ARCHIBALD E. BREVARD, a native of Smith County, Tenn., was born July 20, 1836, and in 1849 was brought by his parents to Fulton County, Ky., where he has generally retained his residence to the present time. His father, Cyrus N. Brevard, was born in Lincoln County, N. C., in 1808, immigrated to Tennessee in childhood, and died in 1866. He was the son of John, a Revolutionary soldier of North Carolina. The family were Huguenots, and settled at Baltimore. Subject's mother, Polyxena, daughter of Archy Miles, of Sumner County, Tenn., died in 1842, at the age of thirty-six years. To Cyrus N. and her were born Nancy M. (Johnston), Minerva J. (McConnell), John A. (deceased), Caledonia C. (Miles), subject, and Mary E. (deceased). By his second wife were born Sarah W. (Piles) and Clarissa L. Subject received a good education. He was married, October 25, 1866, to Miss Susan L. McConnell, of Fulton County. She was born in 1846 and died in 1881. He was next married, November 4, 1883, to Miss Henry A., daughter of Thomas and Charlotte (Applegate) Prather, of Fulton County, Ky. Mr. Brevard is engaged in farming and general trading, having 175 acres of good land. He is connected with the Masonic fraternity, the I. O. O. F. and the K. of H. In religion he is a Methodist and in politics a Democrat. He served through the late war.

DAVID BROWDER, the oldest living settler in Fulton County, was born June 6, 1806, in Hopkins County, Ky., and is the youngest of eleven children born to Isham and Rachel (Slaton) Browder, natives of Virginia. Subject's father was one of the first settlers of Hopkins County. David was reared on the farm, and came to the Purchase with an elder brother in 1825, and each entered 160 acres of land four miles west of Fulton. They hauled all their produce to Hickman, on the Mississippi River. They had to protect all they raised from thieves and wild animals. David had added to his property until he was owner of 600 or 700 acres of land. He lost seven slaves and some money during the war. Mr. Browder was married, September 3, 1821, to Mary Smith, of Hopkins County, Ky., daughter of Elias and Margaret (Vaught) Smith, natives of Kentucky. To this union were born eleven children, viz.: James A., deceased; Ellen M., now Nichol; Elizabeth M., deceased, married a Mr. Wade; Albert D., deceased; T. M.; R. A.; E. E.; Rachel A., now Hamilton, living in Texas; Sarah K., now Luton. Two children died in infancy, James and John U. Mr. Browder was a Granger. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as was also his wife, who died June 25, 1883. She was born in December, 1806. Mr. Browder had three brothers in the war of 1812. They were in the battle of Tippecanoe, Ind. He had two sons in the Confederate Army during the late war. He cast his first vote for Gen. Jackson, and has voted at every presidential election since. He endured some of the privations of pioneer life after his coming to Fulton County.

R. A. BROWDER was born August 10, 1840, four miles west of Fulton. He is the

eighth of eleven children born to David and Mary (Smith) Browder, whose sketch appears above. R. A. was reared on a farm, received a common school education, and lived with his parents until he enlisted, September 16, 1861, in Company A, Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, under Capt. J. G. Purtle, Charles Wickliffe colonel commanding. He participated in the following battles: Shiloh, first bombardment of Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, bombardment of Port Hudson, Corinth, Champion Hills, siege of Jackson (Miss.), Paducah (Ky.), Brice's Cross Roads, Athens (Ala.), Sulphur Trestle and Pulaski, Tenn. He was wounded three times at Shiloh, in the left hand, right hip and left side; was slightly wounded in the left wrist at Corinth. He was first under Polk and Cheatham; after the battle of Shiloh he was transferred to Breckinridge; then under Joseph Johnston, and lastly under Buford and Forrest; he enlisted as a private and was promoted until he reached the rank of third lieutenant. He was paroled at Columbus, Miss., May, 1865, returned home to Fulton County, and engaged in farming until September, 1875, when he took charge of a Grange store for two years as agent in Fulton. He next went into the tobacco, farming implement and machinery business, in which he is still engaged. He established the first permanent planing-mill in Fulton, in 1883. Mr. Browder owns a large agricultural store, also has an interest in a furniture store. He started in life with eighty acres of land given him by his father; he is one of the most industrious and energetic men in Fulton. He was married October 29, 1872, to Miss Philomela Patterson, a native of Indian Territory, reared in southwest Missouri and daughter of Dr. S. G. and Sarah A. (McDowell) Patterson, natives of New Hampshire and Missouri, respectively of Scotch-Irish and Irish origin. To Mr. and Mrs. Browder were born three children, viz.: Willie McDowell (deceased), Bessie (born March, 1881), and Robert Samuel (born March 5, 1884). Mr. Browder and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he was formerly a member of the Grange and K. of G. C.

JAMES M. BROWDER was born May 22, 1835, in Fulton County, Ky., where he still retains his residence. His father, Augustin Browder, a native of Hopkins County, Ky., settled in this part of the Purchase about 1825, where he died in 1873. He was the son of Isham Browder, a Virginian. Augustin married Arena, daughter of Beckley Jackson, of Hopkins County, who is now living, aged seventy-five years. Their children are Thomas (deceased), Martha A. (Kirbey), subject, John, Isham, William (killed in battle), Andrew J. (killed in battle), Lewis T., Pleasant H. and George L. Subject was married October 28, 1858, to Miss Ellen D., daughter of Tomisher and Caroline (McClure) Bowers, of Weakley County, Tenn., and to them have been born, Thomas A. (died March 7, 1885), Alfred B., Laura A. (Bard), Robert C., Ada A. and Nellie K. Mr. Browder is a successful farmer, owning 240 acres of land, well improved; his brick residence is a model of neatness and substantial comfort.

THE BROWN FAMILY. James Brown removed from Virginia to Kentucky, and was a surveyor in the State in an early day; he was a minister of the Gospel of the Presbyterian faith. He married Margaret Hopkins, and to them were born nine children, viz.: William, John, James, Archibald, Mary, Elizabeth, Daniel, Robert and Harvey.

ARCHIBALD BROWN, the progenitor of this (the Fulton County) branch of the family, was born in Mercer County, Ky., December 7, 1791, and died May 2, 1870. He was married April 15, 1813, to Mary Culton, who bore him three children: William C., born July 26, 1814; Margaret A., born January 27, 1816; John R., born October 24, 1817. His wife died, and August 26, 1826, he married Sarah M. Culton. This union was blessed with six children, as follows: James N., born June 12, 1827; Thomas D., born October 5, 1828; Elizabeth E., born May 18, 1830; Archibald H., born February 15, 1832; Benjamin F., born April 26, 1836; Daniel H., born August 17, 1837, and died of wounds received at the battle of Paducah, April 3, 1864.

THOMAS D. BROWN, son of Archibald and Sarah M. (Culton) Brown, was born in Mercer County, Ky., and was brought by his parents to this county in 1829, where he grew to manhood and where he still resides. He was married May 27, 1859, to Margaret D., daughter of James and Nancy (Culton) Brown, of Fulton County. To them have been born Martha A., in 1859, and married February 7, 1883, to P. H. Browder; Elizabeth E., born in 1861; Daniel H., born in 1864; Sarah N., born in 1866; Robert B., born in 1869; James A., born in 1872; John W., born in 1874.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Fulton County, was born in Graves County, Ky., August 3, 1821, and was brought by his parents to Hickman (now Fulton) County, in 1824,

where he has continued his residence to the present time. His father, Squire Duncan Campbell, one of the early magistrates of the county, was born in North Carolina; was with Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, and died in 1853. Duncan married Penelope, daughter of James Cook, of Caldwell County, Ky., and as the result of this union were born James, Mary (Walls), William, Charles, Andrew, Alfred and Alen (twins), Henry and Sylvester. To him by his second wife were born Sarah, Joseph, Matilda and Caroline. December 17, 1856, subject was married to Miss Narticia F., daughter of John B. and Nancy (Higgs) Dent, of Weakley County, Tenn., and to them have been born John W., Frances B. (Chapell), James A., Nancy E., Robert L. and Adelia. Mr. Campbell is a farmer, owning 238 acres of good land, well improved. He is a Freemason and a Democrat.

WILLIAM T. CARR was born March 26, 1850, in Fulton, where he now lives. He is the only son of Benjamin F. and M. J. (House) Carr, natives of Tennessee. Mr. Carr received a good common school education, and attended the Kentucky University one year, and Mayfield school some time. He was married in May, 1873, to Miss Kate Ligon, of Obion County, Tenn., daughter of Harry and Sarah (Hustis) Ligon. Her father was born in Virginia, and her mother in New England. To this union were born five children: Frank (deceased), Herbert, Anna, B. Frank and Mary. Mr. and Mrs. Carr are members of the Christian Church. Mr. Carr is a member of the K. of H. He has always lived where Fulton now stands. He used to farm where the lower part of the village now lies, which was all owned by his father. Mr. Carr is the possessor of 250 acres of land immediately west of Fulton, he has also a large number of town lots, two business rooms, and a portion of Kirksey Hotel. He has given liberally for public improvements, and has been alderman of the town of Fulton two terms. He cast his first presidential vote for Horace Greeley. Benjamin Carr, subject's grandfather, was born September 30, 1768, and removed in 1828, from Rutherford County, Tenn., with his family of four sons and two daughters, viz.: Abner, Turner, John, B. F., Patience and Caroline E., and settled on the present site of Fulton. B. F. Carr, father of our subject, was born September 15, 1818, and died January 19, 1870; his wife, Mary J. House, of Henry County, Tenn., whom he married December 21, 1848, died December 21, 1869, aged nearly forty-four years.

E. CASE, Fulton County, is a native of Spencer County, Ind., and was born January 5, 1821. His parents, Joshua and Ann (Green) Case, were both natives of Chenango County, N. Y., and among the early settlers of southern Indiana. The father was a farmer, and died when subject was in his infancy. Immediately after her husband's death Mrs. Case came to Kentucky, settling in Daviess County, where she died in January, 1830, at the age of thirty years. An orphan at the age of nine years, our subject was apprenticed to a tailor in Owensboro, Ky. He remained an apprentice until eighteen years of age, when on account of ill treatment he revolted, and for three years traveled over various parts of Indiana, Alabama, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee and Kentucky, working at his trade. In June, 1842, he came to Hickman, then known as Mills' Point, and opened a tailor shop in the place, and for thirty years thereafter carried on a very successful trade, amassing a handsome fortune in the meantime. In connection with his trade he also ran a general mercantile house for a number of years, and ever since 1842 has been prominently identified with the business interests of his adopted city, being the oldest male resident at the present time. He served as postmaster for a period of eighteen or twenty years, retiring from the office in 1883. He was married in October, 1848, to Mrs. Sarah Ann Holt, of Smith County, Tenn., by whom he had three children, all deceased. Mr. Case is prominently connected with the I. O. O. F., being one of the oldest members of the society in western Kentucky. He is also an active temperance man, and a deacon in the Baptist Church, a position he has honorably filled for many years. In politics he votes with the Republican party.

ELDER SILAS FLEMING CAYCE, M. D., was born October 15, 1850, in Fulton County, Ky., and was reared in Fulton and Hickman Counties. His father, James H. Cayce, was born in Graves County, Ky., in 1830, removed with his parents about 1845 to Columbus, engaged in the business of general merchant and trader at Cayce, Clinton, Moscow and Columbus, and died in 1881. He was the son of Elder Fleming Cayce, who died in 1848, aged about sixty years. Fleming was a pioneer of West Kentucky, a prominent minister and leader in the primitive Baptist Church in southwestern Kentucky and Tennessee. James H. was thrice married—first to Sarah E., daughter of John and Martha (Johns) Little, of Fulton County, and to them were born subject and

John H. By his second marriage were born Ida C. (Bowers), Ben Hardie (a noted telegrapher, who died of yellow fever at his post at Holly Springs), Walter E., Cynthia (Vaughn), and Maud. By his third marriage Augustus M. and William E. In youth subject procured a good English education and has continued to improve by extensive reading. He was married January 11, 1870, to Miss Flora M., daughter of Elisha and Almeda (Penny) Beazley, of Hickman County, Ky., and to them have been born Claudius H., Eliza A., Hardie B. (deceased), Kittie E. (deceased), Lettie (deceased), and Osman F. Dr. Cayce was licensed to preach (1873) in the Primitive Baptist Church, and ordained to the full work of the ministry in 1878, at Rock Springs Church, Bethel Association, and now has pastoral care over the congregations at Mud Creek and Union City, Tenn. He commenced the study of medicine in 1869, and while a student was for four years engaged in the drug business. In 1874–75 he attended lectures at Nashville and practiced at this place two years, two years in Hickman County, two years in Graves County, and in 1881 returned to Crutchfield, where he now enjoys an extensive and lucrative practice. His situation is a pleasant one.

A. D. COLLINS, Fulton County, was born July 29, 1834, in Graves County, Ky., and is the eldest of three sons born to Jeremiah and Wanda (Dupree) Collins, natives of Murray and Williamson Counties, Tenn., and of English descent. The father died in 1840. A. D. remained at home with his mother until he become of age, meantime receiving a common school education. In 1850 he began clerking in a dry goods house in Feliciana. There he remained about four years, and then returned home, where he remained about two years. In 1858 he embarked in the dry goods business at Cedar Hill with J. H. Wooldridge. At the breaking out of the war he came to Fulton and clerked for William Wooldridge, who was running the first store in the town. In September, 1861, he enlisted in Company A, of the Seventh Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, Confederate States Army; he was elected second lieutenant. At the battle of Shiloh he was wounded in the left leg, which disabled him from any further service, and he was discharged. He returned home, and as soon as he was able turned his attention to farming. This he followed until the close of the war. In 1867, in connection with his brother, he started a general store at Fulton, under the firm name of A. D. & V. A. Collins. They remained in business some five years, when V. A. retired, and A. D. continued for himself until 1880. He then sold out and commenced in the grocery business under the firm name of Beard & Collins. Two years later the firm was changed to Moore & Collins. This firm is still doing business in Fulton. Subject has served several terms as village trustee. Mr. Collins was married in December, 1871, to Miss Ella Shelton, of Paducah, a daughter of L. D. Shelton, and a native of Virginia. Four children bless this union, viz.: Hettie F., Alfonzo D., Jeremiah and Lillian C. Mrs. Collins is a member of the Christian Church. Mr. Collins is a member of the K. of H. fraternity.

JAMES ALFONZO COLLINS, Fulton County, was born November 12, 1836, in Graves County, Ky., and is a son of Jeremiah and Amanda M. (Dupree) Collins, of middle Tennessee. Both the paternal and maternal grandparents came to the Purchase about 1830, and settled near Feliciana, Graves Co., where both families entered land. The parents were married in 1830, and settled on a farm three miles south of Wingo, where the father died in October, 1842, aged thirty-four years. The mother is still living, aged seventy-three years. James A. remained on the farm until he was sixteen years of age, and then began clerking for W. F. Woolridge, at Feliciana, with whom he remained about two years; then was with Thomas J. Taylor about two years; then with G. L. McFall about two years, when he went into business with S. W. Welch. This firm continued in business until the breaking out of the war. Mr. Collins enlisted in September, 1861, in Company A, of the Seventh Kentucky Regiment, Confederate States Army, under Col. Charles Wickliffe, going out as first lieutenant. He was wounded at the battle of Shiloh and was disabled from service for about three months. He re-entered the service and was with Gen. Breckinridge in the Louisiana campaign. He resigned in August, 1862, and returned home to Kentucky. He subsequently raised a company, of which he was elected captain. The company was first independent but was afterward consolidated with Gen. Forrest's command. The main operations of the troops were in western Kentucky, and Tennessee and northern Mississippi. He surrendered at Memphis in 1865, was paroled and returned home. He first engaged in farming and trading at Trenton, Tenn., one year, and then returned to Graves County; after remaining there a short time he moved to Dukedom, Tenn., where he acted as salesman for one year. In February,

1867, he moved to Fulton, Fulton Co., Ky., where he and his brother, Alonzo D. Collins, bought the first lot ever deeded in Fulton, and upon it built a store-room 20x40 feet. Here the brothers conduct a general store. The first street opened in the town ran past his store, and this he named Lake Street. After five years in this business he sold out, and next engaged in the cotton business in the fall of 1872, with Jesse Whitesell, a wealthy farmer and trader. He built the first cotton gin in the place, upon the ground now occupied by the Fulton Bank. He continued his cotton operations until the fall of 1874, when he re-entered mercantile life, and is still engaged in it. He also established the first tannery in Fulton in 1875, in connection with W. P. Taylor, and they also opened a saddle, harness, boot and shoe factory combined. In about six years this business was abandoned. He also has a farm, about one mile east of Fulton, well stocked with Jersey and fancy cattle, fowls, etc., and a large assortment of small and large fruits in great variety, and owns three store-rooms in the village and about nine residences. Starting with about $300, which he received from his father's estate when he became of age, he has made life a success. He was married September 1, 1859, in Graves County, to Miss Jennie Taylor, of Dukedom, Graves Co., Ky., and a daughter of William and Rebecca (Roberts) Taylor, natives of Logan County, and Chesterfield County, Va. Mrs. Collins is a member of the Christian Church. Mr. Collins is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

N. COMBS, one of the oldest living settlers of Fulton County, came to this part of the Purchase in 1835, and settled on the State line, about five miles south of Hickman, where he purchased a tract of land and opened a farm. He was born February 16, 1805, in Murray County, Tenn., and is the son of William and Nancy (Cahill) Combs, both early pioneers of Murray County. The grandfather of our subject was William Combs, a native of Virginia, where he died many years ago. The father of our subject emigrated to Tennessee the same year subject was born; he was a farmer and overseer; the date of his death was not ascertained; the mother died about the year 1849 or 1850. Our subject commenced life for himself at the early age of fifteen years, finding employment at various vocations until the time of his arrival in this county, as mentioned above. He purchased his present farm of 150 acres at the close of the war, and has one of the best homesteads in the southern part of Fulton. On the place is one of the largest and best mineral springs in western Kentucky, and one which is destined, at no distant day, to become a favorite summer resort. Mr. Combs was married in 1837 to Catherine Rogers, of Tennessee. They have one child, Louisa, wife of John H. Liggett.

J. W. CORMAN was born January 17, 1839, in the city of Carlisle, Penn., and is a son of George and Mary (Stouffer) Corman, both natives of the same State. Subject's paternal grandfather was Jacob Corman, whose ancestors came from Germany in an early day; he died about the year 1857. Solomon Stouffer, maternal grandfather, was of German descent also, and died many years ago at an advanced age. The father of our subject followed the occupation of farming and died in 1863, aged fifty years; the mother died in 1840, at the age of forty-six or forty-seven years. Subject started in life for himself at an early age, leaving home when but fourteen years old, and going to Macomb City, Ill., where he was apprenticed to the tinner's trade. He remained at Macomb for four years, and then went to Blandville, Calloway Co., Ky., where he started in business by opening a stove and tin store. He continued this business until July 4, 1861, at which time he disposed of his store and entered the Confederate Army, enlisting in the third Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, under command of Col. A. P. Thompson. He served during the war in the Western campaign under Gens. Bragg and Johnston, and part of the time was with the cavalry force of Gen. N. B. Forrest. Mr. Corman participated in the hard-fought battles of Shiloh, Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Port Hudson, Corinth, Harrisburg, Guntown, Murfreesborough, and a number of minor engagements. He was shot in the breast at the battle of Shiloh, and obliged to leave his command for some weeks; he was again wounded at Sulphur Springs, Tenn., receiving a shot in the thigh, which necessitated an absence from his company two months. At the close of the war he came to Hickman and worked at his trade for a period of six years, at the end of which time he went into the hardware, stove and tinnery business with B. D. Thomason. They have one of the largest stocks of hardware in the city, representing a capital of $7,000. Mr. Corman was married in December, 1867, to Mary E., daughter of George and Elizabeth Thomason. To this union have been born two children—Benjamin F. and Alexander D. Mr. Corman is a member of the K. of H. and I. O.O.F. Mrs. Corman is a member of the Baptist Church.

J. W. COWGILL, Fulton County, son of Rev. N. N. and Mary F. (Miller) Cowgill, was born May 19, 1843, in Jefferson County, Ky. His father was a native of Pennsylvania, and came to Fulton County in 1843. He was rector of St. Paul's Church (Episcopal), Hickman, from the date of his arrival in the county until 1876, at which time his death occurred, at the age of sixty-five years. His mother was born in Jefferson County, Ky., and died in November, 1882, at the age of sixty-five years. He enjoyed good educational advantages in his youth, and at the age of seventeen, entered Shelby College at Shelbyville, in which institution he remained two years. In 1863 he entered the University of Missouri, at Columbia, from which he graduated two years later. After graduating he was retained as tutor in the University, filling the chair of Latin and mathematics for a period of one year, reading law in the meantime. He was admitted to the bar in 1866, and commenced the active practice of his profession in Hickman, continuing until 1873, at which time he abandoned the profession, and engaged in the drug business, his present vocation. He was elected city judge in 1873, and has also filled the office of county school commissioner. He was married in June, 1866, to Miss Mary H. Duffield, daughter of Saunders B. and Mary E. (Litchfield) Duffield of New Orleans. Mr. and Mrs. Cowgill are the parents of two children—Henry N. and Alice F. Mr. Cowgill is a member of the Masonic fraternity and also of the K. of H., in which order he holds the office of Grand Vice Assistant Dictator of the State. He is a member of the Episcopal Church, as is also his wife.

A. M. DEBOW was born June 29, 1844, in Sumner County, Tenn., and is a son of Dr. A. M. and N. G. DeBow, the former a native of Virginia, and the latter of Louisiana. The mother's maiden name was Brevard and she came of an old French family, her ancestors having come to America in a very early day. They were the parents of thirteen children, viz.: Nan M., wife of Dr. G. Burnett; John B., deceased; William A., deceased; R. G.; G. A.; Solomon, deceased; Hannah, deceased; A. M.; subject; A. B.; Laura E., deceased; H. M.; James, deceased; and Eva St. Clair, wife of John Love. Our subject remained with his parents until the breaking out of the war, when he enlisted in the Second Tennessee Confederate Cavalry and served under Gen. N. B. Forrest, in the Western campaign, participating in the battles of Franklin, Brice's Cross Roads, Guntown, Tupelo, Okolona, Shiloh, Nashville; Murfreesborough, and a number of other engagements; he was taken prisoner in 1865, and paroled at Gainesville, Ala., after which he went to Hartsville, Tenn. In 1866 he started West, and on the way stopped in Fulton County, Ky., which he decided to make his future place of residence. He came to Hickman in 1872 and engaged as clerk in the store of Millett & Roulhac, with whom he remained two years, afterward taking service with Henry Buchanan, and still later with W. L. McCutchen. In 1876 he started a grocery store in partnership with R. M. Matheny, with whom he remained a short time; he next opened a general grocery store under the firm name of DeBow & Co., and afterward closed out his interest and engaged as clerk with the Plaut Bros., where he remained about a year. In 1882 he entered the county clerk's office as deputy and served in that capacity for fourteen months, and in 1883, in partnership with J. E. Fuqua, opened a wholesale tobacco and grocery house, with which he is still connected. He was married December 12, 1876, to Ida V., daughter of John and Mary P. (Ivey) Fuqua. This union was blessed with three children, two of whom are still living—Ivey and Archie E. Mr. and Mrs. DeBow are members of the Methodist Church. He is a member of the K. of H., Royal Templars of Temperance, and in politics is a Democrat.

SQUIRE HARVEY C. DONOHO was born December 13, 1831, in Smith County, Tenn., where he reached man's estate, and in 1853 removed to Fulton County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, John Donoho, a native of Sumner County, Tenn., was born in 1804, and died in 1877. He was the son of William Donoho, a soldier in the war of 1812, who died in 1864 at the age of one hundred and four years. John married Martha, daughter of John Rooks, of North Carolina. She was born in 1800, and died in 1869. From this union sprang, Amanda W. (McClellan), Edna (Slaughter), Elizabeth H. (Phillips), Nancy T. (Brooks), Henry P., subject, Drusilla P. (McKinnis), William S. and John C. Subject was married November 25, 1853, to Miss Harriett E., daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Brooks) Huddleston, of Obion County, Tenn. (born in 1835, and died in 1862) and this union resulted in the birth of Charlie W. and William H. He was next married, February 12, 1867, to Miss Hannah C. (born in 1845), daughter of John Bullock, of Barren County, Ky., and to them have been born Annie S., Mary B., Mattie F., Edward W., Alonzo A., Luther A. and Har-

riet. In 1876 Mr. Donoho was elected magistrate of Lodgeton district, and has, to the general satisfaction of the people, retained the honorable position to the present time. He is a farmer, owning 121 acres of fine land well-improved. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and in politics is a Democrat.

J. R. FAIRLEIGH, Fulton County, was born December 5, 1837, in Kentucky, and is a son of George and Elizabeth (Quinn) Fairleigh, natives of Hardin County, Ky., and Virginia, respectively. The paternal grandparents were natives of Pennsylvania, and were born where the town of Pittsburgh now stands. The maternal grandparents came from Buckingham County, Va., and the great grandfather, Darby Quinn, was a soldier in the Revolution. Subject received a common school education. After his father's death in 1846, he took charge of the home farm, and gave to the remainder of the family a good education. At the breaking out of the war, he and his brother drew lots to see which should enter his country's service. The choice fell upon the brother and our subject consequently remained at home, and conducted the farm. In 1868 he moved to Hardin County, Ky., where he farmed for five years. He then sold out and came to Carleton, Ky., where he built a saw and planing-mill. This he ran until January, 1878, when he went to Louisville, but only remained a short time. He next moved to Elizabethtown, and thence to Nelson County. In both places he turned his attention to farming. In February, 1884, he came to Fulton, Ky., where he has since been running a meat market. Mr. Fairleigh was married November 23, 1862, to Miss Luticia Baker, a daughter of John Q. and Ruth (Alexander) Baker, natives of Owen County, Ky. The result of this union was five children, of whom four are living: Ruth, George, Quinn, and William. Mrs. Fairleigh died in September, 1878, and subject was married in November, 1879, to Miss Eva Stone, of Breckinridge County, Ky., a daughter of Ephraim and Elizabeth (Johnson) Stone. By this union there were two children: Lizzie and John S. Mrs. Fairleigh died while her husband was at Louisville. Mr. Fairleigh is a member of the Baptist Church.

ALEXANDER A. FARIS, M. D., Fulton County, is the third child born to Richard and Ethalinda (Harris) Faris. The parents were natives of South Carolina and North Carolina, respectively; they emigrated to Missouri in 1838, locating in Mississippi County, where subject was born March 1, 1840. The father was a farmer and mechanic, and died in October, 1849, at the age of forty-five years. Subject was reared on a farm, and remained with his mother until 1861, when he entered the Confederate service, enlisting in the Fifth Regiment Tennessee Infantry, with which he served during the greater part of the war. He participated in the hard-fought battles of Belmont, New Madrid, Shiloh, and lost his right arm at the bloody engagement of Perryville, where he was taken prisoner. He was exchanged in December, 1862, and immediately rejoined his command, remaining in active service until the winter of 1863, when, on account of disabilities, he was discharged. Two months after leaving the service, he went back to the army and was employed as courier and mail carrier, in which capacity he served until the close of the war, after which he commenced reading medicine under the tutorship of Drs. H. M. Ward and D. G. Hart, of Jacksonport, Ark., with whom he remained six months, and in 1866, entered the Nashville University, from which he graduated in 1868. He commenced practicing his profession in Hickman in the spring of 1869, and in the fall of the same year entered the Louisiana University at New Orleans, where he remained four months, taking a full course of lectures. In the fall of 1870 he went to New York, and took a course in Bellevue Hospital, and practiced at Bellevue in 1871. In 1876 he took a full course of lectures at the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, Penn.; has practiced in Hickman since 1868, and at the present time is one of the leading physicians and surgeons in the county. He was married May 20, 1871, to Miss Florence, daughter of James and Sallie (Wilson) Goalder, of Springfield, Ky. Dr. and Mrs. Faris are the parents of six children, five of whom are living: Light, May M., Alexander A., Irene, and Even G. The doctor is a member of the K. of H., and politically a Democrat. His wife and family are members of the Episcopal Church.

FLEMING & CHIPMAN. A. H. Fleming was born in Washington County, Va., November 28, 1830, and is one of two children born to George and Elizabeth (Orr) Fleming, natives of Washington County, Va. The grandparents were James Fleming and John Orr. The parents of our subject died when he was quite young. He was reared in Abingdon, Va., until he was about twelve years old, when he went to work on a farm. At the age of eighteen years he went to Henry County, Tenn., with William Orr and served an apprentice-

ship to the saddler's trade in Paris, Tenn. He engaged at his trade in Conyersville, until 1863, when he went to Mayfield, Ky., where he was engaged as railway agent until 1876. He was engaged in the tobacco business one year, and kept the Southern Hotel at Mayville three years. October, 1880, he went to Hopkinsville, Ky., where he was engaged in the hotel business for about four months. February, 1881, he moved to Fulton, Ky., where he was agent for the Southern Express Company. In the summer of 1881 he went into the hotel business for ten months; thence to Dawson Springs, where he took charge of the Arcadia Hotel; thence to Mayfield and back to Fulton. In June, 1883, he took charge of the Kirksey Hotel, formerly Leet Hotel. In October of the same year, he formed a partnership with Dr. Parker, which lasted six months, when Mr. Fleming's son-in-law purchased Parker's interest. The firm is now Fleming & Chipman. Mr. Fleming was married December 26, 1854, to Caroline P. Browning, of Henry County, Tenn., a daughter of Thomas P. Browning. To this union was born one child, Mary E., now married to R. E. Smith. Mrs. Fleming was a member of the Presbyterian Church. After her death Mr. Fleming was married, on May 29, 1859, to Mrs. Amanda Harris, widow of Samuel Harris; she is a daughter of George and (——— Brown) Walker. This union was blessed with four children: Minnie D., now Chipman; Addie H., deceased; Lulu, deceased; Wilber, deceased. Mr. Fleming and wife are members of the Presbyterian Church. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity. William J. Chipman, son-in-law of A. H. Fleming, was born in Bethpage, Sumner Co., Tenn., October 3, 1861. He is the third of three children born to Joseph and Eliza (McGaughey) Chipman, natives of Lexington, Ky., and Abingdon, Va., respectively, of Irish and Scotch descent. William J. was reared on a farm until eighteen years old, when he commenced telegraphy on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway. In 1884 he engaged in the hotel business with his father-in-law in Fulton. He received a good common school education, attended Bellwood Academy ten months and Liberty High School ten months. He was married to Miss Minnie D. Fleming, of Graves County, July 26, 1883. She was born in Conyersville, Tenn. They have one child, Laura Ellis. Mrs. Chipman is a member of the Presbyterian Church. In his young days, Mr. Chipman's father was owner and driver of a stage line between Nashville, Tenn., and Scottsville, Ky., for nine years. Later he moved to north Tennessee, where he lost all his stock during the Rebellion. He died November, 1862. After his death, all the fences of the farm of 212 acres were burned. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, and had made the raising of blooded horses a specialty. He had moved to Tennessee about the year 1851 or 1852. Mr. Chipman in politics is a Democrat.

T. P. FORTUNE, Fulton County, was born November 5, 1848, in Brownsville, Haywood Co., Tenn., and is the seventh child of a family of ten children born to John B. and Salina V. (Hargrove) Fortune, both natives of Virginia. The members of the family living, besides subject, are as follows: William S.; Mary E., wife of Doctor R. B. Nall; Belle E., and Lenora, wife of James E. Fuqua, of Hickman. John B. Fortune followed the vocation of hotel keeper in Brownsville, Tenn., and died in Mississippi, June 17, 1862, aged sixty-three years; the mother died in 1872 (October) at the age of sixty years. Our subject spent his youth and early manhood under the parental roof, attending the schools of his native town, and commenced life for himself as clerk, which business he followed for several years in Brownsville and Durhamville. In 1873 he came to Hickman and engaged as clerk in a dry goods and grocery house, and three years later went to Grand Chain, Ill., to take charge of a branch drug store started by Dr. H. C. Catlett. With him he effected a partnership. He remained in Illinois about fourteen months, and at the end of that time he disposed of his store and returned to Hickman. He then bought out the drug house of N. B. Cannon & Co., and by diligent attention to business, has succeeded in building up a very flourishing trade, and has one of the most tastefully arranged stores in the city—his stock aggregating about $4,000. He was married December 2, 1875, to May V., daughter of Judge Samuel and Volumnia (Lawson) Landrum. To this marriage have been born three children, whose names are as follows: Samuel Preston, Benjamin Leslie and William Harrold. Mr. Fortune was elected city treasurer in 1879, and re-elected each succeeding year, and is considered one of the most efficient officers ever called to that position. He is a member of the K. of H., and Royal Templars of Temperance, and he and family are active members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, he hold-

ing the offices of steward and trustee in the Hickman congregation. In politics Mr. Fortune is an independent Democrat.

JAMES M. FREEMAN, Fulton County, was born in Weakley County, Tenn., March 6, 1833, and is the second of six children born to Richard R. and Aplona (Morris) Freeman. The parents were natives of North Carolina and were of Irish descent. Both families settled in Weakley County, Tenn., in an early day—the father's parents in 1819, the mother's in 1825. Subject was reared on a farm and lived with his mother until he became of age, his father having died in 1848. Our subject enlisted in September, 1861, in the First Confederate Cavalry (Kentucky), Col. H. C. King. Among the battles in which he participated were Perryville, Murfreesborough, Tuscumbia, Nashville and Selma, Ala. At the last named battle he was captured, but was paroled the following May, at Columbia. Returning home he engaged in farming until 1869, when he opened a saloon at Pierce. After running this two years he sold out and opened a grocery store. In 1873 he came to Fulton, where he has since been engaged in the grocery business. In 1883 he purchased a saw-mill and is now sawing lumber for the railway company. Commencing with almost nothing he has now amassed quite a little property, including a farm near Fulton, one storeroom and five houses and lots. March 6, 1870, he was married to Miss Josephine Brakefield, of Robertson County, Tenn., a daughter of Ephraim and Sarah Brakefield. The parents were natives of Alabama and came to Tennessee in an early day. Five children have blessed this union, viz.: John T., Maggie R., Minnie S., Mary E. and Sallie A. Mr. and Mrs. Freeman are members of the Baptist Church.

T. M. FRENCH, Fulton. County, was born in Russellville, Logan Co, Ky., on November 1, 1838, and is the son of John P. French, a native of Goochland County, Va. The father was a teacher by profession, and died in Russellville in 1841. Our subject's mother was Mary (Binford) French, also a native of Virginia; she died in February, 1882, at the age of seventy-two years. After her husband's death Mrs. French went back to Virginia with subject, who remained until twelve years of age, at which time he came to Fulton County, Ky., making his home with his uncle, who resided near Hickman. Here Mr. French followed farming as a business until 1875, at which time he was elected circuit clerk, a position he has since retained. In 1867 Mr. French was married to Miss Lauderdale, of Fulton County, by whom he had two children, both deceased. He was next married in 1877 to Miss Emma Stephens, of Fulton County; to this union have been born three children: Mabel, Bessie and Thomas Mason. Mr. French is a member of the K. of H., and in politics a liberal Democrat. He and wife are members of the Episcopal Church.

F. N. FREY, Fulton County, was born March 10, 1845, in Wurtemburg, Germany. He is the only son of Frederick and Catherine Frey. The father came to the United States, with his family, in 1851. He settled at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, where he opened a brewery. From there he went to Missouri, where he remained for many years. In 1862, subject moved to Cincinnati, where he engaged in the bakery business. From there he went to Morrow, thence to Fort Wayne, thence to Chicago. He only remained a short time at these points. He next went to Springfield, where he was in government employ for over a year. He next went to Indianapolis, thence to St. Louis, thence to Monroe City, Ill., where his father was then located. He next went to De Soto, Mo., where he remained five years. He next went to Morley, Mo., where he remained eight years. In 1875 he came to Fulton, Ky., where he has since been engaged in the bakery and restaurant business. He was married in October, 1873, in Scott County, Mo., to Mrs. Susan E. Vancel, a daughter of Judge Benjamin and Susan (Davis) Benefield, the former a native of North Carolina and the latter of Wales. The result of this union was six children, viz.: Catherine, Emma, Lucy and Frederick, living, Rosa and Ada, deceased. Mrs. Frey is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Frey is identified with the Lutheran Church and the I. O. O. F. and K. of H. fraternities. He owns a good brick business block and several residences in the town of Fulton.

A. J. GREIF was born in Paducah, Ky., February 22, 1857. He is the first of nine children—five boys and four girls—born to Nicholas and Margaret (Fitzgerald) Greif, natives respectively of Germany and New York City, the mother of Irish descent. The father landed in New York City with his parents about the year 1833, and came direct to Paducah, Ky., where the grandfather entered and improved lands about eight miles southwest of Paducah, and where he died of cholera about 1839. The father of our subject has been engaged in the livery business in Paducah for many years. A. J. was reared in Paducah and remained with his parents

until he was sixteen years old, when he was made agent at Mayfield for the M. P. & N. Railway; eighteen months later, in the fall of 1876, he was made agent for the same road. In January, 1881, he went to Toledo, Ohio, where he was made agent of the T. C. & St. L. Railway. Here he remained until December, 1881, when he went to Mexico as assistant cashier of the Mexican Central Railway. In November, 1882, sickness compelled him to quit the country, when he returned to Fulton, Ky., where he was engaged as bill clerk. He is now agent for the Illinois Central at Fulton. He is an efficient railroad man, and a good telegraph operator. He is financial secretary of the Home Guardian Insurance Company of Cincinnati, Ohio; he was formerly a member of the G.A.R., is a member of the K. of H. He was married to Miss Mary Boaz, of Fulton County, Ky., January 15, 1881. She is a native of Murray County, and a daughter of Dr. C. D. and Susan (Oury) Boaz, natives of Virginia and Tennessee respectively. This union was blessed by the birth of two children, Albert D. and Gretchen. Mr. Greif is a member of the Roman Catholic Church and his wife of the Christian Church.

J. F. HALL was born May 6, 1860, in Dyer County, Tenn., and is the second of two children born to W. K. and M. A. (Winn) Hall, natives of Virginia. The father died in 1877; he was postmaster at Columbus from 1867. He was in the commission business during the war, and previous to his becoming postmaster he was in the drug business. J. F. resided in Columbus, Ky., where he received a fair common school education, and then attended school at St. Louis for two years. Returning to Columbus he engaged in the book and stationery business for two years. In 1876 he was appointed to the railway mail service, which business he followed until December, 1883. He was then appointed postmaster at Fulton, and is still holding the office. His mother is at present living with him, but spends her winters in Florida.

SQUIRE NATHAN HAMMOND was born in Graves County, Ky., January 29, 1834; removed with his parents in 1836 to Fulton County, where he remained until 1856, when he emigrated to Izard County, Ark., and after four years' residence there entered the army, in which he continued to the close of the war. In 1866 he settled on the place where he now resides, in Fulton County, Ky. His father, James Hammond, was born near Lexington, Ky., and died in 1882, aged seventy-four years. James married Nancy Polsgrove, who died in 1861. Their offspring are William H., subject, Elizabeth (Baker), Sarah A. (Grimmett), John S., Martha M. (McGlasson), Susan E. (Tucker), and Thomas F. Subject was married March 2, 1854, to Miss Theresa S., daughter of Admaral and Margaret (Underwood) Blackman, of Hickman County (died in 1860, aged twenty-one years), and as the result of this union James A. (deceased), and Thomas H. were born. October 17, 1866, subject was married to Miss Harriet Blackman, sister to his first wife, and to them have been born John W., Ada J. (deceased), Ida B., Charles N., Tira and Otha F. Squire Hammond served the community where he resides eleven years as magistrate and member of the county court. He is a farmer, owning 142 acres of fine land, which he is successfully cultivating. He is a Baptist in religion, a member of the Masonic fraternity; also of the K. of H., and in politics is a Democrat.

CORNELIUS F. HANBERY was born on the place where he now resides, in Fulton County, Ky., June 4, 1837. His father, Cornelius W. Hanbery, a native of Norfolk County, Va., was born in 1800; removed to Christian County, Ky., in 1811, and to Fulton County in 1826, where he died in 1872. He was the son of Job Hanbery, of Virginia, who died in 1810. Cornelius W. married Martha, daughter of Charles Hodges, of Virginia. She was born in 1800, and has been living on this place since 1826. To her and husband were born Job, Margaret R., Martha E. (Cloyes), Thomas P. and our subject. In youth subject received a good English education, and engaged in teaching for some time. He has never married, and is living with his mother and sisters on the old family homestead. He is a farmer, owning 300 acres of valuable land in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Methodist and a Democrat.

THOMAS D. HAYS was born June 8, 1854, in Weakley County, Tenn. He is the second of the six children now living born to John P. and Elizabeth C. (Vincent) Hays, natives of Weakley and Wilson Counties, Tenn., of Scotch-Irish origin. The grandparents on the mother's side were Orren and Pollie (Ezell) Vincent, natives of North Carolina. Those on the father's side were William and Jennie (Adams) Hays, natives of North Carolina. The grandfather Vincent was a soldier in the war of 1812; the grandfather Hays was a soldier in the Mexican war. John P. Hays was a wagon-maker and farmer; he was one of the first to enlist in the Confederate States Army, under Gen. Buford. Thomas D. was reared on a

farm; he received a good English education, and after he was eighteen years of age, attended McKenzie College, Tenn. Three years after, he engaged as a salesman for Martin, of Martin, Tenn., where he remained two years. In November, 1877, he moved to Fulton County and clerked for Patterson & McDowell one year; thence he moved to Hickman, Ky., and clerked in Buchanan's dry goods store one year; thence to Texarkana, where he clerked for J. H. Draughon until May, 1881. He next engaged in the saw-mill business, near Texarkana, for one year. He then went to Dallas, Texas, where he was engaged as general agent for insurance. November, 1882, he returned to Fulton, Ky., and engaged as salesman with S. G. Patterson & Co., in the dry goods business. May 8, 1883, he purchased a half interest in a grocery, hardware and queensware business, with M. L. Carter, in which he is still engaged. He has met with good success in his enterprises. Mr. Hays is a member of the K. of H., A. O. U. W. and K. of P. fraternities.

JAMES A. HERRING was born March 23, 1844, in Fulton County, Ky., where he was reared to manhood. In 1861 he entered the army, where he served as lieutenant. In 1874 he removed to Obion County, Tenn., where he remained until 1884, when he returned to Fulton County, Ky., where he at present resides. His father, Marcus L. Herring, a native of Rutherford County, Tenn., was born in 1810 and is still living. He is the son of Abraham Herring, a native of North Carolina. Marcus L. married Margaret A., daughter of Archibald Brown, of Fulton County, Ky., and from this union sprang Fannie, Abraham, Admiral B., Maria L. (Crawford), subject, William T., Winfield S., Marcus L., Jr., Sarah D., Lycurgus, Claudius and Robert A. In youth, subject procured a good English education. He was married, February 7, 1867, to Miss Nancy E., daughter of William and Sarah (Mayes) Bondurant, of Fulton County, Ky., and to them have been born William L., Edward W. and Una L. Subject is a farmer, having ninety-two acres of very productive land, which he is successfully cultivating. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity. In religion he is a Methodist and in politics an old-line Whig.

OTTO HERTWECK, of the firm of Hertweck, Baltzer & Co., was born in Baden, Germany, in 1836, and is the son of Bernhardt and Martha Hertweck. The father was a weaver and died in 1856, aged sixty-three years; the mother died in 1878, at the age of seventy-nine years. Mr. Hertweck came to America in the year 1842, and located in Spencer County, Ind., where he remained until 1856, at which time he moved to Hickman. He engaged in the manufacturing business in 1858, which he has followed ever since, and in partnership with Mr. Baltzer is now operating the most extensive wagon works in west Kentucky. He was married in 1860 to Eliza E. Morton, of New York. Mr. and Mrs. Hertweck are the parents of seven children—Ida, Benjamin, Henry, Corrilla, Nettie, Roy, and Arch. Mr. Hertweck is a man of fine business qualifications, and at different times has held the office of city councilman and school trustee. He belongs to the K. of H., and is a member of the Catholic Church. Mrs. Hertweck is a member of the Episcopal Church.

DR. C. H. HUBBARD was born in the town of Lunenburgh, Mass., December 22, 1822, and is the youngest of a family of nine children. His father, Dr. Ebenezer Hubbard, a distinguished clergyman of the Congregational Church, immigrated to Kentucky in 1839, and a short time later went to Trenton, Tenn., where he remained about six years, at the end of which time he came back to Kentucky and located on a beautiful farm three miles from Hickman. At this place he died in Sember, 1857, at the ripe old age of seventy-four years. His wife, subject's mother, was Charlotte (Swasey) Hubbard, a daughter of Maj. Joseph Swasey, of Revolutionary fame; she departed this life one month after her husband's death, aged seventy-four years. The following *Memoriam* to her was written by her son, William McKean Hubbard, of Columbus, Ky.:

IN MEMORIAM.

Mrs. Charlottie Swasey Hubbard, daughter of Maj. Joseph Swasey, of Ipswich, Essex Co., Mass., born February 18, 1784, died October 30, 1858, aged seventy-four years, eight months and twelve days.

It was not winter when she died,
Yet on the verdure far and wide
A paleing purple fell;
And sun, and air, and sky,
And clouds that floated by
Filled our poor hearts like autumn tide,
When flowers are dying far and wide,
With omens sad to tell;
Yet hope evoked her spell,
And faith sang "All is well."
For 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

'Twas dark, but like an autumn night,
When cloud o'er cloud takes golden light,
As sinks the orb of day;
Deep hazy gr. y o'erspread
The softening silver red,

While through the parting blue, soft white,
Disclosed the heavenly gates to sight,
Where walls of jasper lay
Mid seas of pearly spray,
With angels on the way.
For 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

'Twas such a time as when the will,
Long strained by hope, grows stronger still,
With surance high of heaven.
All night the angels came
Chanting in Jesus' name;
And all the air and room did fill
With song—we hear the echo still,—
Our mother, softly driven,
We'll meet at last in heaven,
The home by Jesus given.
For 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

To die! what is in death to fear?
'Tis knowledge full, the title clear,
A tenancy released.
Dust unto dust to share,
Release from woe and care;
The breaking bond of friendship's spell,
With motives formed to earthly will;
The sensual chain released
For heavenly joy increased,
Faith's harvest-home laid feast.
No! 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

To die, brings to the heavenly land,
Where palm trees wave to breezes bland,
Bright islands of the blest;
There shine the quenchless stars,
Nor night the beauty mars.
The stars that shone on Juda's plain,
The Marys of the Saviour's reign,
The Marthas Jesus blest,
The Lydias Paul impressed,—
A host in Christ at rest.
No! 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

To her death stood a welcome friend,
A sweet release, temptation's end,
The conquest over sin.
From the bright dawn of youth
She caught the glow of truth,
And walked, in peace, the Christian's life,
Faith-poised above doubt's fearful strife
And sin's wild war within.
Thus doth true life begin,
The Christos crown to win.
No! 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

The rifted clouds, the golden light,
Re-formed above the pall of night,
As misty forms came down;
Swept high the veiled throng
Entranced with heavenly song,
As rose the misty fields to sight
With swelling ranks of angels bright,
Holding a golden crown.
Whereunder glory shown,
The conquering saint's renown.
O! 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

Then cloud with cloud held converse sweet,
Came stars the coronal to greet,
And zephyrs murmured cheer;
Rapture of praise was there,
And song came down to share
The crowning with the angels fair,
As rose the throng in ambient air;
Rainbows the archways hold.
On seas of fretted gold,
Then slowly disappear.
O! 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

I heard a voice from heaven say:
Write, from henceforth, blessed are they.
For thus the Spirit saith:
"Who die in Christ the Lord,
They rest," thus saith the Word.
The Spirit clears all doubt and fears,
And Jesus wipes away all tears.
Hers was the Christian's death,
Jesus inspired her latest breath,
In Him she conquered death.
No! 'twas not winter when she died—
OUR MOTHER.

C. H. Hubbard commenced life for himself as a clerk, entering the store of his brother at the age of seventeen, and remaining behind the counter until the age of twenty-one years, when he went back to the farm and stayed with his parents until the time of their death. He then superintended the farm for a number of years, applying himself in the meantime to the study of medicine under the instruction of Dr. Charles Hubbard. In 1865 he entered the Jefferson Medical College, at Philadelphia, remaining one year, and in 1867 graduated from the Medical College of Ohio, located in Cincinnati. He then entered upon the practice of his profession in Fulton County, but abandoned it at the end of two years on account of failing health. Since that time he has been engaged in trading, and is to-day one of the largest tax-payers in Fulton County. He owns a beautiful residence in Hickman, and his farm, a few miles from the city, is a model of neatness in every particular. Dr. Hubbard was married in August, 1862, to Miss Sallie, daughter of James and Martha A. (Winn) McConnell, both natives of Kentucky. To their union have been born two children—James and C. H. (deceased). The doctor is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and in politics is Independent. Mrs. Hubbard belongs to the Episcopal Church of Hickman.

J. H. HUDDLESTON, Fulton County, was born October 21, 1848, in Smith County, Tenn., and is the youngest of eleven children born to Daniel and Sarah (Brooks) Huddleston, native of Tennessee. The father was of Swedish descent, the mother of English. J. H. remained at home until the age of

eighteen, and received a common school education. He went to Texas when nineteen, where he remained one year as a salesman at Bagdad. He returned home and worked on a farm for three years. In 1873 he came to Fulton, where he began clerking for Mr. Meadows, with whom he remained until 1881, when he embarked in business for himself with Charles Wolf. This firm remained in operation eighteen months. Subject began clerking again, but in January, 1883, he formed a partnership with R. M. Bolinger in the hardware business, and this firm is still in operation. March 29, 1877, he was married to Miss Cordie Burns of Paducah, a daughter of Robert and Hester (Bailey) Burns. The father was of Scottish descent, a native of Scott County, Ky., the mother of Kentucky, but of Irish descent. Three children were born to this union, one of whom is still living, Clarence W. Mr. and Mrs. Huddleston are members of the Christian Church. He is a member of the I. O. O. F. fraternity.

JOHN A. HUGHS was born November 26, 1840, in Hickman County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1869 removed to Fulton County, where he still retains his residence. His father, John Hughs, was born in North Carolina in 1805, and died in 1859. He was the son of Ezekiel, a soldier of the Revolution. Subject's mother, Mary, daughter of Elisha Parker, died in 1876, at the age of sixty-four years. To her and husband were born Henry W., Melinda (Orton), Jacob P., subject, Mary A. (Handley), and Rhoda E. (Holland). July 26, 1866, subject was married to Miss Margaret D., daughter of Asa and Sarah (Wright) Phelps of Hickman County, and to them were born Dessie, Rozetta, Lem (deceased), John A., Arthur and Solon. Mr. Hughs is a successful farmer, owning 160 acres of valuable and productive land. Near his cottage he has a deer park, in which may be seen sporting the antlered buck, the graceful doe, and speckled fawn. In religion Mr. Hughs is a Cumberland Presbyterian and in politics a Democrat.

W. D. HUTCHISON is a native of Dixon County, Tenn., where he was born on August 3, 1821. His father, John T. Hutchison, was a farmer and millwright; he died about 1858, aged sixty-eight years. He was a soldier in the war of 1812, and came to Hickman in 1836. Subject's mother was Elizabeth (Turner) Hutchison; she died in 1828 at the age of forty-five years. The paternal grandfather of subject was James Hutchison, a Virginian; he emigrated to Tennessee in 1811, settling near Clarksville, Montgomery County, where he died about the year 1853. W. D. Hutchison passed his youth and early manhood on his father's farm, and at the age of twenty-two engaged in business for himself as a peddler in the employ of H. P. Dorris of Clarksville, with whom he remained two years. He next drove a stage between Clarksville and Hopkinsville, retaining that position two years, and then worked as a farm laborer in Robertson County, Tenn. After staying in said county for a period of two years, he came to Fulton County, Ky., where he bought a lease, on which he resided for three years. He was married March 29, 1849, to Ellen Rebecca, daughter of Robert and Michael Rama, of Kentucky. After marriage Mr. Hutchison engaged in farming, and in 1850 moved near the Mississippi River, about ten miles below Hickman. In 1865 he bought the farm near the Tennessee State line, where he now resides. Mr. and Mrs. Hutchison were never blessed with any children of their own, but during their long married life have reared a number of orphan children, several of whom live to bless them for their unselfish interest in their welfare. Mr. Hutchison is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and an active worker in the cause of temperance, belonging to several temperance organizations, and he and wife are members of the Missionary Baptist Church.

SAMUEL E. JOHNSON was born in Fulton County, Ky., October 4, 1847, where he was reared. In 1871 he went to California, and while there graduated at the State Normal, after which he engaged in teaching for five years. In 1878 he returned to his native county, where he has since continued to reside. His father, James G. Johnson, was born in Union County, Ky., in 1811, and removed to Fulton County in youth, where he died in 1860. His wife was Margaret J., daughter of James McClellan, of Fulton County, and from this union sprang Lehella J. (Henderson and McWilliams), William O., James B., George W., Salem P., and subject. Subject was married May 10, 1871, to Miss Annie E. J., daughter of Richard and Jane (DeBow) McConnell of Fulton County (born in 1848 and died in 1876), and to them were born, Eula and Ardel. Mr. Johnson was next married, May 28, 1878, to Miss Alice, daughter of Winfrey B., and Martha (Motheral) McConnell of Fulton County. She was born in 1852. This union has resulted in the birth of two children, viz.: Margaret Inez and Martha Anne. Subject commenced merchandising at Moscow, Ky., in 1877, and in the same year also at Cayce, where his busi-

ness has grown to such large proportions that he has been compelled to build an extensive brick storehouse for the accommodation of his trade. He, in connection with his brother, is now operating under the firm name of S. E. & G. W. Johnson and in connection with their general merchandising are largely engaged in shipping live stock and produce, having shipped in one year 100 cars of stock. In religion our subject is a stanch Methodist and in politics a Democrat.

W. C. JOHNSON, sheriff of Fulton County, is a native of Fulton County, Ky., and dates his birth from the 3d of June, 1854. His parents, M. L. and Mary (Scearce) Johnson, were also natives of Fulton County. The father was a farmer and died in 1870, aged forty-five years. The mother died in 1867, at the age of thirty-five. Our subject is the eldest of a family of five children, and commenced life for himself as a farmer, which occupation he followed until 1869, when he was appointed deputy sheriff under B. R. Walker. He served as deputy two years, and during that time acquired such popularity throughout the county, that at the following election, in 1880, he was called to the office of sheriff by a handsome majority, was re-elected in August, 1882. Upon the expiration of his second term (January 1, 1885,) he on the first of March, following, became a member of the Hickman Lumber & Manufacturing Co. On the 10th of January, 1883, he was united in marriage with Miss Flora Golder, daughter of James Golder, of Virginia. One child blesses this union—Garland Catlett. Mr. Johnson is a member of the K. of H. and a stanch Democrat in politics.

ARTHUR KING was born July 20, 1840, in Decatur County, Tenn., and is the sixth of a family of ten children born to Hilsman and Matilda (Bruce) King, the father a native of North Carolina, and the mother of Tennessee. The paternal grandfather of subject was Stephen King, who emigrated from the Carolinas at an early day, and settled in Decatur County, Tenn., where he died in 1850, aged seventy-five or eighty years. The maternal grandfather was Amos Bruce, who departed this life in Benton, Tenn., in 1850. The father of subject was a farmer, and came to Fulton County in 1867, locating about three miles south of Hickman, on the Troy Road. Mrs. King, mother of subject, died about the year 1856. The father was next married, in 1859, to Amanda Hodge, of Tennessee, by whom he had one child. Mr. and Mrs. King were cruelly murdered in November, 1882, and their household robbed. Arthur remained under parental control until twenty years of age, when he enlisted in Company G, Eighth Confederate Arkansas Volunteer Infantry, with which regiment he served two years, at the end of which time he was discharged on account of ill health. After his discharge he went to Arkansas and from there to Mississippi, where he again enlisted, this time in the Third Mississippi Cavalry, with which he served under Gen. N. B. Forrest, until the close of the war. He came to Fulton County in 1867, remaining with his parents one year, at the end of which time he went to Jackson, Tenn., where he found employment in a restaurant, which business he followed about three years. In 1870, he came back to Fulton County, and purchased a farm of seventy-five acres, which he sold in 1882, and purchased his present place of 243 acres of choice land, lying three miles southeast of Hickman. Mr. King was married May 12, 1870, to Sarah H., daughter of Jesse and Harriet Tams. Mr. and Mrs. King are the parents of four children—Ernest Lee, Lena Rivers, Nettie and Katie. Mr. King is a member of the K. of H.; in politics votes with the Democratic party, and he and wife are members of the Missionary Baptist Church.

JUDGE A. D. KINGMAN is a native of Worthington, Mass., and was born in the year 1823. His father, Isaiah Kingman, was also a native of the Bay State, followed the vocation of a farmer and died in 1860, at the age of ninety-nine years; his mother, Lucy (Daniels) Kingman, was born in 1761 and died in 1863, at the advanced age of one hundred and two years. Our subject enjoyed good educational advantages in his native town, and at the age of nineteen had acquired a very thorough knowledge of books. He came to Kentucky before attaining his majority, and located at Carrollton, where he studied law in Judge Pryor's office until the fall of 1845, at which time he received license to practice in the courts; came to Hickman, effected a law partnership with E. J. Bullock, Esq., with whom he continued four years, and later was a member of the law firms of Kingman & Wasson, and Kingman & Buck. He was elected county attorney in 1851, and served in that capacity for four years. Mr. Kingman has always manifested a warm interest in the cause of popular education, and to him more than to any other man is Fulton County indebted for its present system of public schools. He was elected school commissioner in 1847, and it may be truthfully said that he inaugurated the system of public instruc-

tion now enjoyed by this county. He filled the office of school superintendent at various times, and has had charge of it continuously since 1875. In the year 1849 Mr. Kingman was united in marriage to Mary, daughter of Lockland and Sophia (Thompson) Donaldson, the father a native of Scotland and the mother of England. Mrs. Kingman was born in the city of St. John, New Brunswick, and died in Hickman, in May, 1882, aged fifty-five years. The children of Mr. and Mrs. Kingman now living are the following: C. B., W. G., and Kate. Mr. Kingman is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and in politics is an independent Democrat.

FREDERICK W. KEISER was born April 6, 1830, in upper Kentucky, was taken by his parents to Mississippi County, Ark., in 1836, where he grew to manhood, and in 1874 came to Fulton County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, John Keiser, a native of Prussia, was born in 1800 and is still living. John's wife, Christena Ritter, of Prussia, died in 1845. Their offspring are subject, Mary A. (deceased). January 14, 1857, Frederick W., married to Miss Mary E., daughter of Nathan Waller, of Arkansas. She was born in 1839 and died in 1863. To them were born Christena N. (Williams), Cassandra E. (Bush), William H. and Mary B. He was next married in 1866 to Miss Indiana Dillingham, of Arkansas, who died in 1868. On January 28, 1869, subject married Mrs. Eliza A. Hannah, daughter of Elisha P. and Maria J. (Bunch) Williams, of Arkansas, and to them have been born John P., James F., Annie F., Alice V., Ella I., and Iva Maud. His wife's daughter by her former husband is Maria E. Hannah. Mr. Keiser is a farmer, having at his home place 224 acres of first class land, and well improved. He also owns 800 acres of other lands. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Methodist and a Democrat.

JUDGE SAMUEL LANDRUM, of Fulton County, was born April 11, 1824, in Halifax County, Va. He is the youngest of eleven children born to Samuel and Rachel (Hart) Landrum, both natives of the same county and State. In 1827 the father moved to Weakley County, Tenn.; there he died in 1844, aged about seventy years. The mother died when our subject was quite young. At the age of fifteen Samuel entered a store as clerk, where he remained three years; he received as a consideration the first three years his board and clothes. The following two years he received $150, which enabled him to attend school for a period of ten months. At the solicitation of his brother, who was a partner in the business, Samuel was induced to enter the store as clerk, and later became a partner of the firm; this partnership continued until 1850, when he came to Hickman, and in company with his brother entered the mercantile business, continuing this until 1860. In 1862 he was elected county judge, and served four years. In 1866 he engaged in the insurance business, which he has continued, and represents a line of the most prominent insurance companies in the United States. He was mayor of Hickman for several terms. He was married in 1853 to Volumnia Lawson; she died in 1859, leaving three children. His second marriage was in 1863 to Bettie Guthrie, of Henry County, Ky.; she died January, 1876. They had four children, one living. His third marriage took place in January, 1877, to Florence Jackson, of Obion County, Tenn., by whom he has two children. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, I. O. O. F., and K. of. H. The family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

B. B. LINN was born in Kentucky, January 17, 1847, and is a son of R. C. and Nancy (Irvan) Linn. The father was a native of Kentucky also, and was of Irish and French origin. His father came to the Purchase in 1823, and settled one mile east of where Murray now stands, where he entered and improved lands. Subject was reared on a farm. He remained at home until he was twenty, and then began clerking at Wadesborough. He remained there one year and then came to Murray, where he acted as salesman until 1870. He then engaged in the grocery business with his brother George. In 1872 his brother was elected sheriff of the county, and subject was appointed to the position of deputy sheriff, which office he held for about six years, and also served one year as deputy clerk. In 1878 he returned to the farm, where he resided two years. He was next appointed master commissioner for Calloway, which position he held two years. In December, 1882, he moved to Fulton, Ky., where he engaged in the furniture business. In 1884 he sold out and is at present bookkeeper for R. A. Browder. Mr. Linn was married in November, 1873, to Miss Emma Boaz, of Calloway County, and a daughter of Dr. L. D. Boaz. This lady died in 1874, and subject was next married September 15, 1878, to Miss M. E. Utterback, a daughter of A. P. and James (Smith) Utterback, natives of Calloway County, and of German origin. The result of this marriage has been two children: Nancy E. and Harry P. He is

a member of the A. F. & A. M., I. O. O. F., and K. of H. fraternities. Mrs. Linn is a member of the Christian Church.

DREW A. LUTEN, Fulton County, was born January 6, 1855, on the place where he now resides, in Fulton County, Ky. He is the son of Samuel B. Luten, a native of Bertie County, N. C., who was born in 1804, removed to Hickman County, Ky., in 1829, and died in 1860. Subject's mother was Mary A., daughter of Henry and Susan Ashburn, of Logan County, Ky., and to Samuel B. and her were born, William H., Martha V. (Griffey), Dr. Samuel W., Dr. Joseph R., Mary A. (Luten), Susan V. (Davis), Nannie W. and subject. Our subject was favored with a good English education, and has greatly improved his opportunities by reading. He was married February 12, 1884, to Miss Cantie, daughter of Wood and Lucinda E. (Dewese) Jones, of Hickman County. Mr. Luten is a farmer owning 300 acres of first class land in fine condition, well improved and in a high state of cultivation. In politics he affiliates with the Democratic party.

HON. J. R. LUTEN, Fulton County, was born March 6, 1843, in Moscow, Hickman Co., Ky., and is the fourth of eight children born to Dr. Samuel B. and Mary A. (Ashburn) Luten, natives of Bertie County, N. C., and Logan County, Ky., respectively. The father came to Moscow in 1828. Subject's education was received at the Moscow Seminary and Bell Forest Academy, near Union City, Tenn. At the breaking out of the war he enlisted in Faulkner's regiment, Capt. H. A. Tyler's company, of Forrest's cavalry. At Florence, Ala., in the fall of 1863, he was captured, but was soon after paroled and never entered the service again. He turned his attention to farming, but in 1865 began the study of medicine. In 1866–67 he attended a course of lectures at the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and in 1867–68 he attended the medical department of the Louisiana State University, from which he received his diploma. He returned to Kentucky and settled in Wesley, Hickman County, where he remained until 1875. He then went to Fulton, where he has since resided. He now has a very fair practice and is becoming more successful every year. In 1881 he was elected to the legislature from Fulton and Hickman Counties. Dr. Luten was married in September, 1868, to Miss Kate Browder, of Fulton County, and daughter of David and Mary (Smith) Browder. The father was a native of Hopkins County, Ky., and of English descent; the mother of Muhlenburgh County, and of Dutch descent. They came to Fulton County in 1827. Mrs. Luten is the mother of four children: Samuel D., Mary, Wiley R. and Horace.

DR. SAMUEL W. LUTEN, Fulton County, was born in Moscow, Hickman County, Ky., August 30, 1841, and in 1851 removed to Fulton County, where he has since resided. He is the son of Dr. Samuel B. Luten, a native of Bertie County, N. C., where he was born in 1804, came to Kentucky in 1829, and died in 1860. Subject's mother was Mary A., daughter of Henry Ashburn of Logan County, Ky. (born in 1811, and died about 1875), and the result of the union was the birth of William H., Martha V. (Griffey), subject, Dr. Joseph R., Mary A., Susan A. (Davis), Nannie V., and Drew A. In 1859 subject commenced the study of medicine with Dr. J. M. Jackson of Columbus, Ky., with whom he remained until the commencement of the war, when he entered the army, where he remained two years, after which he entered the University of Louisville, where he graduated in 1864. He then settled near Moscow, Ky., where he has since enjoyed a successful and extensive practice. On October 5, 1870, Dr. Luten was married to Miss Inez G., daughter of E. W. and Virginia (Garth) Stephens of Fulton County, and to them have been born, Edmund A. (deceased), Ward G., Garth B., Joseph B., Lillian L., Virginia S., Drew A., and Lorena M. Dr. Luten is also engaged in farming, owning 180 acres of valuable and productive land in a good condition, and in a fine state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, of the A. I. O. O. F. and of the K. of H. In religion he is a Methodist and in politics a Democrat.

W. L. McCUTCHEN, mayor of Hickman, was born in Williamson County, Tenn., July 4, 1827. His father, William McCutchen, was also a native of Tennessee, and a man of considerable note in the early history of the State, having served with Gen. Jackson in all his campaigns against the Indians (except the Seminole war), and in the war of 1812 rose to the position of colonel of volunteers. He participated in the battle of New Orleans, and was a warm personal friend of "Old Hickory," who held him in the highest esteem. He died in the year 1861, aged sixty-five. The mother of subject died seven years later, at the age of seventy-two. W. L. McCutchen was thrown upon his own resources early in life, entering a store as clerk at the age of fourteen, and continuing for a period of seven years, his only compensation being his board and clothing. At the end of that time he effected a partnership

with an elder brother in the mercantile business at Trenton, Tenn., where he remained until the war compelled them to close their store. When Mr. McCutchen came to Hickman, at the conclusion of the struggle, he possessed no capital except a determined will, which has characterized him during life. He commenced business in Hickman as a clerk on a salary of $1,200 per year, and while attending to his clerical duties, he bought and sold cotton on his own responsibility, in which he was very fortunate, realizing, by successful trading, the sum of $13,000 in four years. With this sum of money he was enabled to establish a wholesale and retail grocery house. This proved a very successful venture, and was continued until 1880, at which time he disposed of it at a handsome profit. Since 1880 Mr. McCutchen has been engaged in buying staves for the European markets, shipping principally to France. He employs from ten to twenty men during the year and carries on a very lucrative business. He was married November, 1858, to Miss Jennie E. Garrison, of Obion County, Tenn. Mr. and Mrs. McCutchen are the parents of eight children: Emma, Callie, Unie, Minnie, William (deceased), Thomas, Maggie and Jennie. In 1883, Mr. McCutchen was elected mayor of Hickman, and in 1884 was re-elected. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, I. O. O. F., and the K. of H. He and family are prominently identified with the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and politically Mr. McCutchen is a Democrat.

JOHN R. McGEHEE, Fulton County, was born October 28, 1824, in Meade County, Ky., where he grew to manhood and in 1843 removed to Fulton County, and settled on the place where he died April 1, 1885. His father, Addison B. McGehee, a native of Louisa County, Va., was born in 1800, removed with his parents to Meade County, Ky., in 1804, and died in 1844. He was the son of William L. of Virginia, a soldier in the war of 1812. Addison B. married Elizabeth, daughter of John and Nancy (Wilhoit) Rush, of Buck Grove, Meade County (born in 1802, now living), to whom were born James M., subject, William B., Thomas W., Frances A. (Harper), Martha P. (Barnes), Mary L. (Milner), and Benjamin F. Subject was educated at Brandenburg Academy. He was married Febuary 5, 1846, to Miss Lucretia S., daughter of Joseph and Mildred (Schouse) Roper, of Fulton County (born in 1828, and died November 11, 1855), and this union resulted in the birth of Joseph A. (deceased), Ophelia E., John R. (deceased), Anna B. (deceased), and Ida L. (deceased). He was next married August 17, 1856, to Miss T. Jane McFadden, of Fulton County (born 1829, and died in 1871), and from this union sprang John R. and Mattie Blanche. On September 10, 1872, subject was married to Miss Matilda, daughter of Charles and Sophia (Beckett) Middleton, of Virginia, and to them have been born Gypsie Lena, Sophia Maud, Pearl Garth, Arthur Charles Rush, Mary Louise and Constance Middleton. Mr. McGehee was at one time circuit clerk and examiner and deputy clerk of Fulton County till his death. He was a farmer, owning 140 acres of first-class land, in fine condition. He was formerly an old line Whig.

HARDIN MADDOX, a native of Shelby County, Ky., and third child of Elijah and Sarah (Clark) Maddox, was born September 15, 1820. The paternal grandfather of subject was a Wilson Maddox, a native of Virginia and a soldier in the war of the Revolution; he immigrated to Kentucky in an early day, settling in Shelby County, where he died about 1841 or 1842, at the advanced age of ninety years. Elijah Maddox was one of the earliest settlers of Fulton County, having come in January, 1826, and opening a farm on which his son, Hardin, now lives, was a resident of the county until the time of his death in 1849. Subject's mother died on September 5, 1841. Hardin was but six years of age when his parents moved to this part of Kentucky, and from an almost unbroken wilderness he has seen the country developed to its present advanced state of civilization. He remained with his parents on the home farm and looked after their interests until their death, when he acquired possession of the homestead on which he has since resided. He was married November 12, 1845, to Mrs Susan A. Bradley, daughter of R. and Eliza (Berry) Duffey. Six children were born to this union: Sallie, William Henry, Effie, Leonard, Eliza and Annie. Mr. Maddox is one of the substantial farmers of Fulton County, owning a beautiful tract of 350 acres of land, 200 of which are under cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and belongs to the Christian Church, as does also his wife.

WILLIAM W. MEADOWS, Fulton County, was born May 4, 1846, in Dickson County, Tenn., and is a son of Ephraim G. and Jane (Thompson) Meadows, natives of North Carolina and Virginia respectively. Subject is the sixth of eight children—four sons and four daughters. The mother died in 1880, aged seventy years. The father is still living in Weakley County, Tenn. Subject was reared on a farm and attended

school until the breaking out of the war, when he turned his attention to trading; at the close of the war, he attended the Bryant & Stratton Commercial College, from which institution he graduated in the class of 1871. He engaged in merchandising at Gardner, Tenn., and in March, 1873, came to Fulton, Ky., where he engaged in mercantile business. He has also followed cotton and tobacco trading quite extensively, and has met with good success. He owns a half interest in the store of Fall & Meadows, besides a block of stores, houses and lots, 100 acres in farming land, besides various kinds of machinery, all of which he has acquired by his own industry. March 12, 1878, Mr. Meadows was married to Miss Jodie Beard, a native of Louisiana, and a daughter of Rev. Thomas L. and Elizabeth Beard. Her father was of Welsh descent and was born in North Carolina. He came to Tennessee in an early day, where he was, for many years, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The result of this union is one child, Paul C. Mr. and Mrs. Meadows are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is a member of the I. O. O. F. and K. of H. fraternities. He is one of the directors of the bank of Fulton, and has been a councilman of Fulton for many years.

DR. J. G. MICKLE was born June 4, 1825, in Christian County, Ky., and is the eldest child of John C. and Sallie (Adams) Mickle. The father was a native of Virginia, and of Scotch descent; the mother of Maryland, and of English descent. His paternal grandfather was born in Scotland; his maternal grandfather, in Maryland, and was by trade a saddler. The father of subject was a farmer and local preacher in the Methodist Church. J. G. was reared on a farm and received his education mostly at the Mt. Pleasant Academy. He remained at home until he became of age, and then began the study of medicine in Montgomery County, Tenn. He subsequently attended lectures at the Louisville Medical College, and in 1848 located at the mouth of Harpeth River, where he practiced about five years. In 1854 he came to Nashville, where he remained three years. He next went to Graves County, Ky., where he remained until 1860, and then moved to Clear Lake, Pulaski County. He remained at this latter point until 1866 when he moved to Little Rock, Ark. He left there in 1870, and returning to Tennessee, settled at Middletown. At the latter point he remained five years and then returned again to Graves County, Ky., settling this time at Water Valley. Here he was burned out in 1881, and moved to Fulton, where he has since remained. Dr. Mickle was married January 25, 1849, to Miss Sallie E. Joslin of Davidson County, Tenn., and a daughter of Lewis and Elizabeth (Crawford) Joslin. The father was one of the first settlers of Davidson County, Tenn., and was of French descent. The mother was born in North Carolina and was of English parentage. The following named children have resulted from this marriage: R. L., Porter, John C. and Benjamin C. Two daughters, Mattie S. and Delila M. died in Arkansas. Mrs. Mickle is a member of the Presbyterian Church. He has been identified with the Masonic fraternity, and has also been connected with various temperance organizations. While at Water Valley he acted as deputy county clerk.

DR. CHARLES W. MILES was born November 10, 1848, near where he now resides, in Fulton County, Ky., and has retained his residence at this place to the present time. His father, Dr. Guy S. Miles, a native of Shelby County, was born in 1816; removed with his parents to Fulton County in 1832; enjoyed an extensive practice in his profession, and died here in 1881. He was the son of William Miles, a native of Fairfax County, Va. Dr. Guy S. was three times married, first to Martha A., daughter of Thomas Tyler, of Fulton County, and his children are: Callie (Payne), subject and Augusta (Norton); by his second wife: Mary (McConnell), Charlotte (McConnell), Corrinne (Norton) and Margaret (McConnell); by his third marriage: Rebecca, Maud and Guy S., Jr. Our subject was educated at the University of Missouri. On February 22, 1877, he was married to Miss Mary, daughter of Woodson and Willie F. (Lightner) Morris, of Obion County, Tenn., and to them have been born: Woodson M., Owen W. (deceased), Annie F. (deceased) and Charles W., Jr. In 1869 subject commenced the study of medicine with his father, and in 1870 entered the University of Louisville, Ky., where he graduated in 1872. He then practiced at his native place until 1874, when he attended Bellevue Hospital, which institution he again attended in 1878, since which time he has been successfully engaged in the practice of his profession. Dr. Miles also engages in farming, owning 240 acres of valuable land in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M., of the K. of H., and is a Democrat.

A. T. MITCHELL, Fulton County, was born October 26, 1843, in Bourbon County, Ky., and is the second of a family of three sons born to John H. and Susan A. (Butler) Mitchell, natives of Montgomery County, Ky.,

and of Scotch-Irish and German descent respectively. Subject's grandparents, James W. and Betty (Jones) Mitchell, and William and Mary (Shortridge) Butler, were all natives of Culpeper County, Va., and came to Kentucky as early as 1820, settling near the line between Bourbon and Montgomery Counties. Subject received his education in Bethany, W. Va., and was in the graduating class at the breaking out of the war. In May, 1861, the college closed and he returned home. He found that his brother had enlisted in the Confederate Army, and so he remained at home with his mother, his father having died when he was quite young. At the close of the war, he began clerking in the National Bank, at Mt. Sterling, Ky., and subsequently served as teller there one year. In 1869 he organized a bank at Middletown, Ky., and remained there some ten or twelve years. October, 8, 1883, he organized the Fulton Bank, and has since been engaged here. The bank has a capital of $50,000, with the privilege of increasing it to $200,000. He was married in April, 1865, to Miss Anna Rice, of Bourbon County, and a daughter of Col. James and Patsey (Boyle) Rice, natives of Kentucky, and of Scotch and Irish origin. Two children, Linnie P. and Cammie, have resulted from this union. Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell are members of the Christian Church; he is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

ELDER J. B. MOODY, Fulton County, was born in Mecklenburgh County, Va., June 24, 1838. He is the second son of William A. Moody, who was born in Halifax County, Va., September 24, 1810. His mother's maiden name was Emily Royster. She was reared in Granville County, N. C.; she bore three children, two of whom are yet living: F. Berrian, at present editor of the *Florida Baptist*, and Joseph B., the subject of this sketch. The second wife of William A. Moody was Margaret A. Moseley of Mecklenburgh County, Va.; she bore seven children, viz.: William L., near Bowling Green, Ky.; Mrs. Thomas W. Penick, of Louisville, Ky.; Mrs. Frank Vaughan, of Christian County, Ky.; James Edwin (now dead), Maggie (unmarried). John Waller, of Todd County, and Fleming of Lake City, Fla. The two families of Lemuel Moseley and William A. Moody removed to Christian County about the years 1844 and 1845. They settled between Fairview and Pembroke on adjoining farms. The death of the latter occurred in 1860. Joseph B. was educated at Bethel College, Russellville, Ky. After a few years' teaching he was compelled on account of his health to take up farming, which he prosecuted for ten years. He then removed to Louisville and became general agent of the Louisville Agricultural Works. This he continued for four years; then forming a co-partnership with W. B. Wootten of Hopkinsville, Ky., they opened a wholesale implement and seed store on Main Street, between Fourth and Fifth, Louisville, Ky., under the firm name of Moody & Wootten; then Moody, Wootten & Co., F. B. Moody having joined the co-partnership. J. B., having a burning desire to enter the ministry, sold out his interest to his brother, and soon became pastor of the Pewee Valley Baptist Church, where his residence had been for some eight years. He served the church for four years, during which time he also served Elk Creek Church, in Spencer County, and La Grange Church, in Oldham County, each about three years, and also Harrod's Creek Church, Oldham County, about one year. He then became pastor of the First Baptist Church, Paducah, Ky., where he remained two years. He then became one of the editors of the *Baptist Gleaner*, Fulton, Ky., which connection he now sustains.

FOSTER D. MOORE was born August 9, 1841, in McNairy County, Tenn., and is the second of nine children, of Alfred and Louisa Moore. His father was born in 1804 in Randolph County, N. C. and was of Irish descent. Robert Moore, grandfather of subject, was a farmer and served as a soldier in the Revolution. Subject's mother was born in 1817 in Maury County, Tenn., and was of Scotch descent. Her father, John Beaty, was a cabinet-maker, and was in the battle of New Orleans. The father of subject was a merchant and Foster D. was reared in the town, where he received a good education. He attended West Tennessee College one year, also was one year at Bethel College, and one year at Purdy College. He served in the State militia of Tennessee for four years previous to the breaking out of the war, and at the call for State troops, May 4, 1861, was elected second lieutenant. He participated in the battles of Shiloh and Belmont, and three weeks after the former fight, was captured by Col. Ingersoll's regiment, while at home. He was subsequently paroled from Gen. Halleck's headquarters. He was afterward sent to Columbus, Ohio, and thence to Johnson's Island, Lake Erie. In September, 1862, he was exchanged at Vicksburg, and receiving a sixty days' furlough came home. He subsuquently joined Newsome's regiment, which participated in the battles of Hatchie River, Summerville, Fayette Station, Okalona, Paducah, Fort Pillow, Brice's Cross Roads and

Hurricane Creek. He was captured in March, 1865, and confined in Camp Chase until June, 1865, when he took the oath of allegiance and came home. Since the war he has followed railroad business exclusively. He was married December 29, 1862, to Miss Mollie Johnson, of Purdy, Tenn., daughter of Milton H. and America (Thomas) Johnson. This lady died in April, 1866; she was a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at the time of her death.

DR. JOHN E. MORRIS, Fulton County, was born May 1, 1843, in Alexander, Fulton Co., Ky., and was next to the youngest child of Seth and Molcy (Byrd) Morris. The father was born in North Carolina, August 16, 1806, and was a son of Elijah and Sarah Morris, also of that State, and of Irish descent. The grandparents came, in September, 1829, to Hickman, Fulton County, where the grandfather died May 23, 1845; the grandmother on July 17, 1843. Seth Morris was married, March 27, 1832, to Miss Molcy Byrd, a daughter of John and Dorcas Byrd. She was born June 24, 1814. Seth Morris died January 25, 1848; his widow on April 7, 1854. John E. was reared on a farm and received his education at the schools of his neighborhood and those of Clinton. He taught school one term before the war and several terms after. June 2, 1861, he enlisted in Company L, Capt. Drew Outlaw, of the Twelfth Tennessee Infantry, Confederate States Army. At the reorganization of the regiments in 1862, he was made captain of the company and transferred to the Third Kentucky Infantry, and this regiment was mounted in 1864. Among the battles in which he participated were Shiloh, Corinth, Harrisburg, the bombardment of Vicksburg, etc. He was paroled in June, 1865, and returned home. In the fall of the same year he began reading medicine at Paducah with Dr. Thompson. In 1868 he attended his first course of lectures at Paducah. He then located at Alexander, where he practiced until 1873, when he attended lectures at Louisville and graduated in the class of 1873-74. He next located at Fulton, where he remained until 1877. Then, on account of his health, he removed to Texas, where he practiced at Madisonville until January, 1882. He then returned to Fulton, where he has since practiced with considerable success. He was present at Paducah in 1871, and assisted in the organization of the Southwestern Kentucky Medical Association, and in May, 1885, was elected junior vice-president of that body. Dr. Morris was married, in November, 1868, to Miss Ferticia Reynolds, of Webster County, Ky. One child, Alena, blessed this union. Mrs. Morris died in February, 1870, and the doctor next married, in December, 1871, Miss Mary C. Browder, a daughter of Alpheus and Caroline (Bard) Browder, natives of Fulton County, Ky. The result of this union has been four children, viz.: James E., Mabel C., Erin and Eunice. Mr. and Mrs. Morris are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he is a member of the Masonic and I. O. O. F. fraternities.

PETER W. MOTT was born November 14, 1819, in Jessamine County, Ky., and is the eldest of the ten children of James and Hettie (Withers) Mott. The father was a son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Cundiff) Mott, and was born in Lancaster County, Va., of English origin. The mother was born in Jessamine County, Ky. Her parents, Peter and Hettie (Allison) Withers, were of Irish origin. The father of our subject moved to Jessamine County in 1812, and in 1828 came to Fulton County, where he entered 480 acres of land. Here he resided until his death, in 1847, aged fifty-two years. He was reared on his father's farm, received a common school education and assisted his father to erect the first schoolhouse in Hickman County. At the age of sixteen he came to Moscow and sold goods for three years. In 1839 he went to Missouri, where he followed stock-herding for six years. He then returned to Hickman, where he was elected town marshal of the village and served for three years. In 1849 he turned his attention to farming and trading. About this time he took a trip to California, where he remained about a year and a half. He returned home and again gave his attention to agricultural pursuits, also devoting considerable attention to trading. Since the war he has lived a somewhat retired life. Mr. Mott was married September 12, 1849, in Obion County, Tenn., to Miss Lucy F. Morris, a native of Rutherford County, Tenn., and a daughter of George and Mary (Smith) Morris. Her parents were natives of Virginia, and came to Tennessee about 1808. The result of this marriage was seven children, of whom three are living: Mary G. (Ayers), Hettie A. (Murphy), and James W. Mr. and Mrs. Mott are members of the Christian Church.

JUDGE R. S. MURRELL is a native of Weakley County, Tenn., and was born September 25, 1848. His father, J. B. Murrell, was born in Missouri, and is living in the town of Fulton, Ky., at the present time, where he is engaged in an active real estate

business. The maiden name of subject's mother was Mary Jane Davis. She was a native of Kentucky, and died in 1866, at the age of thirty years. Subject remained on his father's farm until he was eighteen years of age, when he commenced teaching in the common schools of the county, and two years later entered the law office of Col. Ervin Anderson, of Mayfield, where he remained until 1871, at which time he was admitted to the bar. Since then he has been actively engaged in the practice of his profession, in Graves and Fulton Counties. For four years he was engaged in the newspaper business, in Mayfield and Fulton, in connection with the legal profession, and in 1878 was elected city attorney of Mayfield, serving in that capacity one year. In August, 1872, he was elected county judge of Fulton County by a handsome majority, which office he now holds. He is an active member of the Masonic fraternity, I. O. O. F., K. of. H. and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Politically Mr. Murrell is identified with the Democratic party.

WILLIAM NOLEN, an old settler of the Purchase, was born in McConnellstown, Penn., December 25, 1815. He is the fourth child, and the only one now living of four boys and one girl, born to George and Nancy (Harden) Nolen, natives of Virginia and Maryland, respectively. The grandparents of our subject were William Nolen, of Irish descent, a Revolutionary soldier, and William Harden, of English descent. The father of our subject was a soldier in the war of 1812, was wounded in the battle of Lundy's Lane, and was a potter by trade. In 1822, William Nolen was brought, by his parents, to Louisville, Ky., where he learned the tinner's trade. In January, 1834, he went to New Orleans, where he worked at his trade two years; thence to Paducah, Ky., where he opened a shop of his own, and carried on the business until 1868. In 1857 he opened a hardware store. After 1868 he worked in Cairo, Ill.; thence he came to Fulton, Ky., in the year 1873, where he worked for W. L. Ellison & Co. Later he and son formed a partnership, when he moved his family to Fulton. In the year 1880 he opened a shop of his own in Fulton, where he still carries on the business. Mr. Nolen has honorably filled the position of chairman of the board of trustees of Paducah, and frequently has been chosen councilman. He was appointed surveyor of the port of Paducah by Pres. Pierce. He is a member in good standing of the I. O. O. F. He was married to Huldah A. Becker, of Paducah, August 15, 1836. She is a native of Huntsville, Ala., and a daughter of Joseph and Catherine (Hagie) Becker, of German descent. Her grandfather Hagie came to the United States with Gen. La Fayette. During the Revolution he was one of La Fayette's body guards. After the war Mr. Hagie remained in the United States, and on Gen. La Fayette's visit to the States in 1824, visited his old commander at Nashville, Tenn. To Mr. and Mrs. Nolen were born nine children, viz.: Catherine, (now Glass), Isaac (deceased), Mary J. (now Phillips), W. P., Joseph (deceased), Nannie (deceased), Robert I., Lillie (now Adams), Anna A. (now Hughes). Mrs. Nolen is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

W. P. NOLEN, Fulton County, was born March 14, 1844, in Paducah, Ky., and is a son of William and Huldah A. (Becker) Nolen. The father was born in Pennsylvania, of German descent. The mother was born in Livingston County, Ky., and was of French descent. W. P. is the fourth of eight children, four boys and four girls. He received his education in Paducah. In 1863 he began life as a clerk in his father's hardware store at Paducah, where he remained until 1867. In 1877 he removed to Fulton, Ky., where he engaged in the hardware business. In the spring of 1881 he entered the employment of the Southern Express Company at Fulton, and is still engaged by them. In October, 1865, he was married to Miss Julia E. Cook, of Paducah, and a daughter of Marcus and Amelia Cook. The father was a native of Virginia and a lumberman by occupation. He was one of the first men to put up a planing-mill at Paducah. This marriage has resulted in the following children: Marcus C., Bettie C., Julia and W. P., Jr. Mr. and Mrs. Nolen are members of the Episcopal Church. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity.

SAMUEL J. NOONON was born in Jessamine County, Ky., March 4, 1828, removed with his parents, in 1833, to Hickman, (now Fulton) County, where he still retains his residence. His father, John Noonon, also a native of Jessamine County, a soldier in the war of 1812, died there in 1843, aged about fifty-five years. He was the son of Patrick Noonon, a native of Ireland, who died in Jessamine County. Subject's mother, Eliza, daughter of Samuel Hicks, of Jessamine County, is still living. To subject's father, by his first marriage, were born Sarah (Corum), Elizabeth (Hicks) and Catherine (Campbell). The second marriage resulted in the birth of William T., subject, Nancy J. (Stevens), John H., Squire A., Joseph A.,

Mary A. (Carr), Courtney R. and Henry W. On September 30, 1852, subject was married to Miss Priscilla L., daughter of John and Susan (Durham) Burnes of Fulton County, and to them have been born Susan M. and Ettie E. Our subject is a very successful farmer, having 380 acres of valuable and productive land in fine condition, and in an excellent state of cultivation. He is a member of the fraternity of A. F. & A. M., and in politics is identified with the Democratic party. Mrs. Noonon is a Methodist.

NOAH NORMAN, Fulton County, retired farmer, whose portrait appears in this work, was born in North Carolina, September 19, 1806. He is the son of Charles and Betsey (Dodd) Norman. Subject at an early age lost his father, and consequently commenced life upon his own responsibility. He received but scant opportunities for receiving an education, but learned the beneficial lessons of industry, frugality, honesty and faithful citizenship. In 1828 he came to Fulton County, Ky., and purchased fifty acres of land where the town of Fulton now stands, and by his industry accumulated 600 acres of land adjoining the town of Fulton. He was one of the founders of the town and laid out one of the principal additions. For many years he has been a member of the Missionary Baptist Church. August 14, 1834, he wedded Mary Fields, a native of Davidson County, Tenn. She was born May 3, 1807. There are six children by this marriage: Daniel L.; Mary D.; Elizabeth, deceased; Henry T., Callie and Benjamin F., who was killed in the Rebellion.

H. T. NORMAN, Fulton County, was born where Fulton now stands, July 15, 1843. He is the fourth of six children, three boys and three girls, born to Noah and Mary (Fields) Norman, natives of Rockingham County, N. C., and of Tennessee, respectively, of Scotch-Irish and German descent. Subject was reared on the farm and lived with his parents until the war broke out, when he enlisted in Company A, Seventh Kentucky Infantry, under Capt. Pirtle, Wickliffe colonel commanding. He took part in the battles of Shiloh, Franklin, bombardment of Vicksburg, Harrisburg and Okolona. After eighteen months' service he was transferred to cavalry, when the regiment became the Eighth Kentucky. He was under Gen. Forrest in the battles of Johnsonville, Nashville, second Franklin and in numerous skirmishes. He fought fourteen days in succession, and surrendered in April, 1865. On his return home he engaged in farming where Fulton now stands. He is in the possession of 115 acres of land, adjoining Fulton on the east. He made two additions to the town of Fulton, first of seven acres and the second of fifteen acres. He has one of the finest places in the county of Fulton, a fine brick residence located in a grove of five acres, three quarters of a mile east of the business part of the town. Mr. Norman was married, February 12, 1867, to Martha M. Clark, of Weakley County, Tenn. She is the daughter of King Hiram and Sally (Horton) Clark. Mr. and Mrs. Norman had born to them these children: Benj. F., Early T., James W., Noah, Hiram, Robert H., Emma and Carrie Ann. Mr. Norman and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The portrait of Mr. H. T. Norman appears elsewhere in this volume.

PRESLEY J. OLIVER was born August 7, 1843, in Fulton County, Ky., where he still resides. His father, Martin Oliver, was born in Graves County in 1817, and came to this place in 1824; his mother, Mary (Thornton) Oliver was born in 1814; both parents are living. Their children are Nancy C., William R., subject, Julia A. and John C. Subject was educated at the common schools of the county. He was first married in 1870 to Miss Mary B., daughter of John C. Lawson, of Fulton County (born in 1849 and died in 1872), and from this union sprang one child, Nora V. In 1874 he was married to Miss Emma J., daughter of John M. and Mary E. (Turner) Milner, of Hickman County, and to them have been born Mary S., M. Irene and Lena May. Subject is a farmer, having 315 acres of good land, under good culture. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and is identified with the Democratic party. His wife is a Methodist.

DR. GIDEON PASCHALL, deceased, was born August 2, 1820, in Caswell County, N. C., and was taken by his parents in an early day to Huntsville, Ala.; thence in 1826, to Weakley County, Tenn., six miles west of Fulton, Ky. He was the eldest of thirteen children born to Jesse M. and Mary (Freeman) Paschall, natives of North Carolina. He was reared on a farm, and was on the ground where Paducah now stands when there was not a building erected thereon. He engaged in flatboating down the Mississippi in an early day, and lived with his parents until he was twenty-two years old, when he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. Hawkings; he studied for three years and commenced his practice in Henry County, Tenn.; he finally located where Fulton now stands and put up a log office, which he later

moved from a mile east of town to where it now stands—a relic of the past—in the door yard of the family residence in Fulton. He took a course of lectures at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Penn., in the winter of 1853-54, received a diploma, and was one of the few who are able to graduate with one course of lectures. He was an excellent physician. He was married August 10, 1854, to Adaline Bullock, of Fulton County, a native of Granville County, N. C., and a daughter of Richard and Martha (Freeman) Bullock of Granville County, N. C. Mr. Bullock is of Welsh origin. To Dr. and Mrs. Paschall were born five children, viz.: Pollie, Mattie, Addie D., Annette, Effie R., now deceased. Mrs. Paschall is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; she is owner of one of the finest brick blocks in Fulton, a fine residence, and a number of other residences. Dr. Paschall and a Mr. Carr were the first to sell lots in the town of Fulton; they had the first plat made. The doctor assisted in cutting the State line road through Fulton; his father helped in the removal of the Cherokee Indians. Dr. Paschall was a member of the Masonic fraternity.

DR. N. J. PASCHALL, Fulton County, was born May 21, 1840, in Weakley County, Tenn., six miles southeast of Fulton. He is the eleventh of thirteen children, seven boys and six girls, two boys and one girl now living, born to Jesse M. and Mary (Freeman) Paschall, natives respectively of Caswell and Grandville Counties, N. C. His grandparents were Alexander and Susan (Morgan) Paschall, of French descent. The father of our subject came to Weakley County, Tenn., January, 1827, and entered about 220 acres of land, which he improved and lived on until his death in 1872; he was born in 1799. The father, grandfather and great-grandfather and mother of subject all lie in the family graveyard on the farm entered by grandfather Alex Paschall, and now owned by Dr. N. J. Paschall. His father flatboated in an early day down the Mississippi River, and was one of the first magistrates of Weakley County, Tenn. He assisted in organizing the first court and was appointed justice for life. At the end of four years the constitution was changed; he was then elected for sixteen years. He enlisted to assist in removing the Cherokee Indians, also enlisted in the Florida war. He was an intimate friend of Davy Crockett. Dr. N. J. Paschall was reared on a farm and received a common school education, the best the log-school of the pioneer days could afford. He lived with his parents till he was seventeen years of age, when he commenced the study of medicine with his brother, G. W. Paschall. He took his first course of medical lectures at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Penn., in 1861. After his return he enlisted in July, 1861, in a cavalry company commanded by Capt. Ballentine. He participated in the battles of Paducah, Corinth, Britton's Lane, Fort Pillow, bombardment of Vicksburg, Bolivar, Fort Donelson and Belmont. He re-enlisted in the spring of 1862 for three years or during the war, and was detailed at various times to take charge of the sick. He was under the command of the following named generals—Pillow, Forrest and Van Dorn. After the surrender in May, 1865, he returned home and shortly after emigrated to Texas, where he remained three years. He returned, renewed his study of medicine and graduated at Jefferson Medical College in the spring of 1869. He located at Fulton, where he has continued his practice ever since with success. He attended a course of medical lectures at St. Louis Medical College in 1871. Dr. Paschall owns 225 acres of land in a good state of cultivation and a drug store, which he has acquired by his own industry. He was married July 17, 1864, to Sarah J. Wilson of Ballard County, Ky., a daughter of Rutledge and Elizabeth (Holman) Wilson, natives of Livingston and Butler Counties, Ky., respectively, of Dutch descent. Samuel Wilson located in the Purchase in 1820; William Holman in 1823; both settled in Ballard County. To Dr. and Mrs. Paschall eight children were born, viz.: Mary B., Sarah A., May F., Demitra A., Newton J., Ed C., Jesse R. and Lola A. Mrs. Paschall and eldest daughter are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Paschall has been trustee of Fulton several terms. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, one of the charter members of the I. O. O. F. in Fulton, also a charter member of the K. of H.

J. W. POWELL, Fulton County, was born in Adair County, Ky., September 3, 1825, and is a son of Capt. Robert and Martha E. (Dawson) Powell, natives of Virginia. The father settled in Adair County, about 1810, and subsequently represented that county in the legislature two terms; about 1827 he moved to Weakley County, Tenn.; soon after his arrival he was elected first sheriff of that county; while acting in this capacity, he and the famous Davy Crockett had one of the most sanguinary encounters, with bare fists, ever known in that region; both were badly used up. Subsequently they became fast friends. In 1829 he came to Fulton, then Hickman County, and located at Mills'

Point, now Hickman, where he opened a hotel, and subsequently bought a plantation, on which he resided until his death, in 1853, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. Capt. Powell was one of the first settlers in the Green River country, and one of the first to make the trip with flat-boats from northern Kentucky to New Orleans. In 1811 he was at new Madrid, Mo., on one of his trips, when the famous earthquake of that year took place; he ever afterward referred to his experience at that time as of the most peculiar and interesting of his life. His widow died in 1866, in the seventy-sixth year of her age. J. W. Powell was the eighth of a family of nine children. He remained home until 1847, when he went to Mississippi; he settled at Hernando, DeSoto County, where he went into the livery business, and also dealt in mules and horses. In the fall of 1849 he rented out his livery property to N. B. Forrest, afterward the noted Confederate general, and went to California, by way of the isthmus, where he remained eighteen months, and was generally successful. He returned, via the Nicaragua route, Central America, to Mississippi, and re-engaged in the livery business. In 1853 he came to Hickman, where he has since been engaged in business. In 1856 he began merchandising under the firm name of Rhodes & Powell, and continued until 1861, when, on account of the war, the firm retired. In 1870 he opened again in the general merchandise and produce business, and is now the oldest merchant in the place. In connection with his brother he is also running a flouring-mill, under the firm name of Powell & Bro., and is doing a good business. He also has a large farm, and is engaged in stock dealing quite extensively. Mr. Powell was married, in 1853, to Miss Editha J. Douglass of Taylor County, Ky. The result of this union was seven children, four of whom are now living: Martha E., wife of C. M. Adams; Cora Alice, wife of J. C. Wearne; Luella and William D. This lady died in 1869, aged thirty-eight years. Subject was next married in August, 1872, to Miss Elizabeth Moffat, who died in 1873, aged thirty-nine years. Mr. Powell's third marriage in July, 1882, to Miss Martha E. Park, (daughter of Dr. Thomas Y. Park of Walker County, Ga.), by whom he has two sons: Ernest Park and Max West. Mr. Powell and family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity.

RICHARD C. PRATHER, Fulton County, was born December 25, 1818, in Jefferson County, Ky., where he was reared and resided until 1840, when he settled on the place where he now resides, in Fulton County, Ky. His father, Thomas Prather, a soldier with Jackson at New Orleans, was born in 1795, in Jefferson County, Ky., where he died in 1843. He was the son of Capt. Basil Prather, a Revolutionary soldier of Morgan's command and a native of Maryland. He was among the first settlers in Kentucky.

T. A. PRATHER, Fulton County, was born in October, 1844, in Jefferson County, Ky. His parents, R. C. and M. J. (Givens) Prather, are Kentuckians also, and reside in Fulton County. They reared a family of seven children, subject being the second child, and are esteemed among the prominent and well-to-do citizens of Jordan Precinct. T. A. Prather remained with his parents until he was twenty-five years of age, working in the summer on the farm, and going to school in the winter. He possesses good business qualifications, which, coupled with industry, have enabled him to acquire sufficient means to live comfortably. He owns a good farm in Jordan Precinct, and also a tract of fertile land in Obion County, Tenn. He purchased his present home farm in Hickman Precinct in 1882. He was married in October, 1868, to Lucy C. Cross, of Obion County, Tenn., by whom he has one child, Sallie C. Mrs. Prather died in August, 1872, aged twenty-four years. He was next married, in 1880, to Miss Mary McDaniel of Fulton County, Ky. To this union have been born two children: Richard and Thomas. In politics Mr. Prather is a Democrat. Mrs. Prather is a member of the Christian Church.

C. L. RANDLE, Fulton County, was born September 13, 1829, in Stewart County, Tenn., and is a son of William and Lucinda (Edwards) Randle, natives of Tennessee. The father was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and died in 1869, at the age of sixty-four; his widow is living with her son at Rock Mills, Ala. C. L. Randle is the eldest of nine children; he remained on his father's farm until he was sixteen, when he engaged with Plummer & Co., of Nashville, Tenn., as clerk, for his board and clothes. After remaining with them for eleven months he was admitted to a partnership, which position he occupied for two years. He then went into partnership with Thomas Ross, remained with him for three years, studied law in the meantime, and attended two sessions of the Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tenn.; he was admitted to practice by William Harris and J. O. W. Totton, judges of the supreme court, in 1856. In January,

1857, he came to Hickman, where he has since been actively engaged in the practice of his profession with great success. He has served as city attorney and city clerk. At the beginning of the war he entered the Confederate Army, in Company E, First Kentucky Regiment, served a year in Virginia, after which he came west and entered the cavalry service, being commissioned captain of Company A, Seventh Kentucky, acting as assistant-adjutant general in Lyon's brigade. He was wounded at the battle of Tishomingo Creek, and was captured by Wilson's cavalry April 1, 1865. At the close of the war he returned to Hickman, and resumed his profession. In 1868 he was elected commonwealth's attorney for the First Judicial District and served one term. Mr. Randle was married February 14, 1868, to Miss Maggie Mitchell, of Tennessee, by whom he has had five children, four of whom are living: William M., Robert E., Findley M. and Kate M. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Royal Templars of Temperance, and he and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Mr. Randle was assistant elector for the State at large on the ticket supporting Stephen A. Douglas, and did good work in the campaign. He is a Democrat in politics.

CAPT. WILLIAM P. REED was born June 4, 1838, on the place where he now resides, in Fulton County, Ky. He is a son of Archibald Reed, a native of Jessamine County, Ky., who removed to Fulton County in 1828, where he died in 1873, at the age of sixty-one years. Archibald married Mary Hawkins, also of Jessamine County, and this union was blessed with the following children: Elizabeth A. (Burnett), Rosa E. (Roper), John H., Mary (Bard), Catherine, Thomas J., Sarah (Carpenter), subject, Isabelle (Pewitt) and Martha H. (Noonan). Capt. Reed was married December 17, 1868, to Miss Mary E., daughter of J. B. and Margaret (Brown) Alexander, of Fulton County (born September 25, 1849, and died May 17, 1875), and from this marriage sprang Katie E. On February 7, 1883, he married Miss Mary A., daughter of John M. and Mary E. (Turner) Milner, of Hickman County, and to them has been born William C., May 6, 1884. Subject is a successful farmer owning 210 acres of productive land. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and in politics adheres to the tenets of the old line Whigs.

M. W. RICHARDSON was born March 20, 1840, in Fulton County, Ky., and was a son of Samuel S. and Catherine (George) Richardson, natives of Kentucky. The father came to the Purchase in 1828, and, settling in Hickman County, engaged in land speculating and farming. M. W. was reared on a farm. His father died when he was quite young, but he was brought up by his mother, who is still living at the advanced age of seventy-five years. He began life for himself in 1856, as a clerk in Milburn. At the end of a year he engaged in business for himself at that point, and remained there until 1883, first running a grocery and dry goods store, and subsequently a harness shop. In February of that year he came to Fulton, where he has since been engaged in the latter business. He also handles a stock of buggies and carriages. He was married August 29, 1860, to Miss Mary Sanford, of Ballard County, Ky., and a daughter of Daniel Sanford, a native of Kentucky, and of Irish origin. The result of this marriage has been six children, viz.: Iona C., Minor W., Kittie, George P. (deceased), Boone S. and Marion E. Mr. Richardson is a member of the Christian Church, his wife of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is a member of the Masonic order, and of the K. of H., and has been a member of the Fulton village board.

JAMES R. ROACH was born in Wilson County, Tenn., December 14, 1835. He is a son of James O. and Betsey (Barton) Roach, both natives of Tennessee. Subject's paternal grandfather was Bryant Roach, was a native of North Carolina, but emigrated to Tennessee in an early day, and died in Marshall County, Ky., in 1847. Subject's father was a farmer and gunsmith; was a resident of Obion County, Tenn., but died December 4, 1884, at the residence of his son, James R., aged seventy-eight years and a few days. The mother died September 8, 1878, aged seventy years, seven months and seventeen days. James R. is the only child; he remained at home until 1868, farming the place and looking after his parents' interests. He was married December 4, 1862, to Ladoska, daughter of John and Anna Wheeler, of Virginia. To this union was born one child, Charley. Mrs. Roach died in January, 1868, aged thirty-two years. Mr. Roach was next married in December, 1868, to Sarah C., daughter of R. and Mary Jane (Geer) Kenner. By this second marriage Mr. Roach has two children, Neal and Oscar. Mr. Roach moved to his present place of residence in 1869, at that time there being but little improvement on the farm. He now has a well tilled farm of 160 acres. He is a member of the Knights of Honor, and is an

old-line Whig. Mrs. Roach is a member of the Missionary Baptist Church.

R. A. ROBINSON, Fulton County, was born in Columbus, Ky., July 28, 1850, and is the eldest of four children born to Smith and Edna (Merryweather) Robinson, natives of Kentucky, and of Irish and English descent, respectively. The father came to Hickman County about 1832. He was a farmer and speculator, and died here in 1865; the mother died about 1859. R.A. Robinson's education was received at the common schools of Columbus and at Clinton College, from which institution he graduated in the class of 1869. After quitting school he clerked in a drug store at Clinton two years, and then formed a partnership with Dr. James A. Henderson, under the firm name of Henderson & Robinson. This firm remained in operation for three years, and then Mr. Robinson continued the business for himself until 1881, when he moved to Fulton. At this point he has continued the drug business with success, and at present has two stores. He was married in January, 1881, to Miss Gertrude Binford, daughter of Rob and Sarah (White) Binford, natives of Fulton County. This union has resulted in the birth of two children, Moss and James M. Mrs. Robinson is a member of the Baptist Church.

JOHN W. ROGERS, Fulton County, was born December 22, 1840, in Weakley County, near Dresden, Tenn. His father, John Rogers, was a native of North Carolina, from which State he moved with his parents about the year 1813 or 1814. He was a farmer and died in Texas in 1852, aged fifty-seven years. The mother of subject, Patience (Tansel) Rogers, was born in North Carolina also, and departed this life in Texas in 1882, at the age of seventy-six years. They were the parents of eleven children, of whom subject is the tenth child and the youngest living. Subject spent his youth and early manhood at the old homestead, looking after his mother's welfare, and remaining with her until twenty-eight years of age. In 1876 he came to Hickman, and, in partnership with A. M. DeBow, opened a general grocery store. He afterward bought his partner's interest and is conducting the business at the present time. During the war between North and South he served in the Seventh Confederate Regiment, Texas Volunteer Infantry; he received a wound at the battle of Fort Donelson, which compelled him to remain out of active service for a period of two years. At the end of that time he again entered the army, joining Forrest's cavalry, with which he served until the close of the war. He participated in the battles of Fort Pillow, Hurricane Creek, Harrisburg, Nashville, and a number of other engagements. At the close of the war, he went to Texas, where he remained until 1869, the date of his arrival at Hickman. He was married in 1871 to Miss Lou M., daughter of N. N. and Mary Cowgill. Mr. and Mrs. Rogers are the parents of four children, Alexine Tansel, Nannie, John Nathaniel and Louisa W. Mr. Rogers is an active member of the Masonic fraternity and K. of H. Mrs. Rogers belongs to the Episcopal Church of Hickman.

RICHARD D. ROPER was born July 28, 1852, in Fulton County, Ky., where he has always resided. He is the son of John Roper, who was born in 1817, in Woodford County, Ky., removed to Fulton County in 1827, where he died in 1860. He was the son of Joseph Roper, of Virginia, who died in 1836. Subject's mother is Nancy D., daughter of Benjamin and Nannie (Vincent) Easley, of this place. To herself and husband were born subject, Cornelia E. (Thomas) and John W. The family enjoyed the benefits of good schools, and are readers of good books and papers. Our subject is a farmer by profession, and is engaged successfully in cultivating the home farm. His mother is a member of the Methodist Church.

WILLIAM T. ROPER was born February 19, 1845, on the place where he now resides in Fulton County, Ky. His father, William H. Roper, a native of Woodford County, Ky., was born in 1823 and died in 1876. For many years he was sheriff of this county. He was twice married; first to Sarah J. Kyle, of Fulton, to whom were born Lucy A. (Bradley), subject, Joseph H., Mary V. (Treas), Albert M. and Alonzo S. As a result of his second marriage, Sarah N. and Emma E. were born. On February 20, 1866, subject was married to Miss Martha A., daughter of Salem T. and Bethena (Dowdy) McClellan, of Fulton County, and to them have been born Sarah J., William H., Salem T., Joseph A., Effie I., Mary E., George M., James E. and Robert C. Mr. Roper is a successful farmer, and is reputed to be one of the most extensive wheat raisers in the county. He is possessed of 370 acres of superior land in a fine state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and his wife is a Methodist.

LEWIS ROPER was born March 25, 1824, in Woodford County, Ky., and was brought by his parents in 1828 to Fulton County, where he has since resided. His father, Joseph Roper, was born in the vicinity of Richmond, Va., and died about 1836, at the

age of sixty-six years. Joseph was twice married, and his union with his first wife resulted in the birth of Martha (Polsegrove.) He next married Mildred Shouse, of Woodford County, Ky., and from this union sprang Clemency (Scearce), Dutoy, Samuel H., Joseph, Andrew J., John, Elam, William H., subject, Edward, Lucretia (McGehee), Lucy A. (McGehee), and Henrietta (Thompson). On February 8, 1844, subject married Miss Rosella M., daughter of Archibald and Mary (Hawkins) Reed, of Fulton County, and to them have been born Joseph A., John C., Mary L. (Lawson), Lucy C. (deceased,) Sarah E. (deceased), Lewis (deceased), Anabell (deceased), Martin A. (deceased), Anna (deceased), Rosetta (deceased) and William R. Mrs. Lawson lives with her parents and has one son, John C. Mr. Roper is a farmer, owning 160 acres of fine land. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and is indentified with the Democrats.

EPHRAIM ROWE, Fulton County, was born January 29, 1848, in Kent, England. He is the fourth of six children—two boys and four girls—all living, born to Charles and Mary Ann (Burton) Rowe. The father was a miller by trade, and came to the United States about the year 1851 and settled in York State. Thence moved to Hamilton County, Ohio, where he engaged in the milling business. In 1860 he moved to Newburgh, Ind., and engaged in milling. In 1861 he went to Booneville, Ind., where he has since lived and is now eighty-two years old; his wife is also living. Ephraim Rowe enlisted in February, 1864, in Company E, One Hundred and Twentieth Indiana Infantry, under T. J. Downs captain, B. F. Barter colonel commanding. He participated in the battles of Atlanta, Franklin, Nashville and Kingston, N. C. He was discharged January, 1866, at Raleigh, N. C. He returned to his home in Indiana, and was engaged in a tobacco factory a short time; later he engaged in milling in Boonville. In 1867 he went to Paducah, where he was engaged for six weeks by James Langstaff in a mill. He then returned home. In 1869 he again went to Paducah and worked for same person as on his former trip. In 1872 he went to Caseyville, Ky., and worked at his trade until April, 1882. Thence he went to Paducah. In February, 1883, he went to New Liberty. In March, 1884, he located in Fulton, and formed a partnership with N. B. Hester in the milling business. Mr. Rowe was married to Dora Watkins of Union County, Ky., in December, 1876. Her parents died when she was quite young. She is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

H. M. SAUNDERS was born March 18, 1851, in Bowling Green, Ky., and is the sixth of eight children born to Jesse and Emerine V. (Feland) Saunders, natives of Barren and Warren Counties, Ky., respectively, of English, Irish and German origin. Subject's grandfather, John Saunders, who married a Miss Smydth, was reared in Virginia, and was a farmer. Subject's grandfather, James Feland, who married a Miss Mary Stall, was born and reared in North Carolina; he was a farmer. H. M. Saunders was reared principally on a farm; he was but two years old when his mother died, and but nine when his father died. He lived with his step-mother until he was sixteen years old, when he engaged in teaching in Fulton County. He continued to teach and attend school till he was twenty-five years old. After that he engaged as salesman in Fulton, Hickman and at Martin, Tenn. In 1880 he embarked in the newspaper business and established the Martin *Exchange*. This not being profitable he moved to Fulton and changed the name of the paper to *Index*. In January, 1883, he commenced publishing the *Baptist Gleaner*, edited by Revs. Moody and Hall. Mr. Saunders was married February 14, 1883, to Miss Kate Compton of Madisonville, Ky., a daughter of Judge James and Mary (Hicklin) Compton. To this union was born one child, Avil L. Mr. S. is a member of the Christian Church and a Democrat.

ALBERT H. SCEARCE is a native of Fulton County, and was born November 10, 1828, at the place of his present residence, which has always been his home. His father, Lewis Scearce, was born in Woodford County, Ky., came to Fulton County in 1828, where he died in 1881. He was the son of Robert of Virginia, a soldier in the war of 1812. Lewis' wife, Clemency, daughter of Joseph Roper, died in 1846. Their children are: Mary M. (Johnson), subject, Catherine E. (Bransford), Susan (McClellan), Sarah A. (married to Atwell, Royster and McGehee), Victoria (Rhodes), Wellington and Robert H. January 15, 1852, subject was married to Miss Martha J. Champion, of Hickman County, Ky. She was born in 1826 and died in 1865. Their children are Robert L., Frances V. (deceased), Nora (Mayes), William C. and Albert S. Mr. Scearce was next married in 1868, to Miss Alley K. Dickens, of Hickman County, and to them have been born Mack D., Mary E., Joseph, Mattie and Richard. Subject is extensively engaged in general

trading and dealing in produce. He is a farmer, owning 1,000 acres of valuable land in fine condition. In politics he is a Democrat.

REV. F. M. SHARP, Fulton County, was born June 14, 1844, in Christian County, Ky., and is the fourth of seven children born to Rev. John N. and Mary A. (Usher) Sharp, of Muhlenburgh County, Ky. The father died when subject was quite young, and the latter early lent his helping hand to the support of the family. After his mother's death in 1865, he attended Bethel College (Russellville, Ky.), for fifteen months. Mr. Sharp commenced preaching when eighteen years old In 1866 he was ordained to preach and has devoted thereto more or less of the time ever since. In 1882 he came to Fulton and took charge of the church here. He was married in October, 1870, to Miss Linda K. Humphrey, a daughter of J. T. and Sarah (Drake) Humphrey, natives of Muhlenburg County, Ky. Five children have blessed this union: Mary A., Gardner P., Maggie V., Nelson T. and Jennie M.

M. B. SHAW, Fulton County, was born May 1, 1843, in Fulton County, and is a son of John and Eliza (Moody) Shaw, the father a native of Virginia, and the mother a native of Kentucky. His ancestors on father's side were of Scotch descent, mother's side English descent, and among the earliest pioneers of Kentucky, having settled in Shelby County, when that part of the State was one of the outskirts of civilization. The father of our subject explored that part of Kentucky bordering on the Mississippi River, in 1826, and located at Mills Point, now Hickman, some time during 1828. He served under Gen. Harrison in the Indian war of 1811, and gained some distinction as a scout in that campaign. He followed farming and was also a merchant in Hickman during the early days of its history. He was called to fill several official positions before the division of Hickman and Fulton Counties, and represented the county in 1845, in the State legislature. He died in 1861, aged seventy years. The mother died in 1852, at the age of forty years. They were the parents of nine children, subject being the fourth child. W. B. Shaw commenced life for himself as a farmer and trader, and by successful management found himself in possession of sufficient means to open a business house, which he did in 1882, taking in as a partner J. K. Muste. They opened a general grocery store, which is now one of the largest houses of its kind in the city, representing a capital of $10,000, and doing an annual business of $50,000. Mr. Shaw was married in February, 1873, to Miss Susie Simmons, of Fulton County. Mrs. Shaw died in 1875, aged nineteen years. He was next married, in 1877, to Mrs. Fannie B. Robinson, daughter of Thomas Buck of Hickman; to this union have been born two children: Mit and Len. Mr. Shaw is a member of the I. O. O. F., Masonic and K. of H. Lodges. Mrs. Shaw is a member of the Missionary Baptist Church.

ANDREW SHUCK, one of the first and well known settlers of Fulton County, was born in Henry County, Ky., June 12, 1801. His father, Andrew Shuck, was of German descent, and died prior to 1830, aged about fifty-five years. The mother, Mary Ann (Young) Shuck, died in Fulton County, about 1850, at the age of seventy years. They were the parents of nine children, subject being the fourth child, and the only one living. Subject passed his youth and early manhood on his father's farm, where he acquired that rugged vitality which enabled him to successfully encounter the hardship of life in after years. At the age of twenty-eight he came to Fulton County, settling where he now lives, six miles east of Hickman. He first purchased 160 acres of wood land, out of which he cleared a fine farm, and from time to time added to his original purchase until he now owns a tract of 540 acres. In August, 1828, he was married to Cynthia, daughter of John B. and Mary Clark, of Fulton County. Eleven children were born to this union, only one of whom is living, Margaret, wife of W. M. Bacon. Mrs. Shuck died August 17, 1877, aged seventy-two years. Mr. Shuck has lived a quiet and useful life, never having sought or desired political distinction. He votes the Democratic ticket. W. M. Bacon, son-in-law of the preceding, was born February 26, 1837, in Owen County, Ky., and is the fifth child of Nathaniel M. and Linia (Maddox) Bacon, both natives of Kentucky. The father was county and circuit clerk of Owen County from the time he was twenty-one until his death in 1846. The mother is still living in Obion County, Tenn. Subject commenced life for himself as a carriage trimmer in Frankfort, Ky., which trade he followed for five years and then engaged in farming, his present occupation. He was married December 14, 1865, to Margaret E. Shuck, daughter of Andrew and Cynthia Shuck. Mr. and Mrs. Bacon are the parents of six children, named as follows: Fannie Lee (deceased), Maggie (deceased), Willie,

Lemuel, Charles and Andrew C. W. M. Bacon is a member of the K. of H. and votes the Democratic ticket.

CAPT. WILLIAM A. SHUCK was born April 16, 1839, in Shelby County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1861 entered the Buckner Guards, as a private, and after a service of one year was breveted second lieutenant in the Eighth Kentucky Cavalry, and in 1862 was promoted to a captaincy in Morgan's command. He was captured with his chief on his famous raid through Ohio, and remained a prisoner of war at Johnson's Island until the termination of hostilities. His father, John Y. Shuck, was also a native of Shelby County, where he died in 1845, at the age of thirty-two years. He was the son of John Shuck, of Shelby County, one of the early settlers of the commonwealth. Subject's mother, Martha F., daughter of David and Nancy (Barbee) Lyle, of Shelby County, died in 1868, aged forty-nine years. To her and husband were born subject and Elizabeth P. (Mason). Subject was favored with a good English education and is still an extensive reader. On March 1, 1870, he was married to Lida, daughter of B. J. Kenneday, of Oxford, Miss. (died November 15, 1870). He was next married May 12, 1876, to Miss Bertha, daughter of William L. and Mary (Rickman) Alexander, of Fulton County, and to them have been born Mary L., Lyle Y. and Fannie H. Capt. Shuck is a farmer, having 100 acres of good land. He is a member in good standing in the K. of H., and in politics is a Democrat.

J. H. SIMMONS, Fulton County, was born in Davidson County, Tenn., March 5, 1827, and is the eldest of twelve children of Ephraim and Susan (Gower) Simmons, both natives of Tennessee. The father was a farmer and died in 1866; the mother died in 1882. Subject was reared on a farm and received a good practical education, and at the age of eighteen years, engaged as a clerk with a firm at Sycamore Mills, then went to Nashville, where he remained five or six years. He then went to Rutherford County, Tenn., and started a store of his own at the town of Smyrna, where he conducted a business for a period of seven years, when he sold out and came to Fulton County, Ky., locating about six miles from Hickman. He purchased his present farm in 1869, and is now the owner of 360 acres of fine land, the greater part of which has been brought to a high state of cultivation. In 1855 he married Miss S. C. Fitzhugh, of Tennessee. This union has been blessed with two children, one of whom is dead; the one living, Leonard D., is a young man of fine business qualifications. Mr. Simmons is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and belongs to the Christian Church. His wife is a member of the Missionary Baptist Church.

J. P. SMITH, Fulton County, was born December 11, 1842, in Mississippi, and is the eldest child of William and Nancy (Craig) Smith, natives of North Carolina and Tennessee respectively. The early life of our subject was spent on a farm. His mother dying when he was quite young, he made his home with his grandparents until the age of eighteen. He then enlisted in Company F, of the Second Mississippi Infantry, under Col. W. C. Faulkner. Among the battles in which he participated were the first and second battles of Bull Run, Sharpsburg, Seven Pines and Gettysburg. At the latter battle he was taken prisoner and sent to Fort Delaware, where he was confined until the close of the war. He was paroled in May, 1865, and returned to Mississippi, where he clerked for two years, and subsequently followed farming for two years. In 1870 he began railroading and has followed it ever since. He worked first as a bridge carpenter, next as conductor of construction train, and in 1880 was appointed roadmaster on the Illinois Central Railroad, a position which he has continued to hold. In April, 1867, Mr. Smith was married to Miss Jennie Newland, of Hardiman County, Tenn. Eight children have blessed this union, of whom six are living: Eddie L. Pearl, Lorrymore, Beauty, George P. and Tusner. Mr. and Mrs. Smith are members of the Christian Church. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M., K. of H., A. O. U. W. and K. of P. fraternities.

ED. STARKS, Fulton County, was born in Marshall County, Ky., December 26, 1845. His grandfather, Edmund Curd, moved to the Purchase and located at Wadesborough, where he had charge of the land office. His grandfather, Ruben Starks, moved from Logan County, Ky., and located near Wadesborough; the grandfathers were among the first settlers in this country. Ed. Starks' early life was spent on the farm; being about sixteen years old when the civil war broke out, he entered the service, though young, and was soon commissioned as commissary of the Sixteenth Kentucky Cavalry, with the rank of first lieutenant. After leaving the service he cast his lot politically with the Democrats, and always is a strong supporter of the nominee of his party, and highly favors organization from the lowest to the highest offices. In 1865 he located at Mur-

ray, Calloway Co., Ky., where he was married to Miss Belle Jones, on the 12th day of October of that year. He filled the office of police judge and mayor of that place for several years, and was engaged in the grocery and hardware business while there; when Fulton was but a small station he decided to cast his lot with the few citizens who were here and moved with his family in the fall of 1873. He was in the hardware business for several years, and was very successful. In 1884 he was appointed mayor and police judge of the city, a position that he has held continuously ever since. His present term will expire in May, 1886. He has been a great friend to the town, and has just cause to be, as the citizens have certainly stood by him in every effort to advance his own interest or that of the town.

S. A. D. STEELE, Fulton County, was born January 16, 1821, in Caldwell County, Ky. He is the first of three children, two boys and one girl, born to John and Mary (Downey) Steele. The father was a native of Pennsylvania and of English descent; his mother of Dutch descent. The grandparents were Jesse Steele and Samuel Downey. The former was a soldier in the Revolution; John Steele served under Gen. Harrison in the war of 1812. Grandfather Downey was in the Indian wars in Kentucky under Boone, and was among the very early settlers of this State. Subject's mother died when he was about thirteen; his father, in 1851, aged seventy-eight. Subject was married June 14, 1842, to Miss Elizabeth Green, of Mobile, Ala., daughter of John and Elizabeth Green. Ten children blessed this union, viz.: Mary E., deceased; Sarah J., wife of T. B. Burnett; T. P.; Louisa A., deceased; William; A. L.; Catherine R., deceased; Emily C.; Clara V., deceased, and Robert E. L. deceased. Mrs. Steele died October, 1868, aged forty-eight, a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Steele was next married October 14, 1875, to Miss Lou Warren, of Clark County, Miss., and daughter of Abel and Huldah A. (Spurlin) Warren. The father was a native of Kentucky; the mother of Alabama. Six children have resulted from this marriage: Gertrude, Jennie, Samuel A. D., Anna, Addie and an infant unnamed; the last three are deceased. Mr. and Mrs. Steele are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; he is a local preacher, was licensed in 1857, and ordained deacon, in 1866, by Bishop Wightmon, and has been preaching ever since. In 1843 subject was licensed to practice law in Choctaw County, Miss., and has since followed his profession. He was a soldier in the late war, having enlisted in the Confederate Army in the summer of 1863, going out as captain in Col. Perrin's Mississippi cavalry regiment. Among the battles in which he participated might be mentioned Darby House, New Hope Church, Atlanta, Macon, Columbus and Montgomery, where he was sent to the hospital and remained from July to September. He obtained leave of absence and came home, where he remained until January, 1865. He then returned to camp at Tuscaloosa, Ala., where he remained until the surrender. He then returned home, soon after which he was elected, against three other candidates, to the legislature under the military government, and took part in the canvass against the adoption of the new constitution in 1868–69. In 1871 he was elected State senator, which office he held for four years. He then came to Clinton, Ky., where he was appointed attorney for the C., St. L. & N. O. and M. & O. Railways. In this capacity he served until 1876, since which time he has been practicing his profession. He moved to Fulton iu 1875, where he has remained ever since. Since the war he has continued to take an active part in politics. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and has held all of the offices in the lodge.

J. T. STEPHENS, postmaster of Hickman, was born in Marshall County, Ky., July 6, 1851, and is the second child and eldest son of J. D. Stephens. His mother's maiden name was Nancy Bailey; she was born near Princeton, Ky. The father of subject followed the occupation of pilot on the Mississippi, Ohio and Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers for many years, and is still living at Alton, Ill. J. T. Stephens commenced life as a pilot also, making trips with his father, and long before attaining his majority, he had acquired the reputation of being a very skillful riverman. He continued as pilot until the year 1883, at which time, at the earnest solicitations of his numerous friends, he was induced to apply for the position of postmaster at Hickman. The struggle for the position was hotly contested, but Mr. Stephens' personal popularity proved a strong factor in his favor, and led to his securing the position, which he now fills with satisfaction to all. He was married in 1879 to Miss Hattie Jackson, daughter of W. H. Jackson, of Troy, Obion Co., Tenn. He is a Republican in politics, and a strong advocate of the temperance cause, being identified with the Royal Templars of Temperance. Mrs. Stephens is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

JOHN A. STUBBS was born September 12, 1841, in Fulton County, Ky. His father, Moses Stubbs, was a native of Tennessee, but came to this part of the Purchase in an early day, and can be classed with the pioneers of Fulton. Dennis Stubbs, subject's grandfather, immigrated to the county when it contained but a few sparse settlements, and located about ten miles southeast of Hickman, on the Dresden Road, where he died about 1855 or 1860. The father of subject resided upon the same farm until his death in 1863. The mother is still living in the suburbs of Hickman. Mr. and Mrs. Stubbs reared a family of eight children, named as follows: William, deceased; James, deceased; Elizabeth, deceased; John A., subject; Catherine, deceased; Poter F., Berry and Julia. John A. lived at the paternal home until 1862, when he enlisted in Company I, Seventh Confederate Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and served in the Western campaign for three years, at the end of which time he joined Forrest's cavalry, with which he remained until taken prisoner at Selma in 1865. After a short imprisonment he was paroled, and, coming back to Fulton County, engaged in farming on the old homestead, which is his present place of residence. He was united in marriage in April, 1867, with Mary, daughter of Hinton and Sarah Parham, by whom he had one child, Mary. Mrs. Stubbs died in March, 1866, aged twenty-four years, and Mr. Stubbs next married, in 1873, Penny, daughter of Hilman King, of North Carolina. To this marriage have been born three children, John O., Katie and Ada. In politics Mr. Stubbs is a Democrat.

W. P. TAYLOR, of Fulton County, was born February 3, 1846, in Graves County, Ky. He is the son of William and Rebecca (Roberts) Taylor. The father was born in Kentucky; he died in February, 1857, aged fifty-six. He was a farmer; also a merchant of Dukedom, Graves County, Ky. The mother is a native of Virginia. Our subject was brought up on his father's farm, where he remained until the age of twenty, at which time he commenced trading and farming. In 1873 he came to Fulton, Ky., and engaged in the saw-mill business, later in the leather and saddlery business, and at present owns a tannery at Fulton. He was elected county clerk in August, 1882, and assumed the duties of this office September 4, of the same year, which position he has since held. Mr. Taylor was married January 2, 1867, to Millie A. Wilson, of Weakley County, Tenn., by whom he has two children living: Mattie L. and Arthur J.; and one dead, Anna L. Mr. Taylor is a member of the Masonic order, I. O. O. F., and K. of H. He and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

G. B. THRELKELD, of Fulton County, was born December 9, 1842, in Owen County, Ky., and is the only child of George and Nanz. Threlkeld, both natives of Kentucky. The father was a farmer and died when subject was in his infancy. The mother is still living in Obion County, Tenn. Subject remained with his mother until nineteen years of age, when he entered the Confederate Army, enlisting in the Fourth Kentucky Cavalry, under command of Col. Giltner. His regiment served in southwest Virginia and the eastern campaigns, and participated in a number of well-fought battles. He served under Corps Commanders Longstreet, Breckinridge, Buckner and Morgan, and was taken prisoner at Cynthiana, Ky., in 1863; was taken to Rock Island, Ill., where he remained nine months, at the end of which time he was paroled and came home. He came to Fulton County in 1867, and purchased a farm six miles east of Hickman, on which he resided three years, when he bought another place in the same precinct; he purchased his present home farm of 220 acres in 1881. He was married February 1, 1866, to Lavina, daughter of L. D. and Elizabeth Alexander. She had two sons: L. D., and Coe Threlkeld. Two years after her death he married Addie Maddox (in December, 1869,) who had two children, but one of whom, G. B. Threlkeld, is living. He was married a third time to M. B. Hagan, of Fulton County, December 10, 1879. She has three children: Lena Rivers, H. Elmer and Elizabeth Threlkeld. Mr. T., wife and eldest son, L. D., are members of the Baptist Church.

B. D. THOMASON, Fulton County, was born in Christian Co., Ky., December 3, 1834. His father, George Thomason, was a native of Virginia, and came to Hickman from Christian County in 1864; he died two years later at the age of fifty-eight. The paternal grandfather of subject was Arnold Thomason, also a native of Virginia, which State he left in an early day, coming to Christian County, Ky., where he died in 1840. Subject's mother, Elizabeth Thomason, is still living in Hickman. She is a daughter of Newson Pace, who distinguished himself in the war of the Revolution. At the age of seventeen years, subject entered the printing office of John C. Noble of Hopkinsville, where he acquired the typographical art, and two years later went to Henderson, Ky., where he found

employment in the office of the Henderson *Courier*. Tiring of the printing business he next commenced merchandising at the town of Beverly, Christian County, where he remained until 1858 or 1859, at which time he closed out and went to Columbus, where he opened a grocery house, which he ran until the breaking out of the civil war. At the close of the war, he came to Hickman, where he engaged as clerk for a mercantile firm, retaining that position until 1871, at which time he effected a copartnership with J. W. Corman in the hardware business. In 1878 the firm started a branch store in Malden, Mo., and Mr. Thomason went there in charge of the same, remaining until June, 1884, at which time he came back to Hickman, where he now resides. He was married, in 1857, to Harriet H., daughter of Carter L. and Adaline Bradshaw, the father a native of Virginia, and the mother of Mercer County, Ky. Mr. Thomason is an active member of the Masonic fraternity and K. of H. Mrs. Thomason is a member of the Christian Church.

JAMES P. TYLER, Fulton County, was born March 18, 1837, in Fulton County, Ky., and is the seventh of nine children born to James P. and Martha (Willis) Tyler, natives of Virginia and Kentucky, respectively. The father came to Fulton County, 1825, where he died in 1852 aged fifty-two years. After his father's death, James P. Tyler began life for himself as a farm hand at $75 per year. In 1855 he came to Hickman, where he began clerking and remained there until 1860, when he turned his attention to farming. In May, 1861, he enlisted in Lauderdale's Guards. At the battle of Shiloh he was promoted to second lieutenant. In 1862 he re-enlisted in the Fifth Tennessee Regiment, and was elected second lieutenant. Among the battles in which he participated were Perryville, Missionary Ridge, Chickamauga, Murfreesboro, Jonesboro and Franklin. At the last battle he was wounded in the shoulder. He was subsequently promoted to captain and served under Gen. Cheatham until Gen. Johnston's surrender to Sherman, when he was paroled. He returned to Hickman and began clerking in a dry goods store. At the end of one year he went to Union City, where he engaged in the dry goods business for five years; in 1873 he came to Fulton and opened a grocery store, in which business he is still engaged with considerable success. Mr. Tyler was married in November, 1867, to Miss Puss Lawson, a daughter of Horace and Tabitha (Alexander) Lawson. This lady died in August, 1868, and he was next married to Miss Catherine Alexander, a daughter of Dr. J. M. and Mary (Mott) Alexander, natives of Sumner County, Tenn., and Jessamine County, Ky., respectively. The result of this marriage has been four children, viz.: John, Mary B., Alice M. and James M. Mr. Tyler and wife are members of the Presbyterian Church. He is a member of the K. of H. He has served as village trustee several terms, is village treasurer, and one of the directors of the Bank of Fulton.

RICHARD T. TYLER, Hickman, was born September 28, 1850, in Fulton County, Ky., and is a son of Austin S., and Susan A. (Ashburn) Tyler, both natives of Kentucky. The father was a farmer and died in 1872, aged seventy-one years. The mother is still living in Hickman. The father was one of the earliest pioneers, and served as the first sheriff of the county, besides serving in other official capacities, to-wit: county assessor, surveyor, magistrate, and at the time of his death was superintendent of the county schools. Richard Tyler is the youngest of five children, and spent the first twenty years of his life on his father's farm, and graduated at the Kentucky Military Institute June 8, 1871. He then began reading law under the preceptorship of his brother, H. A. Tyler, and was admitted to the bar in 1872. He succeeded his father as school commissioner and served in that capacity for a period of seven years. He has been in the active practice of his profession since 1878 and is one of the leading attorneys, at the present time being a member of the firm of H. A. & R. T. Tyler, and is a partner in the Hickman Lumber and Manufacturing Company, which was established in 1880, and which is owned at the present time by Tyler Bros. & J. D. Millard, and is the largest manufacturing institution in the Purchase district, representing a yearly business of $500,000, employing about 125 men; manufactures furniture, also deals in rough and dressed lumber. Their building was erected at a cost of $12,000, and they employ several other mills in different parts of the country. The officers of the company are: President, R. T. Tyler; foreman, J. B. Millard; secretary and treasurer, R. E. Millet. Mr. Tyler was married in 1879 to Miss Sallie S., daughter of Peter W. and Lucy A. Mott, by whom he had one son, Allison M. Mrs. Tyler died in 1883 at the age of twenty-six. Mr. Tyler is a member of the K. of H., and a Democrat.

A. V. UNDERWOOD was born in Weakley County, Tenn., in 1838. His father, Jerry

Underwood, was a farmer and died in 1862, aged about sixty years. His mother, Mary (Arnold) Underwood, died in 1867, at about the same age as her husband. They were the parents of fifteen children, ten of whom are still living. A. V. Underwood commenced life for himself at the age of twenty-one years, following the vocation of a farmer in his native county and State, remaining there until his removal to Fulton County, some time prior to 1867. He bought his present place of seventy-two acres three miles south of Hickman in 1869, and from a dense forest has made it one of the finest little farms in the southern part of the precinct. He was married in 1858 to Melissa, daughter of Hugh and Eliza (Sheridan) Moore of Tennessee. In politics Mr. Underwood votes with the Democratic party.

DR. FRANCIS M. USHER, a native of Christian County, Ky, was born July 30, 1836, and was reared to man's estate at the place of his birth, where he remained until 1860, when he removed to Moscow, in Hickman County. His father, Dr. James H. Usher, was born in Virginia in 1806, came to Kentucky in youth and is still living. He is the son of David Usher, a Virginian. Dr. James H., married Lucinda Compton of Washington County, Ky. She was born in 1810, and died in 1876. Their children are —Dr. James H., Edmund C., William D., subject, Sarah R. (Proctor), America V. (Nance), Mary R., Ophelia (Northington), Josephine H. (Nance), George W., Emma E. (Gaines) and Marietta (Scott). Dr. Usher was married December 24, 1868, to Miss Mary L., daughter of Rev. N. N. Cowgill of Fulton County, and this union was blessed with the birth of one son, Frank, after which, Mrs. Usher died in 1870. October 28, 1874, subject was next married to Miss Julia A., daughter of Charles and Sallie (Thomason) Carpenter of Fulton County, and to them Mary L. has been born. In 1856 subject commenced the study of medicine with Dr. J. C. Whitlock of Newstead, Ky., with whom he remained three years. He attended the University of Pennsylvania in 1857 and graduated in 1859. Dr. Usher practiced his profession six years at Moscow, two years at Hopkinsville, and in 1868 settled at his present place in Fulton County, where he is engaged in an extensive and successful practice. He also engaged in farming, owning 500 acres of valuable land. Dr. Usher is a member of the Masonic fraternity and a Democrat.

GEORGE WARREN, editor and proprietor of the Hickman *Courier*, was born in Murfreesborough, Tenn., May 3, 1840. He is the youngest of a family of four children born to P. G. and Elizabeth (Pybass) Warren, both natives of Tennessee. William Warren, subject's grandfather, was a native of North Carolina; he left that State in an early day, emigrating to Tennessee, where he died about the year 1850. Subject's maternal grandparents were of French descent, and died when subject was in his infancy. P. G. Warren was a journalist and established one of the first papers in Murfreesborough; he was one of the original founders of the Nashville *American*, the leading paper in Tennessee at the present time; he died, in 1874, at the age of sixty-four years. The mother died in 1856, aged thirty-nine years. Subject received his early education in his native town, and at the age of fourteen entered Andrew College at Trenton, where he remained four years. After leaving school he entered the printing office of the old Nashville *American* and Nashville *Gazette*, where he remained for several years, working in different offices at intervals. In 1860 he came to Hickman and in company with his brother, E. K. Warren, established the *Courier*, of which he assumed complete control one year later. He has conducted the paper ever since that time, and is one of the oldest journalists in the Purchase. The *Courier* is an independent Democratic sheet, and has a very large circulation. Mr. Warren was married December 27, 1869, to Mollie, daughter of John and Mary F. (Binford) French. Two children have been born to this union: Nannie and Maggie. Mr. Warren has at different times been called to fill various official positions; he held the office of city judge, and was master commissioner for a period of four years. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and K. of H., and his wife is a member of the Episcopal Church.

WILLIAM O. WEAR, Fulton County, was born January 21, 1847, in Murray, Ky. He is the first of twelve children—nine boys and three girls—born to Archibald and Sallie (Meloan) Wear, natives of Alabama and Kentucky, respectively; the father of Scotch-Irish and English descent. William O. was reared in Murray, where he received a fair English education, and lived with his parents until he became of age. His father was a druggist. William O. engaged in the drug business for himself in Murray, when he became of age, and continued it for three or four years, when he was burned out. He then engaged in editing the Calloway *News* for four years. In 1882 he moved to Fulton, and engaged in the drug business, in which he still continues.

He was married April 15, 1869, to Miss Mary E. Linn, of Calloway County, a daughter of R. C. and Nancy (Irvan) Linn, natives of Kentucky: To their union were born four children: Lura B. (deceased), Sallie B., Rubie L. and Boyd. Mr. Wear and wife are members of the Christian Church; he is a member of the Masonic fraternity. He was trustee of Murray one or two terms.

C. HUGHLETTE WILSON, attorney of Fulton County, was born in Hickman, August 24, 1858, and is a son of John A. and Jennie M. (Downing) Wilson, both natives of Kentucky, and both living in Fulton County. Mr. Wilson, Sr., has been a man of considerable prominence, having served nineteen consecutive years as county clerk, also filling the office of city collector at different times. Our subject early manifested a taste for books, which his parents encouraged by giving him the benefit of competent private instruction. He also attended the Hickman High School a number of years and acquired by diligent application to his studies an education surpassed by few of his age. At the age of fourteen he entered the county clerk's office as deputy under his father, retaining that position for a period of seven years, during which time he discharged his duties with satisfaction to all. He commenced the study of law in 1876, and later entered the law department of the Louisville University, where he remained five months, at the end of which time, he came back to Hickman and entered upon the active practice of his profession. He was admitted to the bar June 18, 1880, receiving his license from Judge William L. Jackson of Louisville. He was elected city attorney in 1881, being the last one to fill that position; was also city assessor one year, and it is said he made the only complete assessment returned in fifteen years. Starting in life a poor boy, he has already accumulated a handsome property and has a future full of promise. He votes with the Democratic party, and is a strong advocate of prohibition.

W. W. WRIGHT was born April 22, 1816, in Davidson County, Tenn. He is the third of ten children, three boys and seven girls, born to John M. and Sarah (Thompson) Wright, natives of Virginia and Tennessee respectively, and of English and Irish origin. W. W. Wright was reared on a farm. He was married October, 1838, to Louisa Collins, of Davidson County, Tenn., a daughter of Thomas and Zilpha Collins. To this union was born one child, James, now dead. Mrs. Wright died October 26, 1839, and Mr. Wright was next married to Nancy E. Plummer, of Davidson County, Tenn., on September 1, 1842. She is the daughter of Hillery C. and Elizabeth (Phillips) Plummer, natives of Virginia and Tennessee respectively, and of English origin. To this union were born twelve children: Elizabeth (now King), William B., John H. (deceased), Thomas J., Martha T. (deceased), Jully E. (deceased, was married to R. Lee); Amanda M. (Finch), Sarah J. (Drasdell), Charles M., Samuel H., Mary I. and Nancy C. Mr. and Mrs. Wright are members of the Methodist Episcopal and Baptist Churches respectively; subject is a Mason, and was formerly a member of the Grange. He moved from Davidson County to Jackson County, Ark., in 1850, but returned in one year. In 1857 he moved to where he now lives on 134 acres of land, which he has improved. Mr. Wright had one son in the Confederate Army.

JOHN A. WYATT, Fulton County, was born March 17, 1848, in Graves County, Ky. He is the only child of John A. and Mary J. (Phipps) Wyatt, natives of Graves County, Ky., and Davidson County, Tenn., respectively, and of Irish and English descent. His grandfather was Jonathan Wyatt, and on his mother's side Eldridge Phipps, who married a Miss Castleman. John A. was reared on a farm; he was born about three months after his father's death, and was six years old when his mother died. He then lived with his aunt until he was sixteen years old. His father owned 640 acres of land, twelve miles south of Mayfield. Mr. Wyatt clerked in a grocery at Hickman, and at the age of nineteen years engaged in the dry goods business at Feliciana, Graves County, for two and one half years. In 1870 he moved to Fulton, where he continued the business with the best success. He was married December 17, 1868, to Miss Bell L. Milam, of Graves County, daughter of Dr. T. R. and Sue (Janes) Milam, of English descent. Mrs. Wyatt is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Wyatt is a member of the K. of H.; he cast his first presidential vote for Horace Greeley. To Mr. and Mrs. Wyatt was born one child, now deceased.

GRAVES COUNTY.

THE ADAIR FAMILY. The Adairs are among the oldest families of Graves County. They came originally from Ireland, and settled in one of the Atlantic States a number of years before the war of the Revolution. The family originally settled in South Carolina, where James Adair, grandfather of Turner Adair, distinguished himself in the war of Independence as a member of the celebrated Marion's band. Late in life he settled in Alabama, where he died about the year 1839 or 1840. His son, John Adair, was left an orphan, when but three weeks old, by the death of his mother. He made his home with the families of his aunt and grandfather, and at an early age was apprenticed to the blacksmith trade, which he followed all his life. He was married in 1820 to Margaret Wilson, daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth Wilson, by whom he had thirteen children, whose names are as follows: James McConathy, Elizabeth, Jane, Turner, Martha C., Sarah A., James H., S. B., John P., Joseph B., Margaret P., Mary P. and Virginia P. In the year 1830 Mr. Adair came to Graves County, Ky., and settled in Lynnville Precinct on the place where his widow now resides. He died June 4, 1878. Turner Adair, third child of John Adair, and eldest member of the family now living, was born in 1825 in Lawrence District, S. C. He remained with his parents until twenty-two years of age, when he engaged in farming for himself, which occupation he continued until 1849, when he joined a company of young men as daring as himself, and made an overland trip to California for the purpose of engaging in mining. He participated in all the active scenes of that exciting period, and was fairly successful in his quest of fortune. He returned home in 1858, and at once resumed farming, which he still follows. Mr. Adair has never married, and at the present time lives with his mother on the old homestead.

R. T. ALBRITTON was born April 11, 1844, in Graves County. He is a son of John and Martha (Conaway) Albritton. The father was born in North Carolina; he died in 1850, aged twenty-six. The mother was born in Virginia, and now resides in Mayfield. In 1861 R. T. entered Company C, Eighth Kentucky Infantry, Confederate Army, received a commission as second lieutenant, and later was promoted to the rank of captain, which position he held to the end of the war. He participated in the battle of Fort Donelson, where he was taken prisoner and confined seven months, after which he was exchanged and returned to his regiment; he then took part in the last siege of Vicksburg, Jackson, Guntown and Harrisburg. While with Hood on his raid to Nashville, he was captured at Selma, Ala., and paroled at Columbus, Miss. At the close of the war he returned to Mayfield. In 1867 he was appointed deputy sheriff, which position he held until he was duly elected sheriff in 1870, which office he held for two terms. After retiring from this office he engaged in the manufacturing business, being identified with the woolen-mill and the flour-mill; he has also been in the commission business, handling tobacco. In the autumn of 1883 the Kentucky State Guards were organized, and he was chosen captain, which position he still holds. Mr. Albritton was married in October, 1870, to Miss Anna, daughter of Ervin Anderson, who was the first white male child born in Graves County. This union is blessed with six children, four sons and two daughters. Mr. Albritton is a member of the Christian Church, and Mrs. Albritton is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

DR. A. J. ALEXANDER was born December 23, 1855, in Hardin County, Tenn., and is a son of J. D. and Charlotte (Horton) Alexander. The father was born in North Carolina and died in February, 1878, at the age of seventy-eight. The mother was born in Williamson County, Tenn., and died in 1862, at the age of fifty-two. The doctor spent the first sixteen years of his life on his father's farm; he then entered school at Saltillo, Tenn., and remained for two years. At the age of eighteen, he commenced the study of medicine, also practiced dentistry for three years, and since the age of twenty-one has practiced medicine. The doctor is an electrical specialist in the treatment of chronic diseases only, and is prepared to give a written guarantee to all cases he treats, having added electricity to his method

of treatment in 1882, and having met with unprecedented success; he removes tumors without the use of the knife, or the loss of blood, and without inflicting pain. In 1883 he came to Mayfield, where he is permanently located. He was married in 1878, to Miss Susie Watlington, of Madison County, Tenn., by whom he has one son and one daughter, viz.: Hillery and Josie.

HON. LUCIAN ANDERSON, Graves County, was born June 23, 1824, in Mayfield. He is a son of John and Nancy (Davenport) Anderson. John Anderson was born in Greenville District, S. C.; when a boy he came with his parents to Caldwell County, Ky.; in 1820 he came to this locality and laid out the town of Mayfield; he soon after was appointed county and circuit clerk; this office he held until the time of his death, which occurred November 24, 1842. Mrs. Nancy Anderson was born in Halifax County, Va.; she died January 13, 1864, aged sixty-nine. Lucian Anderson after leaving school entered his father's office; there he was employed until the death of his father; after this was in the clerk's office with his brother, until twenty years old; he then took up the study of law with his brother-in-law, R. L. Mayes, and was admitted to the bar October 30, 1845, at Hopkinsville. He then opened a law office at Mayfield and continued the practice of his profession until 1879, since which time he has retired from the business. In 1851 he was elected county attorney, but soon after resigned this office; in 1855 he was elected to the State legislature, and served one term; in 1863 he was elected to congress, and served one term; while a member of this body, he voted for the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, which was adopted January 31, 1865, by the house of representatives; in 1882 he, with Mr. Beadles, organized the Bank of Mayfield, and Mr. Anderson was chosen president, which position he still holds; in 1864, he was delegated to the Republican National Convention, which renominated President Lincoln. Mr. Anderson was married October 22, 1846, to Miss Ann R., daughter of Dr. R. D. Lockridge, well and favorably known in Graves County. These parents have had nine children, five of whom are living: Robert L., a graduate of Wabash College and now practicing law in Ocala, Fla.; Herbert L., also a graduate of the same college, and now practicing law in Kansas City, Mo.; he is also United States postoffice inspector at that point; Richard M., recently a graduate of the same college, and now practicing law at Mayfield; and two daughters living at home with their parents.

JAMES ANDERSON, Graves County, was born May 10, 1839, in Coffee County, Tenn., and is the fifth of fifteen children born to John W. and Sarah (Darnell) Anderson, natives of Tennessee and of Irish and German descent. Peter and Sina Anderson and James and Elizabeth Darnell were the names of subject's grandparents. His father was a soldier in the Mexican war and was also in the Confederate Army; was a teacher from the age of eighteen until forty-four; was elected clerk of the county court of Coffee County before he returned from the Mexican war, and also was engaged in surveying for a land company. James Anderson was reared at Manchester, Tenn., and until thirteen years old, and was then taken to the country; in 1862 he removed to Paris, Ill., remained there seven years blacksmithing and in 1869 returned to middle Tennessee, where he farmed four years; then for nearly five years he farmed in Gibson County, and in 1877 came to his present place, where he now owns ninety-two acres of well cultivated land. In August, 1858, he married Sarah J. Waggoner, a native of Knox County, Tenn., and daughter of John and Rebecca (Nelson) Waggoner. His union has been blessed with twelve children, viz.: Mary E. (deceased), Florence, John W., Ada, James, Jacob H., Sarah R., Maggie, Mattie, Theodosia, Lonzo and Roscoe, who have received a good education in preference to anything else. Mrs. Anderson is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

L. B. ANDERSON was born February 1, 1860, in Mayfield, and is a son of Ervin and Eliza J. (Lockbridge) Anderson. The father was born in 1821, and was the first white child born in Graves County; he was a member of the legal profession and held the office of county clerk and circuit clerk, and on the adoption of the new constitution was elected circuit clerk and held the office until 1861. He was also a member of the legislature for one term. He died July 11, 1876. His widow is a native of Graves County, and now a resident of Mayfield. L. B. Anderson began the study of law at the age of twenty-two, with Lucian Anderson, and has been in practice since May, 1863.

REV. WILLIAM M. ANDREW, Graves County, was born February 17, 1833, in Bedford County, Tenn. His parents are Beriah and Jane C. (Morrison) Andrew, both natives of North Carolina, and now living in Tennessee. The father is a farmer and his wife a member of the Cumberland

Presbyterian Church. They moved to Graves County, Ky., in 1854, and returned to Tennessee in 1867. Our subject, the sixth in a family of ten children, began for himself at the age of twenty-one. Going to school and teaching occupied his attention the next ten years. Then for a number of years he was actively engaged in the ministry. His time is still employed between the ministry and the farm, in both of which he has been pre-eminently successful. He was ordained to preach in 1863, and has preached to congregations in the church of his choice in nearly all the churches within the bounds of the Mayfield Presbytery, of which he has been a member for the past two years. Previously he was a member of the Obion Presbytery. He started even with the world, but now has two tracts of land, containing in all about 200 acres. It will thus be seen has been very successful in life, filling the pulpit with general acceptance, and doing a thriving business on the farm. Rev. Andrew was married October 24, 1865, to Miss Mary A., daughter of William and Elizabeth Hatchel, of Graves County. To Mr. and Mrs. Andrew were born three children, James M., William W. and Emma. Mrs. Andrew is also a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and Mr. Andrew is a member of the Masonic fraternity. Rev. Andrew has the proud satisfaction, while remembering that he has been the architect of his own fortune, to know that he has so lived as not only to win, but also to deserve the confidence and esteem of all who know him.

JAMES H. ANDRUS came to Graves County when its few scattered settlements were but niches in its surrounding forests, and for fifty-six years has been identified with the development of the country. His father, Archibald Andrus, was a native of Halifax County, Va., which State he left in an early day, immigrating to Murray County, Tenn., where our subject was born in 1813. Two years later the family moved to Illinois, then on the outskirts of civilization, and settled not far from the present town of Belleville, where they remained about six years, at the end of which time they returned to Tennessee, where Archibald Andrus made his home until 1828, when he came to Graves County, and located in Lynnville Precinct, on the place where James H. now lives; and was a respected citizen of the county until the time of his death in 1842. The maiden name of subject's mother was Frances Bennett. She died a few years later than her husband, and with him lies buried on the old farm. James H. Andrus is the third son and fifth child of the foregoing, and remained with his parents until his father's death, but had purchased a farm and commenced life for himself a short time before that date. He obtained a good practical education while living near Nashville, Tenn., and during a long life has borne the reputation of being a very exact and competent business man. At his father's death he took possession of the old homestead, and from time to time has added to his possessions, and is now one of the largest owners of real estate in the county, owning over 800 acres of fine land in various precincts. Mr. Andrus was never married. Politically he is identified with the Democratic party.

JAMES AUSTIN was born January 12, 1836, in Graves County. He is a son of Rev. P. W. Austin and Sallie (Gilbert) Austin. The father was born in North Carolina; he died September 24, 1872, aged seventy-five. The mother was born in Dickson County, Tenn.; she died in December, 1883, aged seventy-five. James was brought up on his father's farm, and taught school about three and one-half years, after which he carried on farming and teaching till 1865; he then served as deputy sheriff four years. February 15, 1869, he was appointed to fill the vacancy of county clerk; this position he held until August 5, 1869. In the fall of 1869 he was appointed deputy circuit clerk, and on May 11, 1871, he was elected circuit clerk; he held the office till September 1, 1880. In the following April he became associated with the Mayfield Mill, with which he has been connected ever since. He was married March 25, 1860, to Miss Elizabeth Carter, of Graves County. They have had seven children, five of whom are living, three sons and two daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Austin are members of the Baptist Church.

WILLIAM BALLEW was born November 24, 1814, in Burke County, N. C., and is the fourth of ten children, five boys and five girls, born to Robert and Elizabeth (Alexander) Ballew, natives of Burke County, and of French and Irish origin respectively. William was reared on the farm, and lived with his parents till he was twenty-two years of age. When sixteen years old he commenced business for himself, and at the age of eighteen, moved with his parents to Tugaloo River, S. C., where he purchased a farm for $4,000, on which he resided for about twelve years. He then sold out and moved to Cherokee, Ga., where he purchased a farm of 600 acres for $11,000, and where he remained till 1865. During the war he lost nearly all

his property, including twenty slaves, and sold his farm for $18,000 in Confederate currency, which was a total loss. Possessed of an iron will, however, he was not to be discouraged by his misfortunes, and taking with him the remainder of his property—his horses and three negro women—moved about forty miles south of where he lived, and planted about seventy-five acres of corn. When he had plowed corn once, Stoneman made a raid south and Mr. Ballew lost all his stock except one mare. His nephew, who lived about twelve miles from him, brought him a condemned mule which the Federal soldiers had given to a boy, and with the mare and mule he succeeded in raising 300 barrels of corn of which the armies in 1864 used all but fifty barrels, which Mr. Ballew had stored in his house and had saved by hauling it to Fair Mount to a place of safety. At the close of the war he furnished the corn for the whole country for seed. In 1865 he raised about fifty barrels of corn, purchased eight cows at $100 each, also a mule for $2,000 Confederate currency, and supplied the neighborhood with corn and milk. In the fall of 1865 he moved to Mississippi County, Mo., where he remained one year, when on account of sickness he moved to Dublin, Graves Co., Ky. In 1866 he came to where he now lives, and where he owns 650 acres of land in a fair state of cultivation, with good buildings, etc., all of which he has accumulated since he came to the county. Mr. Ballew was married in 1837 to Lucy Albright, a native of Madison County, and a daughter of Henry and Micca (Blair) Albright, of Dutch and Irish origin. To Mr. and Mrs. Ballew were born twelve children: Ann Eliza (Austin), Harriet A. (married to a Mr. Gordon, but is now deceased), Micca (Pullian), deceased; Mary (Darby), James (who was killed in the war), Julia L. (Nicholson), William P., John P. (deceased), Handrel (deceased), Sallie L. (deceased), Rob Bruce (deceased), and Thomas M. Mrs. Ballew died in December, 1883, aged sixty-three years. In his younger days Mr. Ballew speculated in gold; he was a spectator at the battle of Chickamauga.

J. N. BEADLES, Graves County, cashier of the Bank of Mayfield, was born March 6, 1825, in Pittsylvania County, Va. He is a son of Louis Y. and M. C. (Vaughan) Beadles. The father was born in Caswell County, N. C. He died April 28, 1838, aged fifty-seven. he was a soldier in the war of 1812. The mother was born in Amelia County, Va.; she died February 15, 1840, aged fifty-seven; J. N. Beadles was reared on his father's farm, and attended the schools of the neighborhood. In May, 1843, he came to Mayfield and engaged in merchandising; this he continued until January 1, 1860. He had also been acting cashier of the Mayfield branch of the Bank of Ashland, and in 1864 he moved this bank to Paducah; the following year it was transferred to the First National Bank of that place. In December, 1866, he went to New Orleans, where he was engaged in a general commission business till February, 1882, when he returned to Mayfield, and with the Hon. Lucian Anderson organized the Bank of Mayfield, of which he became cashier. This position he now fills. Mr. B. was married September 19, 1850, to Miss M. L. Eaker, of Graves County; this lady died fourteen months later, leaving an infant who followed her mother in a few days. His second marriage took place April 27, 1858, to Miss C. C. Mayes, of Caldwell County. She died January 10, 1862, leaving one son, Robert M. His third marriage was August 28, 1866, to Mrs. Mary (Mayes) Thompson, widow of Col. A. P. Thompson, and daughter of Richard L. Mayes, of Mayfield, who was one of the most eminent lawyers of his day. Mr. and Mrs. B. are members of the Baptist Church.

EDGAR S. BEAUMONT, Graves County, now twenty-eight years of age, was born in Waynesboro, Wayne Co., Tenn. He came to Mayfield, Ky., in 1867, and commenced the publication of the Mayfield *Democrat* in 1876. He was appointed master commissioner of Graves circuit court by Judge James Campbell, in 1881, and re-appointed in 1884. He is the youngest person that ever held the office in this county.

MARSHALL F. BEAMOUNT, Graves County, now aged twenty-four years, was born at Trenton, Tenn. He came to Mayfield in 1867, and has been engaged in publishing the Mayfield *Democrat* since 1876. He attended the Southern Business College at Louisville, in 1883; the Cumberland Law University, Lebanon, Tenn., in 1884, and was admitted to the bar in 1884.

L. B. BLALOCK was born July 11, 1838, within a mile of where he now lives in Graves County. He is the eldest of three boys and six girls born to Levi and Rutha A. (Holifield) Blalock, natives respectively of North Carolina and Henderson County, Ky. Levi Blalock emigrated from North Carolina to Illinois in 1832; thence to Hickman County, Ky., in 1836, and in the same year came to Graves County; here he died in 1857, aged forty-four years. L. B. Blalock received about six months' schooling in his youth, but

subsequently acquired a good business education; he was reared a farmer and remained with his mother until his marriage, January 16, 1877, to Nancy J. Anderson, daughter of Ervin and Maria (Pryor) Anderson, natives of Caldwell and Simpson Counties, Ky., and of Scotch and English descent. These parents were among the first settlers of Graves County, the Pryors, coming in 1822, and settling on Clark's River, and three years later near Pryorsburg, named in their honor. The Andersons settled here about 1825. To Mr. and Mrs. Blalock were born four children: James L., John F., a third that died unnamed and Newton J. The family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and formerly Mr. Blalock was an Odd Fellow and a member of the Grange. He owns 585 acres of land, of which over one-half is under cultivation and improved with a fine frame residence. Since 1870 he has traded in tobacco most successfully. In November, 1863, he enlisted in Company E, Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Confederate States Army, under Gen. Forrest, and took part in the following battles: Cross Roads, Okalona, Miss., and Jackson, Tenn. The army disbanded in March, 1865, at Paducah, Ky. Without a nickel, our subject returned home, engaged in farming and succeeded in acquiring a comfortable fortune.

HON. A. R. BOONE, Graves County, was born April, 4, 1831, in Davidson County, Tenn., and is a son of Bryant and Martha (Phipps) Boone. The father was born in North Carolina, emigrated to Tennessee and in 1833 came to Graves County, Ky., where he purchased and improved a farm, and where he died March, 1837. He was a plain farmer, mingled but little in politics, and neither sought nor held office, beyond that of a justice of the peace. The mother was a native of Tennessee, and was born in 1800; she died in this county in 1865. Judge Boone was brought up on his father's farm with but limited advantages for obtaining an education, being confined to an attendance at the district schools of the neighborhood. In 1850 he entered the law office of Judge Williams, and after two years' study under that gentleman, he was in 1852 admitted to the bar, and from that period rose rapidly in his chosen profession. In 1854 he was elected county judge and re-elected in 1858 without opposition, but resigned in 1861, and the same year was elected to the State legislature. This was the stormy period, at the commencement of the civil war, and after serving in the assembly one month, being threatened with arrest on account of his southern views and sympathy, Judge Boone resigned his seat and returned home. He was a candidate in 1865 for commonwealth's attorney, but was prevented from making the canvass through the interference of the military authorities. He was elected circuit judge of the judicial district, composed of the counties of Hickman, Fulton, Ballard, Graves, Calloway, Marshall and McCracken—an office whose duties he honorably discharged for six years; in 1874 he was elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket, was re-elected in 1876 and declined a nomination in 1878. Judge Boone is a zealous and prominent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and was in 1881 elected a delegate from the Memphis Conference to the Ecumenical Council at London, England. During his sojourn abroad, he extended his travels through Europe, and returned to his native land with a mind well stored with information of other countries and peoples and governments. Upon his return to Mayfield he resumed the practice of the law, which he has since continued successfully. He has recently been appointed, by Gov. Knott, one of the railroad commissoners of the State, a position of great trust and importance. Judge Boone was married in January, 1852, to Miss Sallie A., daughter of Dr. F. R. Dallam, a physician of prominence and of high standing in the State. They have had thirteen children, seven of whom are living, viz.: Mary, Martha (the wife of C. S. Whittemore), James L. (now engaged in the tobacco business), Robert, Clarence, Cameron and Jewell. Judge Boone, his wife and children are all devoted members of the Methodist Church. Judge Boone is a self-made man, and is indebted principally to his own energy and exertions for what he is. Commencing life in humble circumstances at the very bottom of the scale, he has by commendable industry and perseverance reached the highest position among his fellow-men, as evinced by his honorable walk, his political influence and his social and moral worth.

DR. W. A. BOYD was born July 7, 1831, in Halifax County, Va. At the age of nineteen he took up the study of medicine, under the preceptorship of Dr. Inge, of Danville, Va., where he remained three years, after which he attended two courses of lectures at the Louisville College; he graduated in 1853 from the medical department of the University of Louisville. In 1854 he located at Farmington, Ky., and engaged in the practice of his profession there until 1859, when he removed to Mayfield, where he has since resided. The doctor was married in 1857,

to Miss Mary Holifield, of Graves County; they have eight children, one son and seven daughters. Dr. and Mrs. Boyd are members of the Baptist Church and he is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

FINIS E. BRANTLY, Graves County, bridge foreman on the C. O. & S. W. Railroad, was born in 1844, in Crittenden County, Ky. At the age of thirteen years he began learning the saddle and harness trade. He continued in that business seven years. He then farmed for a time and later engaged in the saw-mill business. Subsequently he ran a stationary steam engine. He began railroading in 1881, and at the present holds the responsible position above referred to, which position he fills very acceptably. He was jailer one year in Crittenden County, Ky. He is counted among the worthy, responsible and well-to-do citizens of Graves County. Mr. Brantly is a thoroughly temperate man and carries testimonials from the highest authority as having given entire satisfaction to his employers as an engineer, thoroughly competent to run and keep in order either a stationary or a portable steam engine, and particularly cautious in keeping everything in good running order. He was married September, 1866, to Miss Fannie Scott, daughter of Dr. John R. and Sarah E. (Parmley) Scott, both natives of Kentucky. Her father is still living in Caldwell County, Ky. Her mother died August, 1878, aged fifty years, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. To Mr. and Mrs. Brantly have been born five children, of whom, Gillim, Johnnie and Jakie are now living. Charlie died September, 1878, aged four years; Bessie, the youngest, died in August, 1883, at the age of one year. Mrs. Brantly is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Mr. Brantly is a member of the I. O. O. F.

BENJAMIN F. BRIGGS, Graves County, editor of the Mayfield *Monitor*, was born August 27, 1848, in Sumner County, Tenn. In 1870 he commenced to learn the art of printing; three years later he established the *Banner of Temperance*. This paper he conducted about two years. In 1875 the Mayfield *Monitor* was established, and now has an extensive circulation. Mr. Briggs was married April 26, 1883, to Miss Mary Rives, of Mayfield; they have one child, a daughter. Mr. Briggs is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Mrs. Briggs is a member of the Baptist Church.

WILLIAM M. BULLOCK, Graves County, was born December 6, 1828, in Dickson County, Tenn. He is the fourth of ten children, seven boys and three girls, six now living, born to William and Lyddie (Myatte) Bullock, of North Carolina; the father of Dutch-English and the mother of English-Irish origin. Subject's grandparents were Allen and Maria (Garner) Bullock, and Wiley and —— (Swanson) Myatte. Allen Bullock was a Baptist minister. William M. came with his parents to Graves County, December 1832, and settled seven miles south of Mayfield, where his father entered and improved 220 acres of land. He, the father, died in March, 1858; the mother in August, 1871, aged respectively fifty-seven and sixty-six years. William M. was reared on a farm and lived with his parents until his marriage on December 26, 1847, to Minerva J. Watson, of Graves County, a native of Montgomery County, Tenn., and a daughter of Arthur and Naomi (Shipley) Watson, of Dutch descent. To Mr. and Mrs. Bullock were born two children, James A. and John R.; the latter died in infancy. Mrs. Bullock died November, 1852. Subject was next married, January 12, 1854, to Louisa M. Luther, of Graves County, a native of Dickson County, Tenn., daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth (Anderson) Luther, natives respectively of Randolph County, N. C., and Dickson County, Tenn., and of Dutch descent. To this union eight children were born: Laura E. (now Blain), Electa A., Lydia B., Mary A. (deceased), William W., Henry Lee, Jacob A. and Thomas F. Subject and wife are members of the Christian Church, and of the Lincoln Mutual Aid Society, of Cairo, Ill. Mr. Bullock is also a member of the Masonic fraternity, and was formerly a member of the Grange. He started in life without a dollar, and is to-day possessor of 225 acres of land with comfortable buildings; also a lot and blacksmith shop in Pryorsburgh.

WILLIAM L. BURNETT was born March 2, 1838, in Rutherford County, Tenn., and was taken by his parents to Hickman County, Ky., in 1840, where he grew to manhood. His grandfather was a soldier in the Revolution. His father, Brooken Burnett, a native of Mecklenburgh County, Va., was born in 1799, and is still living. Subject's mother, Letitia, daughter of John Moss, was born in 1809, and died in 1854. To Brooken and her were born Sarah A. (McFall), Harriet (McFall and Moss), John R., subject, Thomas S. (died in the army), and Martin L. (died in the army). To Brooken by a second marriage was born Louisa C. (Sellars). Subject was married June 5, 1862, to Miss Mary L., daughter of Ephraim R. and Dionysia (Batte) Osborne, of Obion County, Tenn., and from this union sprang Gus H., Ella,

Van O., Emmett J. and Felix C. For fifteen years, Mr. Burnett has been successfully engaged in the tobacco business. He is a farmer, owning 215 acres of well cultivated land. He belongs to the order of Knights of Honor, and is a member of the Christian Church and of the Democratic party.

DR. R. A. CANTER, one of the pioneer medical men of Graves County, was born June 11, 1811, in Rowan County, N. C., and is the son of Erasmus and Rebecca (Horn) Canter; the former a native of Maryland and the latter of Delaware. Erasmus Canter was a farmer and minister of some note in the regular Baptist Church. He died in 1871 at the age of ninety-three; the mother died in 1866, at the advanced age of ninety-five years. Dr. Canter commenced life for himself at the age of twenty-two years, following the vocation of farmer in his native State, where he remained until 1841, at which time he immigrated to Kentucky, and settled in Calloway County, which was his home until 1850, when he came to Graves County, locating on Terrapin Creek, about three miles from his present place of residence, where he lived until 1873, at which time he purchased the beautiful farm of 230 acres near Lynnville, on which his declining years are spent. Dr. Canter was married January 17, 1833, to Phebe C. Beeson, daughter of Richard and Susan (Gregory) Beeson, natives of North Carolina. Their union has been blessed with the following children: Susan (deceased), George, Jefferson, Ambrose H., Rebecca E., S. F., P. C., Mary A., John (deceased), Nancy and Robert A. In 1850 Mr. Canter began the practice of medicine in the neighborhood where he now lives, and soon acquired a large and lucrative practice. He has been the leading physician in the community for thirty-four years, and is justly considered one of the most successful disciples of the healing art in the county. In politics the doctor is a stanch Republican, and was a strong Union man during the war; two of his sons served in the Federal Army. His firm stand for the Union during that trying period rendered him unpopular with a certain class of men, whose sympathies were with the Confederacy, and for some time he deemed it prudent to absent himself from his home. He returned in 1865, and during that year distinguished himself in successfully treating a dangerous malady, which raged over the southern part of the county. The doctor and his wife are prominent members of the Christian Church, belonging to the Lynnville congregation, of which society he was one of the original members. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity, and still clings to the Republican party.

WILLIAM M. CARGILL was born August 21, 1822, in Graves County, Ky., and is a son of Thomas and (Finley) Cargill, who were both natives of South Carolina, and who came to Graves County in 1819 and settled on Clark's River, where they purchased a farm. William M. was born on this farm and remained there until he reached the age of seventeen, after which he worked for wages for three years. Then he served one year as constable, then became sheriff and served four years in the northern half of the county, at which time his brother became sheriff of Graves County, of whom he purchased the office, and in which capacity he served two years. David Graham then became sheriff. Mr. Cargill then purchased the office and served a year and one-half. On the adoption of the new constitution, Mr. Cargill was elected to the legislature and served one term. On his return he again ran for sheriff. He then opened a hotel, which he kept until the war broke out, when he entered the Confederate Army in June, 1861, and at the organization of the Third Kentucky Infantry was elected lieutenant, and after a time was promoted to the rank of captain, and later was commissioned major and quartermaster of the Kentucky brigade under Gen. Buford. He remained in the service until the close of the war and was paroled at Columbus, Miss. He then returned to Mayfield and resumed the hotel business, which he followed for three years, and then opened a grocery. In 1876 he went to California, remained until 1881, when he returned and entered the store of his sons, Albert and Edward, where he has since remained. In 1849 he married Elizabeth L. Talbert, of Mayfield, by whom he has three children: Albert, Edward and Mary. Mr. Cargill is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In politics he has always been identified with the Democratic party.

ABEL CLAPP was born in Graves County, Ky., April 27, 1838, and is the third of nine children, seven boys and two girls, born to Adam and Malinda (Coplin) Clapp, of Alabama and Graves County, Ky., respectively, and of German descent. Abel was reared on the farm and remained with his parents till he was of age, when he started for himself on a farm. In August, 1862, he married Clara O. Thomas, of Graves County, daughter of Jackson and Elizabeth (Watson) Thomas; to their union have been born ten children: William F. (deceased), Linda E.,

Adam J., Richard A., Eliza F., Charles, Luella, May E., Callona and Etta. Mr. Clapp enlisted in October, 1862, in Company A, Seventh Kentucky, under Capt. Chandler, and served one year, taking part in the battle of Shiloh; he was afterward conscripted, and served three months. Mr. Clapp is now owner of fifty acres of good land, which he is successfully cultivating.

ALLEN G. COLTHARP was born September 20, 1834, in Humphreys County, Tenn., and in 1843 came to Graves County Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Samuel Coltharp, of Tennessee, was born in 1797, and died in 1839; and his mother, Martha Griffith, of North Carolina, was born in 1809, and died in 1851. Their offspring are: James N., William J., Samuel F., Enoch and subject. Mr. Coltharp's educational advantages were limited, but he has greatly improved himself by reading. He was married November 26, 1857, to Miss Mary E., daughter of James and Caroline (Yates) McNeely, of Graves County, and this union has been blessed with the following named children: James O., Samuel E., Callie, Minnie (deceased), Mattie and Serena. Subject is a farmer, owning 225 acres of choice land, highly cultivated. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics a Democrat.

GUS G. COULTER, Graves County, county commissioner and deputy county clerk, was born August 15, 1861, in Marshall County, Ky. He is a son of C. C. and Belle (Archer) Coulter. The father was born in Graves County, is now practicing law in Mayfield, and is also engaged in farming. He has held the office of circuit clerk of Marshall County and master commissioner of Graves County. Our subject was appointed deputy county clerk in 1880, was elected county commissioner in 1884, and is still acting as such, and he is also chief clerk of the State board of equalization; elected to that office on the 10th day of June, 1885, and is one of the most deservedly popular men now in Graves County.

D. P. COULTER, Graves County, county clerk, was born May 1, 1839, in Graves County, Ky. He is a son of Henry N. and Eliza R. (Alexander) Coulter. The father was born in Catawba County, N. C.; he died in 1867, aged seventy-six. The mother was born in Lincoln County, Ga. She died in 1875, aged seventy-seven. At the breaking out of the war our subject enlisted in Company D, Second Kentucky Infantry, and served till the end of the war. He participated in the battles of Fort Donelson, Hart's Ford, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, Ringgold Gap and all the battles till the fall of Atlanta, after which his command became mounted, and so continued till the close of the war. He then returned to Graves County and continued farming till 1874, when he was appointed deputy county clerk, and elected in 1882. Mr. Coulter was married August 20, 1868, to Miss H. A. Mayes, of this county. This union has been blessed with four children, two sons and two daughters. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Masonic fraternity, I. O. O. F. and Knights of Honor.

E. H. DAY, Graves County, is a native of Virginia, and the eldest son of John and Mary (Keeton) Day, both born in the same State. Mr. Day remained in Virginia until the year 1827, at which time the family emigrated to Tennessee, settling in Rutherford County. Ten years later the family came to Kentucky, and located in Lynnville Precinct, near Terrapin Creek, where John Day died in 1855; his widow followed him to the grave one year later. The early years of subject's life were spent on his father's farm, and at the age of twenty-three he commenced life for himself in Graves County, purchasing a fine tract of land, on which he lived for a period of eleven years. At the end of that time he bought a part of the present farm in Lynnville Precinct, where he has since resided. Here he made several additions to his original purchase, and at the present time owns a beautiful and comfortable place of 184 acres of as good land as there is in the county. Mr. Day was married in December, 1843, to Elizabeth Morris, daughter of Moses and Weney Morris, of North Carolina. Mr. and Mrs. Day are the parents of two children, Mary J. (wife of William Morris), and Winny (wife of Calvin Carter). Mr. Day's life has been a quiet one and for a long number of years he has gone in and out among the people without an enemy. He is a member of the regular Baptist Church, as is also his wife.

DR. EZIAS L. EARLE, Graves County, was born July 9, 1833, in Hopkins County, Ky.; was taken by his parents, in 1836, to McCracken County, and in 1850 to Pontotoc, Miss., where he remained until 1869. He served through the late war as a member of the Second Mississippi Regiment, and was wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor, Va. His father, Esaias C. B. Earle, a native of South Carolina, settled in Kentucky in an early day, was a soldier in the Mexican war, and died in 1871. He was the son of John Earle, who was the descendant of Gen.

John Balis Earle of the Revolution. Subject's mother was Louisa L., daughter of Dr. John (surgeon at Fort Massac, Ill.), and Lettie (Wilcox) Hammill, of Pennsylvania. To her and husband were born Martha A. (McMackin), John H., Balis E., Matilda M., (Griffith), Mary Y. (Rowzee), subject, Maria L. (Brougher) and Eliza R. (Rowzee). Dr. Earle secured a good English education. He was married June 22, 1871, to Miss Bettie F., daughter of Dr. J. R. Patterson, of Mayfield, Ky. In 1856 he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. C. P. Coffin, of Pontotoc, Miss., with whom he remained three years, after which he studied one year with Dr. Isaac H. Hughey of Oakland. He attended lectures in 1859–60, at Cincinnati, and graduated in 1863, at Richmond, Va. He was for a period of eighteen months assistant surgeon in the hospital at Danville, Va. In 1871 he commenced the practice of his profession in Marshall County, Ky.; went to Arlington, Ky., in 1872 ; then to Weakley County, Tenn., in 1879, and in 1882 came to Water Valley, Graves Co., Ky., where he is engaged as a physician and oculist. In religion Dr. Earle is a Baptist and in politics a Democrat.

T. J. ELMORE was born May 27, 1837, in Holmes County, Miss. He is a son of William and Mary (Reynolds) Elmore. The father was a native of South Carolina ; he died in 1872. The mother was born in Alabama. Our subject was reared in Mississippi. In 1862 he raised Company G, Fourth Mississippi Infantry, was chosen captain of the company and served to the end of the war. Capt. Elmore participated in the battles of Fort Donelson, siege of Vicksburg, siege of Donelson, siege of Blakeley and was with Hood in his campaign through Tennessee ; he was also at Atlanta and the battle of New Hope Church ; at the latter he was captured, but escaped and continued in active duty until the end of the war. He then returned to Mississippi and engaged in farming. In 1869 he came to Mayfield and continued in agricultural pursuits until 1879, when he formed the partnership of Watts & Elmore in the grocery business. This partnership continued until February, 1884, when the firm of Hale & Elmore was formed, which has since continued. They carry a large and well selected stock of dry goods and by their just dealings and courteous treatment, their business has rapidly increased. Mr. Elmore was elected to the State legislature in 1881 and served with distinction two years. He was married in 1865 to Miss Ophelia Weems of Holmes County, Miss. They have six children—two sons and four daughters. Mr. Elmore is a member of the Masonic fraternity

DAVID M. GALLOWAY, a pioneer of this county, was born July 10, 1819, in North Carolina. His parents were John and Lucy (Thompson) Galloway, natives of North Carolina. The father was of Irish descent. He moved to Bedford County, Tenn., in 1823, and came to Graves County in 1838. He was a farmer, and died in 1859, aged seventy-five. He and wife were members of the Seceder Church. The mother died in 1826, aged thirty-eight years. David M., on commencing for himself, had $300. He farmed until 1857, when he began serving as deputy sheriff, and was elected jailer and served until 1861. He was appointed sheriff in 1865, and the same fall was elected to that office. During the war he went to Texas and bought 250 head of horses, and sold them to good advantage. He next went into the saw-mill business, and later went security for $10,000, and through that risk was broken up. He then moved to Dukedom and went into the dry goods business with H. F. Summerville, in which he continued for six years. Later he pursued the same business in Wingo. In 1877 he went to Florida and invested in eighteen and one-half acres of land, which he purchased at $20 per acre. He spent four winters there, and after putting his land into an orange grove, sold the same at near $500 per acre. He now owns eight acres of land with a home-like residence in Wingo, besides a tract of sixty acres, one mile from town. He is one among the oldest residents of the county. He and his wife are well and favorably known as respected pioneer settlers of the county, He was married August 29, 1839, to Miss Martha Walker, of Stewart County, Tenn. These parents have had four children, viz.: Adaline (deceased at two years of age) ; Evaline F., the wife of G. W. Fowler ; Molly S., the wife of Henry George ; Elizabeth S. was the wife of H. S. Summerville, who died July, 1877. Elizabeth died in September, 1875. Mr. and Mrs. Galloway are both members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

HENRY GEORGE was born March 2, 1847, in Graves County, Ky. His parents were Brinkley and Elizabeth (Golden) George. The father was a farmer. His death occurred in 1860, aged seventy-seven; the mother died in 1853, aged fifty-two. The subject of this sketch was reared on a farm. He enlisted in the Confederate service, Company A, Seventh Kentucky Regiment, No-

vember 5, 1861, and served until the close of the war. He took part in the battles of Shiloh, siege of Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Baker's Creek, Jackson and Corinth. After that the regiment was mounted infantry, under Gen. Forrest. He then took part in the battles of Paducah, Brice's Cross Roads, Harrisburg and Oxford, then at Athens, Sulphur Trestle and Pulaski. The regiment was with Hood at Spring Hill, Franklin, Nashville, Monter Valley, and Selma. Besides these battles he took part in many dangerous skirmishes. He was wounded three times. but not seriously. He was taken prisoner at Selma, and was in confinement eight days, when he made his escape, and returned to Forrest's command at once. After the war he returned to his brother's farm, where his father died, and attended school in that locality for two years. Later he taught school two terms, then went to merchandising at Dukedom; in this business he has continued ever since. Mr. George moved to Wingo in 1872, and is now the oldest dry goods merchant in the place. He does an extensive business, his sales running from $11,000 to $18,000 yearly. He represented Graves County in the legislature of 1877 and 1878. From 1879 to 1882 he served as State senator. He was the originator of the bill for the relief of the penitentiary, which measure was afterward adopted by the succeeding legislature without any change in phraseology. His marriage occurred October 19, 1871, to Miss Mollie Galloway, daughter of D. M. and Martha Galloway, of Graves County. This marriage has been blessed by the birth of two children: Edward M, and Henry, Jr. Mr. George is one of the live go-ahead, thrifty men, such as are needed to build up a community, and whose influence is always felt in any worthy enterprise.

RICHARD J. GRACE was born October 3, 1840, in Trigg County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1865 removed to Ballard County, where he remained until 1879, when he came to Graves County, and settled at his present residence, a place known in the war time as "Camp Beauregard." His father, Elliott Grace, also a native of Trigg County, was born in 1815, and is still living. He is the son of George Grace, who was reared in Trigg County, and died about 1848. Subject's mother was Mary A., daughter of Samuel Meridith. of Trigg County. The children of Elliott Grace are Marcella A. (Hilton), subject, George E. (who died in the army), Jane, Samuel T., Joseph and Charles W. In youth subject procured a business education, and is a considerable reader of books and newspapers. He was married October 12, 1865, to Miss Emma T., daughter of John Waddill, of Trigg County. She was born in 1839, and died in 1866. He was next married November 11, 1868, to Miss Lorenna, daughter of Jerman J. and Ann Y. (Beadles) Wingo, of Graves County, and to them have been born George E., Mittie A., Mary E. and Thomas J. In 1874 Mr. Grace was elected county surveyor. He was appointed magistrate of the Water Valley district in 1880, and at the election of 1882 he was elected to that office, which position he now retains. He is a farmer, owning 127 acres of good land in a fine state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a deacon in the Baptist Church, and in politics a Democrat.

HON. H. S. HALE, Graves County, president of the First National Bank, Mayfield, was born May 4, 1836, in Warren County, Ky. At the age of ten he came with his parents, Nicholas and Rhoda Hale, to Graves County, where he was reared on the farm, and attended the schools of the community. After completing his studies at the academy at Mayfield he entered a store as clerk, where he remained two or three years, after which he with his brother, W. H. Hale, engaged in merchandising, and continued about three years. In 1861 he entered the Confederate Army, in the Seventh Kentucky Regiment; having raised a company, he was chosen captain, and at the reorganization of the regiment, in 1862, he was elected major; he held this position until the consolidation of of the Third and Seventh Regiments; he was then appointed lieutenant-colonel of the consolidated regiments; this position he held until the close of the war. He then returned to Graves County, and continued merchandising one year, after which he was elected sheriff, and served two terms. In 1871 he was elected to the State senate, and was a member of this body till 1875. On his return he solicited the subscription to the capital stock and organized the bank and was chosen president, which position he has since honorably filled. In 1884 Mr. Hale took part and became the leading spirit in raising the funds and constructing the buildings of West Kentucky College, located at Mayfield, and was made president of the board of trustees. He was married November, 1865, to Miss V. A. Gregory, of Mississippi; they have had nine children, five of whom are living, three sons and two daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Hale, eldest daughter and two eldest sons are members of the Christian Church.

GEORGE T. HANELINE, proprietor of the Stonewall House, Mayfield. This house has recently undergone extensive improvements, and all farmers and others in want of comfortable quarters, while remaining in the city, will do well to call and secure accommodations with Mr. Haneline, who will furnish first-class fare at prices reasonable.

JUDGE J. W. HOCKER, Graves County, was born July 2, 1837, in Perryville, now Boyle County, Ky. He is a son of Washington and Rebecca (Magill) Hocker. These parents were born in Lincoln County, Ky., the father in February, 1808. He is still living on his farm and has held various offices of trust in the locality where he resides. The mother died in 1851. Judge Hocker was principally reared in and near Bowling Green, where he entered a tobacco warehouse as clerk. In 1857 he came to Graves County, north. There he engaged in farming till 1881, when he was elected county judge, first by the magistrates and then by the people in 1882. He held the office of magistrate in North Graves from 1871 to November, 1881. When elected to his present position he supplied himself with sufficient law books and applied himself diligently in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the duties required of him. These he has succeeded in mastering, and may justly be styled a self-made man. He was married, in 1859, to Miss Ellen Shelton, of Trigg County. She died in December, 1864, aged twenty-two. His second marriage was in December, 1866, to Mrs. Simpson, of Graves County. She died April 2, 1882, aged forty-one, leaving six children, four sons and two daughters. His third marriage occurred February 15, 1883, to Miss Sue Davis, a native of Christian County, Ky.

MARTIN B. HODGES was born April 7, 1818, in Hopkins County, Ky., and was taken by his parents, in 1822, to Calloway County, and in 1826 brought to Graves County, where he has continued to reside to the present time. He is the son of Drury Hodges, a native of Virginia, who died in Missouri. Drury's wife was Diana, daughter of George Griffith, of Virginia. He was twice married and his children are Hiram, Miriam (Farmer), George W., James, Irvine, Anderson, Matilda (Swafford), subject, Barbara (Arant), Dinah (Davidson) and Mary. Subject's educational advantages were limited, but he is a constant reader. He was married, in 1846, to Miss Louisa Cargill, of Graves County, who bore him one child, George W., and died in 1847. Mr. Hodges was next married, in 1854, to Miss Nancy M., daughter of Daniel T. and Sarah (Pryor) Cargill, and the result of this union has been the birth of Bettie (Barton), Sarah F. (Stafford), Susan M., Nancy M. (Coffee), Jemmey A., Thomas B., Ella May, Jonathan and Adella. Subject is a farmer, owning eighty acres of fair land in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and co-operates with the Democratic party.

G. W. HOLIFIELD, an old settler and leading citizen of Graves County, was born January 29, 1817, in Henderson County, Ky., and is the seventh of sixteen children, five now living, born to William and Elizabeth (Copland) Holifield, natives of Chatham County, N. C. About 1820 our subject was brought to Graves County by his parents, who settled near the place on which subject now lives. The elder Holifield was a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He held various town offices; was one of the petitioners for the first public road in the county, and also took part in the battle of New Orleans. He died in the fall of 1859, aged seventy-seven years, and his widow followed in 1868, at the age of eighty-two. G. W. Holifield was reared a farmer; received about three months' schooling, and remained on the home farm until his marriage in December, 1837, to Dorcas T. Rhoden, of Hickman County, but a native of Alabama, and daughter of Jesse and Harriet (Rice) Rhoden, natives of the same State. To this union were born six children: William J.; Elizabeth S., now Saxton; John R.; Newton J.; Mary J., now Vickus, and Martha E., now Bradley. Mrs. Holifield died in the fall of 1864, and Mr. Holifield next married Mary Murel, daughter of Thomas Graham, of Graves County. To this union were born three children, of whom two are now living: George W. and Mary T. The second wife died in 1870, and for his third wife Mr. Holifield married in July, 1872, Cornelia Rodgers, a native of Christian County, Ky., and daughter of Levi D. and Susan (Forbus) Rodgers, of North Carolina. This union is blessed with one child, Lillie Dale. Our subject's early pioneer experiences were unusual. He was at one time a remarkable marksman, and in a match with a number of Indians at Columbus beat all his competitors. He has made as much as $80 in a week from the sale, at Paducah, of the game he killed, and was with the Indians when they were removed from the Purchase. He began life without a dollar, but is now possessor of 300 acres of well cultivated land, and has given about 500 acres to his children. He and wife are

members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was formerly a member of the Grange. During the late war he was a Knight of the Golden Circle.

A. L. JENKINS, county surveyor, was born May 11, 1830, in Owen County, Ky., and is the fifth child of John G. and Eleanor (Branlan) Jenkins, the former a native of Maryland and the latter of Kentucky. The father died December 15, 1883, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. Subject was reared on a farm, and received such an education as the country schools of that time afforded, and at the age of twenty entered the academy at Stamping Ground, Ky., taking a ten months' course, at the end of which he engaged in teaching, which he followed at intervals for a number of years. While at school he gave especial attention to mathematical studies, and chose the profession of surveying as his life work. While still young he served as county surveyor of his native county, and later was elected surveyor, which office he filled until 1856, when he resigned and moved to Cass County, Mo., where he remained one year, and then came to Graves County, Ky., locating on his farm of 140 acres four miles south of Mayfield, where he still resides. In 1856 he was elected surveyor of Graves County, and served in that capacity two years, when he resigned the office. Later he acted as deputy surveyor under J. E. Robinson, and in 1882 was again elected, and is holding the office at the present time. Mr. Jenkins has been actively engaged in his profession for over twenty years, and is one of the most skillful engineers of western Kentucky. In December, 1852, he was married to Jennie, daughter of —— Hunt, of Fayette County, Ky. Mrs. Jenkins died March 10, 1877, in the forty-fifth year of her age. December 20, 1877, Mr. Jenkins married Mrs. Augusta Drennan, daughter of Frederick Zollicoffer, by whom he has one child, John. Mr. Jenkins is a member of the Baptist Church, with which he has been identified for a period of twenty years. Mrs. Jenkins belongs to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

T. J. JONES, of Graves County, is a native of Dickson County, Tenn., in which State his grandfather settled at an early day, being one of the first white men to locate in that section. Our subject's father, John Jones, was born in June, 1784, gained considerable distinction as a soldier in the war of 1812, rose to a high degree in the Masonic order, and died in November, 1832. The mother of our subject Jennie (James) Jones, was born September 9, 1788, and died in March, 1856. Like the majority of youth in a pioneer community, T. J. Jones enjoyed but few educational advantages; yet he possessed good natural ability, which enabled him, as he grew up, to comprehend surrounding circumstances. He was married July 24, 1833, to Minerva, daughter of Daniel Underhill, and to this union were born ten children, eight of whom are living. On the 20th of March, 1850, he came to Kentucky, and one year later settled on the large farm which has since been his home. May 31, 1862, Mrs. Minerva Jones departed this life, and in 1867 Mr. Jones married Mrs. F. O. Lovelace, from whom he separated. On the 5th of December, 1878, Mr. Jones espoused Mrs. S. F. Irvin, daughter of Thomas W. Pitt, of Virginia, a relative of Sir William Pitt, of England. Among other offices, Mr. Jones has filled those of constable, revenue collector, deputy sheriff and high sheriff, and in 1871 was elected to represent Graves County in the lower house of the legislature, in which he served until 1873.

CARROLL L. JONES was born August 27, in 1829, in Carroll County, Tenn., where he grew to manhood and resided until 1873, when he came to Graves County, Ky., his present place of residence. His father, Etheldred Jones, a native of Wake County, N. C., died in 1841, at the age of forty-three years; he was the son of William Jones, a revolutionary soldier. Subject's mother was Winifred Woodard, of North Carolina. To herself and husband were born William, James, Maria (Green), Laura (McAdow), Cornelia A. (Sneed), subject, Theophilus, Julia A. (married first to Rose and then to King), and Emily (Thompson). Subject was married January 7, 1855, to Miss Amanda, daughter of James B. and Patsey (Ensley) Wright, of Henry County, Tenn., and to them were born Charles Y., James H., Sarah A. (Shelby), Martha A. (Highfield), Robert F., Willie A. and Edwin. Mr. Jones is a farmer, having 140 acres of good land, in a fine state of cultivation. Having a limited education himself, and realizing the advantages of learning, he is endeavoring to furnish his children with substantial reading matter for their mutual advancement. He is a Free Mason, and an accepted member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

DR. J. D. LANDRUM, of Graves County, was born in Barren County, Ky., October 1, 1822. He is the son of James and Nancy (Walden) Landrum. The father was born in Amherst County, Va.; he died in 1841, aged sixty-two. The mother was born in King William County, Va., and died in March,

1863, aged sixty-two. Dr. Landrum was reared in Trigg County, Ky., and in 1845 he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. L. Lindsay; he also studied with Drs. McKinney and Drain, in all about four years. He matriculated in the Phisio-Medical College, of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1848, and graduated from the same in 1853. He then went to Lafayette, Ky., where he engaged in the practice ef his profession, and he also practiced at Roaring Springs. In December, 1851, he came to Mayfield, where he has since been located. In 1863 he was elected State senator, and served in this body four years. In 1864 he was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M., of Kentucky, and served one term. Dr. Landrum was married in 1850 to Catherine Robbins, of Roaring Springs, Ky. They have five children—three sons and two daughters. Dr. and Mrs. Landrum are members of the Christian Church.

WILLIAM LUTHER was born December 3, 1840, in Dickson County, Tenn., and came with his parents to Graves County, Ky., in 1853, where he still retains his residence. His father, Jacob Luther, was born in North Carolina, in 1814, removed to Tennessee in 1825, and is still living. He was the son of George Luther, of North Carolina, who died about 1849. He was a descendent of the Luther family of Germany. Subject's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Anderson of Dickson County, Tenn., and the union of herself and husband resulted in the following named children: Harriet E., Eliza (Bullock), subject, Mary A. (Easley), M. Tennessee (Suthard), Andrew J., John F. B., Alice D. (Bennett), and Travis N. Subject was married March 26, 1863, to Miss Eveline, daughter of Samuel W. and Annie (Bryon) Thompson of Graves County, Ky., and to them have been born Theodosia (Moore), Benjamin F., Andrew A., Annie E., Thomas J., Fannie B., Jennie R., Martin E. (deceased), and Katie May (deceased). Mr. Luther is a farmer, owning 620 acres of valuable land, well improved. He is turning his attention to the handling and raising of live stock, which he finds remunerative. In religion, he is a member of the Christian Church and in politics a Democrat.

DR. S. J. MATHEWS, Graves County, was born March 23, 1835, in Robertson County, Tenn. He is a son of Thomas B. and Fannie (Powell) Mathews. The father was born in the same county and State; he died in 1864, aged sixty-seven. The mother was born in North Carolina; she died in 1860, aged sixty years. Dr. Mathews was reared on his father's farm, and at the age of eighteen entered a store at Springfield as clerk, where he remained three years. In the fall of 1856, he opened a store at Turnersville, which he continued until 1859. He then returned to Springfield and with his brother carried on merchandising until the breaking out of the war. He then commenced the study of medicine; after reading two years he commenced medical lectures at the Nashville College, after which he came to Graves County, and has since been engaged in the practice of his profession. In the fall of 1877 he came to Mayfield, where he has since remained. He was married December 21, 1858, to Lou T. Morrow, of Montgomery County, Tenn.; she died December 5, 1859, leaving one daughter, Lou V., now the wife of E. T. Taylor of Mayfield. The doctor's second marriage took place November 21, 1861, to Nannie P. Bush of Graves County. She died May 30, 1878, leaving six children—two sons and four daughters. His third marriage was on December 12, 1878, to Alice R. Boaz, a native of Graves County.

JOHN A. MAYES, Graves County, was born August 13, 1844, in Mayfield. He is a son of R. L. and Elizabeth (Anderson) Mayes, Mr. Mayes, after receiving his education from the schools of his locality, took up the study of the law under the preceptorship of Lucian Auderson, and in 1869 was licensed, since which time he has been engaged in the practice of his profession. He was married in February, 1883, to Miss Mariana Stanfield, of Mayfield.

R. A. MAYES, Graves County, was born March 22, 1840, in Mayfield. He is a son of Richard L. and Elizabeth (Anderson) Mayes. The father was born in Fayette County, Ky., in December, 1805; he died in January, 1861. He came to Mayfield, in 1827, and at once engaged in the practice of law. He held the office of county attorney, also of commonwealth's attorney, and represented this county in the State legislature; he was also a member of the convention of 1849-50, which formed the present constitution of the State. Our subject read law with his father, and was admitted to the bar in 1860, and was soon after elected county attorney. At the close of the war he discontinued the practice of law and was deputy county clerk from 1866 to 1869. From 1870 to 1873 he was engaged as book-keeper in the commission business in New Orleans; he then returned to Mayfield and opened a hardware and furniture store, which he now carries on; he also owns one-half interest in the May-

field flouring-mill; this he purchased in 1878. Mr. Mayes was married on November 5, 1863, to Isabella Boyd, of Christian County. She died in 1865, aged nineteen, leaving one daughter. His second marriage was in 1874 to Sue Campbell, of Nashville, Tenn. This lady died April 30, 1876, aged twenty-nine years. His third marriage was on March 29, 1877, to Sophia Morris, of Obion County, Tenn. They have two children—one son and one daughter.

J. P. McCLAIN was born in 1838 in Henry County, Tenn. He is a son of John and Sallie (Cochran) McClain. Mr. McClain remained with his parents until attaining his majority, and at the age of twenty-three engaged in farming in Calloway County, Ky. He was married in 1861 to Eliza Jane King, daughter of Isaac and Martha (Jackson) King. Mr. McClain resided in Calloway County for a period of fourteen years, at the end of which time he disposed of his farm there and moved to Graves County, and purchased a flouring and saw-mill, which he has operated successfully ever since. Mr. and Mrs. McClain have a family of eight children, namely: Samantha E., Corilla F., J. W., Alta, Robert E., Oliver P., Lula and Maggie.

DR. A. C. McFALL was born February 7, 1842, and is a son of William H. and Mary (Higgins) McFall; the former was born in middle Tennessee, September 15, 1808, is still living and resides at Fulton, Ky.; the latter was born December 4, 1809, and died January 24, 1860. Dr. McFall was born in Kentucky and reared in Tennessee, and was brought up on his father's farm until the breaking out of the war in 1861. On the 5th of May in that year he enlisted in Company E, Fourth Tennessee Infantry (Confederate) and served to the end of the war, participating in the battles of Shiloh, Perryville, Missionary Ridge, and others. At the close of the war he returned home, exchanged his gun for the plow, and for ten years remained on the farm. He then commenced the study of dentistry with Dr. Hunsaker, remaining with him for three years, and in 1874 graduated from the Missouri Dental College at St. Louis. Upon graduating he came to Mayfield and opened dental rooms, where he has since continued the practice of the profession. He is master of the art of dentistry, and enjoys a large and lucrative practice, as well as the full confidence and esteem of his patrons and friends. He was married in May, 1874, to Mrs. Anna Mayes, by which marriage they have one daughter. Mrs. McFall has two daughters by her former marriage. Dr. McFall is a member of the Methodist Church and K. of H.; his wife is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

MATTHEW J. McNEELY was born August 20, 1855, in Graves County, Ky. His parents were James and Caroline (Yates) McNeely, both natives of Tennessee. The father was a merchant, came to Kentucky and settled about eight miles southeast of Wingo, in 1833, where he followed farming for many years. He died September 19, 1877. He was a member of the Baptist Church; his widow is still living in this county at the age of sixty years. She also is a member of the Baptist Church. They had ten children, six of whom are now living: Nancy P., the wife of William Adams, of this county; Mary, the wife of A. G. Coltharp, of this county; James W., married to Miss Charlton, of Wingo; Serena, the wife of P. H. Wadlington, of this county; Matthew J. and David S.; the latter is clerking with his brother, whose name heads this sketch. Matthew J. began for himself in the mercantile business at the age of twenty-one. He also engaged at the same time in stock-raising in Missouri. He opened out a new stock of dry goods, notions, boots, shoes, hats and caps, etc., at Wingo, in 1880. He has been very successful, his sales amounting annually from $11,000 to $18,000. His outlook is very encouraging, and he bids fair to become one of the leading merchants and business men of the county.

H. J. MOORMAN, Graves County, was born January 22, 1851, in Breckinridge County, Ky. He is a son of John and Jane V. (Owen) Moorman; these parents were natives of the same county and State. The father died May 19, 1863, aged forty-three years. The mother died in 1853, aged twenty-three years. H. J. Moorman was brought up on his father's farm, and after the latter's death he lived with his grandparents (Owen) till the age of eighteen; he then attended the Litchfield College at Litchfield, Grayson Co., Ky., one term, and then attended the Owensboro Baptist College, at Owensboro, Ky., one term, after which he read law with his uncle, W. T. Owen, of Owensboro, one year; he then was admitted to the bar. He opened a law office at Calhoun, Ky., where he practiced till the fall of 1875, when he removed to Charleston, Mo., where he practiced his profession till in February, 1878, when he, on account of sickness, moved to Mayfield, Graves Co., Ky., and has since been engaged in the practice of his profession. Mr. Moorman was married May 23, 1877, to Miss Sallie Scog-

gins, of Mayfield: these parents have had four children, two of whom are living. Mr. and Mrs. Moorman are members of the Missionary Baptist Church.

JESSE M. MOSS, Graves County, was born in Smith County, Tenn., January 3, 1846, and was taken by his parents to Butler County, Ky., in infancy, where he grew to manhood, and in 1862, entered Company E, Third Kentucky Cavalry, with which he remained until the close of the late war. He is the son of Hugh Moss, a native of Smith County, Tenn., who was born in 1807, and is still living. Hugh's wife, Delilah B., daughter of Nelson and Betsey (West) Walker, of Halifax County, Va., was born in 1812, and is still living. Their offspring are Martha J. (Pigg), John K., George W., Mary M. (Pirtle), subject, Amanda F. (French) and Caroline (Byrns). On account of the late war, subject could only secure a business education, but he is a constant reader of books and current literature. He was married December 21, 1876, to Miss Georgia A., daughter of George C. and Lucinda (Austin) Brown, of Graves County, Ky., and to them have been born Albert C. K. and Edward L. Subject commenced merchandising in 1879, at which he has been successful. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Methodist and a Democrat.

JOHN P. MOTHERAL was born November 11, 1818, in Wilson County, Tenn., and was taken by his parents to Lawrence County, Ala., in 1819, and brought to Graves County, Ky., in 1831, where he still retains his residence. His father, John Motheral, was born in 1795, in North Carolina, was a member of Gen. Carroll's body guard in the war of 1812, and died in 1870. He was the son of Samuel Motheral, a native of Ireland. John married Cynthia, daughter of Rev. James Farr, of Wilson County, Tenn. She was born in 1794, and died in 1854. Their children are William C., subject, James F., Samuel A., Robert A., Donald C., Cynthia E., Sarah J. (Kennady) and Joseph K. On March 29, 1849, John P. Motheral was married to Miss Hetty, born June 10, 1829, and a daughter of William and Charlotte (Sims) McCuan, of Graves County, and from this union sprang Mary J. (Gates), William J., Cynthia C. (Howard), John R. (deceased), James H., Martha W. (Farmer), Josie H. (Lawrence) and Lucy E. Subject is a successful farmer, owning 320 acres of good land. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity; also of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and affiliates with the Democratic party.

ROBERT C. MULLINS, Graves County, was born January 9, 1837, in Rutherford County, Tenn. His parents are David and Nancy (Taylor) Mullins, both natives of Halifax County, Va. The parents are still living, residents of Graves County, and both have passed the allotted time to man—seventy years. They have been active and devoted members of the Baptist Church for many years. These parents have had nine children, seven of whom are now living. Robert C. has followed farming all his life. He began on eighty acres of land, to which he has added until he now owns more than 300, and has over 200 acres of it well improved. He was married, in 1858, to Miss Eliza Hopkins, daughter of Col. William and Lucy M. Hopkins, of Graves County. The colonel died in 1842, and his widow in 1871, at the age of seventy years. Both were devoted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. To Mr. and Mrs. Mullins have been born six children: David W., Luella, Robert G., Georgia A., John Lane and Jesse. David W. is married to Miss Ella Lane, of Graves County; Stanley is their only child. Luella is the wife of R. G. Adams; Robert F. is their child. Both Mr. and Mrs. Mullins are devoted members of the Baptist Church. The former has been a deacon in his church ever since he became a member. He has been Sunday-school superintendent the most of the time, and is an active worker and supporter of the temperance cause. He is also a member of the Masonic order, and of the I. O. O. F., Lodge No. 201.

HON. BERNARD A. NEALE, of Graves County, was born in Henry County, Ky., June 2, 1833, and is a son of Alfred W. and Lucy (Roberts) Neale. His father was a farmer, and died in 1873, aged seventy-three years; his mother died in 1836, in Terre Haute, Ind. His grandparents were from Halifax County, Va., and settled in Kentucky, in 1804, when it was in reality the "dark and bloody ground." Mr. Neale was brought up on his father's farm in Calloway County, where the family had removed when young Neale was but six years old. His facilities for receiving an education were limited and confined to the public schools of the time. At the age of twenty he commenced work at the carpenter's trade, and at the same time read law. By his own exertions and perseverance he mastered the profession, and in 1859 was licensed to practice by the judges of the supreme court, and was admitted to the bar, in Marshall County. He practiced there until March, 1861 when he settled in Arkansas. In May, 1862, he entered the Confederate Army, and served in the trans-

Mississippi department until June, 1864. He then practiced law in Arkansas until May, 1867, when he returned to Kentucky, and located in Mayfield, and opened a law office. In 1874 he was elected commonwealth's attorney for this Judicial District, which position he held for six years, and the duties of which he discharged with marked ability. Mr. Neale still continues in the practice of his profession, but is also engaged in farming. His beautiful farm "Woodlawn," lying one mile south of Mayfield, is one of the best improved farms in the county. It contains 165 acres of fine land in an excellent state of cultivation, well stocked and improved in the highest degree. Mr. Neale was married April 28, 1861, to Miss S. M. Alexander of Paducah, formerly of Tennessee. They have three children: two sons, Eddie B. and Charles R. A., and one daughter, Lucy Lee. He is a member of the Masonic order, and of the K. of H. Mr. Neale has always been a studious man and a great reader, and few men in the country possess a greater fund of information, or a more perfect knowledge of all the great questions of the day. He is a natural statesman, though taking no active part in politics. In 1872 he was selected by a committee to deliver an historical address to the pioneers of Jackson's Purchase at Wadesborough. This address was interesting as well on account of it accurate relation of facts, as the many traditionary legends he related as given him by the old settlers. Eighteen hundred copies of the addressed were published. Though in moderate circumstances himself, Mr. Neale is the liberal patron of the poor and oppressed, the widow and the orphan. August 3, 1885, Mr. Neale was elected by the Democratic party to represent Graves County in the General Assembly for the session of 1885–86.

S. A. NORMAN was born September 14, 1850, in Humphreys County, Tenn., and is the son of Simpson A. and Elizabeth (Van Hook) Norman, both natives of Tennessee. The father is a farmer, and is still living in his native county and State; the mother died in 1860, aged thirty-two years. S. A. Norman is the fourth child of a family of seven children, and remained with his parents until eighteen years of age, when he came to Graves County, and engaged as a farm laborer. Later he farmed a place on shares, at which he was reasonably successful. In 1880 he was appointed deputy sheriff of the county, and served in that capacity until 1881, at which time he gave up the office, in order to settle up a large estate, estimated at $75,000. With this affair, Mr. Norman demonstrated unusual business tact, collecting over $34,000, all of which was promptly paid over and accounted for. He bought his present farm of 221 acres in 1881, and is now one of the substantial agriculturists in the county. He was married January 1, 1874, to Miss N. C. Dunbar, of Graves County. Four children bless this union, Marion C., Edna E., Charley and Margaret E. Politically Mr. Norman is identified with the Democratic party.

DAVID G. PARK was born January 31, 1855, in Graves County. He is a son of Noah and Margaret (McCain) Park. The father was born in North Carolina; the mother in Tennessee. David was reared on his father's farm, and after attending a literary school took up the study of law under the preceptorship of W. W. Tice. In 1876 he went to Louisville University and graduated in the class of 1877; he then returned to Mayfield, and has since been engaged in the practice of his profession. Mr. Park was married May 23, 1878, to Miss Nellie Hanson of Mayfield; this union has been blessed with two children, Ruth and Margaret. Mr. Park is a member of the I. O. O. F., K. of H. and of the Baptist Church. Mrs. Park is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

ELDER JOHN M. PERKINS was born at his present home in Graves County, Ky., March 1, 1847, and has all his life resided in the same place. His father, Wright Perkins, a native of Williamson County, Tenn., was born in 1814, came to Graves County, Ky., in 1837, and here died in 1848. He was for many years a deacon in the Primitive Baptist Church. His father, Eben, of North Carolina, died in this county, in 1850. Wright Perkins' wife was Mary C., daughter of Peter and Comfort (Beard) Brown, of Williamson County, Tenn., and their children are Francis W., Milena E. (Seaver), James A., William H., John M. and Mary W. (Seaver). Our subject was favored with a good English education, and was engaged in teaching school for about eight years. He was married August 29, 1872, to Miss Winifred D., daughter of John A. and D. E. (Rodgers) McNeill, of Graves County, and to them have been born Cordelia M., Lemuel, Prudie (deceased), Milena and Herbert. In 1873 Mr. Perkins was licensed to preach by the North Mt. Zion Primitive Baptist Church, and the following year was ordained to the full work of the ministry, by the laying on of hands of the presbytery, composed of Elders W. W. Worrell, T. S. Dalton and T. F. Harrison, of Soldier Creek Association. He has been a pastor of Pilgrim's Rest, Kan., Sol-

dier Creek, North Mount Zion, Harmony, New Hope and Mount Pleasant churches. He is engaged in farming, and is in politics a Democrat.

BENJAMIN F. PILE, Graves County, a young and enterprising merchant at Fancy Farm, was born August 10, 1857, in Graves County, Ky., and is the eighth of nine children born to J. V. and Mary E. (Phillips) Pile, of Washington County, Ky., of French and English origin, respectively. They came to Graves County about 1830, and settled near Fancy Farm, Hickman County. The father owns 500 acres of land in Graves County, and about 160 in Hickman County, about half improved. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and he and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Benjamin F. Pile has always lived with his parents; he was reared on a farm, and received a good English education; he attended school at Milburn three years, at Mayfield one year, and taught school three terms in Ballard and Graves Counties. He is now engaged with his father in general merchandising at Fancy Farm; the business was commenced about twenty-five years ago, under the firm name of Pile & Willett; in 1880 Benjamin F. became partner, and the name was changed to Pile & Son. Subject is also postmaster at Fancy Farm, having been appointed in 1882. He was married in September, 1883, to Elmine Boswell, of Ballard County and daughter of G. H. and Fannie (Smith) Boswell, natives of Kentucky. Her parents came to Graves County about 1840, thence went to Indiana, where they remained four years, thence back to Ballard County, where they have resided ever since. Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Pile are members of the Methodist Church.

L. P. PALMER, deputy circuit clerk, was born March 16, 1856, in Benton, Marshall Co., Ky. He is a son of Philander and S. A. (Whittamore) Palmer. The father was born in New Hampshire; he died in 1880, aged fifty-eight; he was a lawyer by profession, and of rare attainments, and few men of the county possessed a greater fund of information than he. He was solicited to be a candidate for the court of appeals, but declined the honor. The mother was born in 1827 in Rockingham County, N. C., and now lives in Benton, Marshall Co., Ky. After attending the public schools of Benton, Mr. Palmer went to Irvington, Ind.; there attended the Butler University one session, and in 1879 went to Colorado, where he remained one year, also performed clerical work there about one year. In 1882 he came to Mayfield, where he has since performed the duties of circuit clerk with marked ability and dispatch.

DR. GREEN L. POPLIN was born December 19, 1815, in Montgomery County, N. C., and reared in Bedford County, Tenn. He commenced the study of medicine at the age of seventeen, and graduated at the Louisville Medical Institute, March 5, 1842. He then returned to his home in Tennessee, and continued to practice his profession eighteen years from the same office in which he studied. In 1853 he came to Graves County and practiced his profession here five years; he then moved to Bloomfield, Stoddard Co., Mo., in the winter of 1858, and continued to practice his profession until the breaking out of the war. In the fall of 1867 the doctor moved to Poplar Bluff, Mo., and opened a drug store and also practiced his profession until 1877, when he left that place for Mayfield, Ky., where he now resides. During his stay at the Bluffs he entered heart and soul into every public enterprise, and assisted with all his energy in the organization of the Poplar Bluff Immigration Society; was elected its president and continued to act in that position as long as it lasted. He also assisted in establishing and building the Black River Seminary, of which he was elected president. In connection with Dr. G. T. Bartlett, the doctor founded a newspaper at that place, called the *Black River News*, and continued editor and proprietor for five years. He served two years as one of the judges of the county court, during which time the great railroad contract was made; he acted as chairman of the court, and this contract was the means of laying the chief corner-stone of the present and prospective greatness of Poplar Bluff. In 1866 he was elected to the legislature from Stoddard County, Mo., and served two years. The doctor has been married three times; his last union was October 16, 1873, with Mattie E. Hall, of Ripley County, Mo., by whom he has one son. He has three children by his former marriages.

THE POWELL FAMILY. Willoughby Powell is a native of North Carolina, and was born in 1754. His wife, Polly, was born in 1756, and they were married in 1776. Their union was propitious, and was blessed with a numerous offspring consisting of Lazarus, born in 1777; Willoughby, 1781; James, 1784; Harrison, 1787; Sally, 1791; Henderson, 1795; Harbert, 1797. Harbert Powell was born in Logan County, and removed with his parents early in the present century to Henderson County, Ky.; then to

Graves County, Ky., in 1848, where he died in 1867. His wife, Cassandra, daughter of Allen Jones, was born in 1799, and died in 1876. From this union sprang Joseph, Allen, Nannetty (McMurray), Permelia (Pritchet), Perlina (Powell), George W., Melvina (Pritchet), Louisa (Meacham), Benjamin F., Mary J., Charles M. and Sarah.

BENJAMIN F. POWELL, a native of Henderson County, Ky., was born April 2, 1836, and came with his parents, in 1848, to his present place of residence in Graves County. In youth he procured a good English education, and is taking an active interest in the education of his children in literature and music. On November 29, 1866, he was married to Miss Elizabeth E., daughter of William B. and Martha (Whitis) Adams, of Graves County, and to them have been born Lorenzo D., Mary C. and Albert L. William B. Adams' parents were Edmund and Elizabeth (Hammons) Adams. Subject is a farmer, owning 180 acres of good land in a high state of cultivation, on which he successfully raises wheat, corn and live stock. He is also a mason, burning and making his own brick. Mr. P. is one of the successful and rising men of Graves County.

CHARLES M. POWELL was born in Henderson County, Ky., December 19, 1839, and in 1848 came with his parents to Graves County, where he is now residing. In youth he procured a good business education, and is a reading man. He was married February 14, 1859, to Miss Sallie A., daughter of Joseph and Margaret (Caldwell) Cavitt, of Graves County, Ky., and to them have been born Martha B., Louisa W., Linn B., Margaret C., Melvin D., Ida M. and Fannie. Subject is a farmer, owning 160 acres of good and valuable land. He is a member of the Chrisitan Church.

DR. J. C. REYNOLDS was born in Graves County, Ky., January 16, 1844. He is a son of Pryor and Lucretia (Williams) Reynolds. The doctor was reared on his father's farm, where he remained until the age of nineteen. He then commenced the study of dentistry with his brother, and after working three years under his instruction, he was admitted as a partner. This partnership continued until 1882, when his brother retired from the firm. Through close attention to study the doctor has mastered his profession, and is now prepared to perform all work in his line with neatness and dispatch. He was married in 1866 to Miss Mary Smith, of Graves County; three sons have blessed this union. Dr. and Mrs. Reynolds are members of the Baptist Church.

S. P. RIDGWAY, Graves County, was born March 24, 1840, in Weakley County, Tenn., and is a son of John and Sarah (Caldwell) Ridgway. His grandparents were Samuel and Rozeman Ridgway. The Ridgway family are from Virginia, where John Ridgway was born, in Halifax County, September 9, 1809. He removed to Tennesse, then came to Kentucky, and died in Mayfield in 1882. His widow, Sarah (Caldwell) Ridgway, is a daughter of James and Mary Caldwell, and was born in Sumner County, Tenn., September 7, 1813. She is still living and resides with her son, S. P. Ridgway. S. P. Ridgway was brought up on his father's farm, and attended the schools of the neighborhood until the age of eighteen. He then came to Mayfield, entered the Mayfield high school, remained five months, when he accepted a position in the county clerk's office, which he held until the breaking out of the war. July 15, 1861, he enlisted in the Confederate Army, Third Kentucky Regiment of Infantry, in Montgomery County, Tenn,, and proceeded with the regiment to Bowling Green, Ky., when that place was the headquarters of the Confederate Army. In his long service his experience was the oft-told story of hundreds and thousands who followed the fortunes of the Confederacy until its star of destiny set on the field of Appomattox. It was made up of a great deal of hard marching, considerable severe fighting, interspersed with sickness now and then. He was with his command at Shiloh, where the captain of his company, the brave Emerson, received his death wound. After the army retreated to Corinth, he was promoted captain to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Capt. Emerson. He was with Gen. Breckinridge at Baton Rouge, and later with Gen. Van Dorn at Corinth; he served for a time under Gen. Joe Johnston, and in the spring of 1864 his regiment was mounted and attached to Forrest's cavalry. He was with that great cavalry leader during the remainder of his service, and participated in all of his battles, though not actively engaged in the battle of Paducah, where the brave Col. Thompson fell. After the war was over, Capt. Ridgway returned to Mayfield and engaged in merchandising, which he continued for nine years. On May 4, 1875, the First National Bank of Mayfield was organized, and Capt. Ridgway was appointed cashier, which position he has since filled with satisfaction to all. He was married June 15, 1865, to Miss Virginia C. Stanfield, a native of Madison County, Tenn. They have four daughters. Capt. Ridgway and

his family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

J. E. ROBBINS was born August 4, 1854, in Graves County, and is a son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Shelton) Robbins. The father was born in Humphreys County, Tenn., and died February 14, 1873, aged sixty-two. The mother was born in Butler County, Ky., in 1820 and resides in Wingo; her father, Jeremiah Shelton, came to Graves County in 1820, and built a small log-cabin near Mayfield. He went back for his family and found, on his return to Graves County, that his cabin had been destroyed by fire during his absence, which obliged him to settle on Spring Creek, where he remained for eight years. He then moved to Weakley County, Tenn., and officiated as a Primitive Baptist preacher. J. E. Robbins, our subject, after studying law, began the practice of his profession in 1878, and is now a member of the law firm of Robertson, Smith & Robbins. He was married October 9, 1879, to Miss Eva Chowning, of Mayfield, Ky., by whom he has one son. Mr. and Mrs. Robbins are members of the Christian Church.

CORNELIUS ROGERS is a native of Kentucky, and was born September 10, 1846. He is a son of Stanton and Delilah (Brogdin) Rogers, both natives of Kentucky, and both living at the present time in Calloway County, where the father follows farming. Subject remained with his parents until nineteen years of age, when he engaged in business for himself as a farmer, purchasing a tract of eighty acres of land, in what was known as Swan Precinct, on which he lived for three years, at the end of which time he disposed of his place and bought another farm in the same locality, which was his home until 1873. In the latter year he moved to his present place of residence, a beautiful farm of 256 acres in Lynnville Precinct, and is now justly considered one of the leading farmers in his community. He was married October 15, 1865, to Delilah, daughter of Joseph and Sina (Kelly) Andrus. To this marriage have been born nine children, eight of whom are living. Their names are as follows: Frank, Glen, Claude, Ella, Willie, Walter, Beulah and James. Mr. Rogers is an independent Democrat in politics. Mrs. Rogers is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

CHARLES I. SHERRILL was born May 14, 1852, in Stewart County, Tenn. He is a son of J. S. and Elizabeth A. (Stevenson) Sherrill. The father was born in Christian County, Ky., and died in 1878, aged fifty-seven years. He owned a farm in Graves County, and was considered one of the best farmers in the section. He handled large quantities of tobacco, as high as from 800,000 to 1,000,000 pounds in a year. Charles was brought up on his father's farm, and at the death of the latter bought out his mother's interest and managed the farm until her death, which occurred August 30, 1883. He then sold this farm and bought another, one mile southwest of Mayfield, consisting of 160 acres. December 1, 1883, he engaged in the livery business in Mayfield, which he still continues. This is known as the "Mammoth Stable," and well deserves this name, as the stock kept here is not excelled by any in this part of the State. Mr. Sherrill was married, in November, 1877, to Miss Alice B. Swain, of Henry County, Tenn. One son has blessed this union. Mr. Sherrill is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and of the Masonic fraternity. Mrs. Sherrill is a member of the Christian Church.

WILLIAM T. SIMS is the son of William and Sarah (Orr) Sims, the father a native of Alabama and the mother of Tennessee. Mr. Sims, Sr., is a farmer, which vocation he has followed all his life, and is living at the present time in Calloway County, Ky., where he moved in 1874. William T. Sims, a native of Tennessee, passed his youth and early manhood in working on his father's place, and in 1855 began life for himself as farmer and lumber merchant, which occupations he followed until the breaking out of the civil war, in 1861, when he enlisted in the Forty-sixth Regiment Tennessee Infantry, with which he served until 1865, participating in the battles and skirmishes of Gens. Johnston and Hood's celebrated campaigns. He went out as a private, but on the reorganization of the regiment in 1863 was promoted captain of his company, and held his commission until mustered out of service at the close of the war. Mr. Sims was married, in 1866, to Mrs. Hart, daughter of Oswell and Macinda (Wheeler) Brown, both natives of Kentucky. In 1878 he came to his present place of residence, in Lynnville Precinct, where he owns one of the best improved farms in the county. He was elected magistrate in 1878, and again in 1882, and holds the office at the present time. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and together with his wife belongs to the Lynnville Methodist Episcopal Church South.

S. R. SMITH, Graves County, was born March 15, 1818, in Granville County, N. C. He is a son of Samuel and Sallie W. (Williams) Smith, both natives of North Carolina, and of English origin. Our subject was

reared on his father's farm, where he remained until about the age of eighteen. He then entered a dry goods store as clerk, there remained about five years, after which he opened a general store in Montgomery County, Tenn. This he continued about two years. His father's death occurred about this time, which gave him possession of the farm, consisting of 300 acres. He then engaged in farming about fifteen years, after which he sold this farm and removed to Texas, where he bought 400 acres of land, paying for the same $600. After holding this land one year, he sold it for $3,600, and came to Christian County, Ky., where he hired out his slaves and engaged in merchandising till 1859. He then purchased 320 acres of land in Graves County, at $12 per acre, and engaged in farming pursuits until 1864. He then sold this land for $20 per acre, and removed to Mayfield, where he engaged in the grocery and dry goods business till 1881, when he retired, but has recently re-engaged in business, and is now conducting an extensive dry goods establishment. Mr. Smith was married, in 1839, to Miss Mary J. Patillo, of Warren County, N. C. She died in 1876, aged fifty-two. They had four children—two sons and two daughters. Of the sons, R. E. was formerly proprietor of the Southern Hotel at this point, and is now a dry goods merchant, and William M., who graduated from the Louisville Law School at the age of eighteen, is now engaged in the practice of his profession. Of the daughters, Saluda married J. M. Hists, and is now living in Louisville, Ky., and Mary married R. L. Anderson, and is now living in Olala, Fla. Mr. Smith's second marriage was in 1881, to Mrs. Sherrill, of Graves County. This lady died August 30, 1883. Our subject is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and of the Masonic fraternity.

THOMAS M. STEWART is a native of Weakley County, Tennessee, and was born January 15, 1845; was reared in Henry County, the same State, and removed to Graves County, Kentucky, in 1870, where he has since continued to reside. He is the son of Green F. Stewart, a native of North Carolina, who died in 1857, at the age of thirty-nine years. Subject's mother was Sarah A., daughter of Thomas Milam, of Weakley County, Tennessee. To her husband and herself were born Samantha C. (married first to Mr. Moore, and afterward to Mr. Brown), Margaret V. (Tharp),, subject, Rebley A., James E., Sallie F. (married first to Mr. Eaker, and then to Mr. Alexander) and Green W. On August 16, 1876, subject was married to Miss Delilah E., daughter of Tilman and Susan A. (Jones) Johnson, of Henry County, Tennessee, and to them have been born Eunice M., Herbert W., Daisy A. and Thomas A. In 1861 Mr. Stewart enlisted in Company I, Forty sixth Tennessee Infantry, and afterward in the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, with which he served to the end of the war, during which he lost an arm at the battle of Harrisburg, Miss. His vocation at present is that of a farmer, and he owns 126 acres of good land, in a high state of cultivation. Having served four years as deputy, he was, in 1882, elected to the office of assessor of Graves County, which position he still retains. In religion he is a Methodist and in politics is identified with the Democratic party.

Z SUMMERVILLE, Graves County, was born August 16, 1847, in Calloway County, Kentucky, and is the son of Milton Summerville, who was well and favorably known throughout the State as a trader and speculator and who began business by buying and selling poultry, and after a time added horses, mules and cotton, principally the latter, and at his death, which occurred in Mississippi in 1861, at the age of forty-five, he was one of the most extensive dealers in cotton in the State. At the age of seven years, Z. Summerville, our subject, came with his parents to Graves County, where he engaged in agricultural pursuits until 1867, since which time he has been in the confectionery business. He was appointed postmaster in 1868, and held the office until 1881. In 1871 he married Miss Willie Turner, of Graves County, by whom he has two sons and one daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Summerville are members of the Baptist Church.

DR. J. W. THOMAS was born September 14, 1854, in Warren County, Mo., and is a son of John W. and A. (Camp) Thomas. The father was born in Warren County, Ky., and died in 1854. The mother died in 1881 at the age of sixty. Dr. Thomas was reared in Missouri and in 1870 went to Lexington, Ky., where he attended the university for one year, after which he went to St. Louis, and clerked in a store in that city until 1875, when he came to Mayfield and began the study of medicine under the preceptorship of Dr. R. H. Fristoe. After two years of study he returned to St. Louis, and attended the medical college there for one term; thence went to Nashville, where he attended the medical college and graduated in 1878 with the highest honors of the class, and for his proficiency in all the branches taught in the college was presented with a

fine gold medal After completing his studies he came to Graves County, since which time he has practiced his profession with marked success, and has resided in Mayfield since 1881. Dr. Thomas was married in 1878 to Miss Fannie A. Carney, of Graves County, by whom he has two children. Dr. and Mrs. Thomas are members of the Christian Church.

Z. B. THOMAS was born February 11, 1824, in Mercer County, Ky. He is a son of Edmond G. and Sarah (Briles) Thomas. The father was born in Virginia; he died in February, 1862, aged sixty-eight. The mother was born in Mercer County, Ky.; she died in September, 1867. Our subject was reared in Shelby County principally. In about 1848 the family came to Graves County, where he worked at farming pursuits till about the age of twenty-eight, since which time he has been engaged in milling business, and about eight years in the woolen-mill business; of this mill he owns one-third. He was married in 1856 to Elizabeth Albritton, of North Carolina. She died March 15, 1865. They had four children, two of whom are living—one son and one daughter.

W. W. TICE was born June 5, 1834, in Washington County, N. Y. He is a son of Abraham and Martha (Whipple) Tice, also natives of New York. His grandfather, John Tice, was of German origin and served in the Revolutionary war. W. W. Tice was reared on his father's farm and attended the schools of the neighborhood. At fourteen he attended the high school at Brockport, after which he entered the Union College at Schenectady and graduated in 1855. He then came to Mayfield and taught school about three years. He then took up the study of law under the preceptorship of R. L. Mayes and was admitted to the bar in 1859, since which time he has been actively engaged in his profession. In May, 1865, he was elected commonwealth's attorney; this position he honorably held for over three years. Mr. Tice was married in 1871 to Mrs. Harriet Johnson of Graves County. He is a member of the old school Presbyterian Church, and of the Masonic fraternity.

D. C. TIMMONS, Graves County, is a son of John H. and Ann Eliza (Alderdice) Timmons, the father a native of Weakley County, Tenn., and the mother of North Carolina. John H. Timmons is a mechanic and millwright and lives at the present time in Weakley County, Tenn. The mother died in May, 1878. D. C. Timmons, with his father, worked at different mechanical pursuits until the age of twenty-two years, when he engaged in business for himself as a house carpenter and millwright. After following the above trades for several years, he commenced farming in Weakley County, Tenn., and in 1879 came to Graves County, Ky., locating in Lynnville Precinct, where he purchased a small farm of sixty acres, the beginning of his present home of 136 acres. He was married November 15, 1871, to Sarah C., daughter of Robert and Winny McCulloch, by whom he had five children: J. B., Arthur S., Rhoda B., Aver L. and Winnie Ann. Mrs. Timmons died in 1881, and the following year Mr. Timmons was married to Cornelia A., daughter of William and Jane Doublin; to this union have been born two children: Robert Lee and Clara May. Mr. Timmons is a member of the Masonic fraternity, filling the office of deacon at the present time in Boydsville, Tenn., Lodge, No. 121.

JAMES T. TORIAN, Graves County, was born January 22, 1832, in Halifax County, Va., and is a son of Andrew and Betty (Finch) Torian, both parents being natives of the same State and county. When a child his parents came to Christian County, Ky., where they purchased a farm and resided there until the autumn of 1865, when they moved to this locality. In 1858 James came to Graves County, with two brothers, and purchased 220 acres of land, which they have since increased until they now own between 500 and 600 acres. In 1882 they built a saw and grist-mill, which they are now operating in connection with farming. The father died in 1883 at the age of ninety-three. The mother is still living. James was married in 1875 to Miss Ellen Grant, who was born in east Tennessee and is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Torian is a member of the Christian Church.

DR. WILLIAM A. TURNER was born November 5, 1834, in Wilson County, Tenn., and reared in Davidson County. He is a son of Richard A. and Martha A. (Cleaves) Turner. The father was born in Sumner County, Tenn.; he died July 5, 1850, aged forty. The mother was born in Davidson County, June 15, 1813, and still lives there on her farm. Dr. Turner was reared on his father's farm, attended the school of the place, and later attended the high school of Nashville, Tenn. In 1854 he commenced the study of medicine with Drs. Wilson and Briggs, of Nashville. He continued under their preceptorship three years and graduated February 27, 1857, from the medical department of the University of Nashville. He

then came to Fancy Farm, Graves County, where he practiced two years, after which he removed to Mayfield and followed his profession till 1862, when he was elected clerk of the circuit court, which office he held six years. He then practiced law until 1874, since which time he has been engaged in settling up estates. The past two years he has held the office of city judge. The doctor was married in 1859 to Miss Corrilla R., daughter of Judge R. K. Williams, who was circuit judge and later chief justice of the supreme court of Kentucky. To Dr. and Mrs. Turner have been born five children—two sons and three daughters. The family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

H. A. VANN was born in Graves County, Ky., October 19, 1846, and is the eldest of the two boys and one girl born to David and Sarah (Jackson) Vann, natives of Missouri and Kentucky respectively, and of Irish descent. His paternal grandfather was Gabriel Vann, and his maternal grandfather John Jackson. David Vann died in 1852, and subject lived on the home farm with his mother until October 26, 1865, when he married Nancy T. Morris, daughter of John and Maria (Innman) Morris, natives of North Carolina, and among the early settlers of Graves County. His only child is named Lavina E. After his marriage, Mr. Vann resided in the Wingo District for two years and then a year at Arlington. In 1879 he purchased forty-one acres of his present farm, where he has since resided. In October, 1863, he enlisted in the Twelfth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, Capt. John Lynn, W. W. Faulkner colonel commanding, and was at the battle of Talahatchee; was taken prisoner, and on his release came home in the spring of 1865 and engaged in farming. Mr. Vann is an Odd Fellow, was formerly a Granger, and has been school trustee, and he and wife are members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

C. C. WADE, Graves County, is the son of Hampton and Mary (King) Wade, and was born in Henry County, Va. The father was a farmer, and in 1844 emigrated to Weakley County, Tenn., where he remained until his death in 1868, at the age of seventy-four years. The mother died in January, 1881, at an advanced age. C. C. Wade remained with his parents until he was twenty-two years of age, when he engaged in business for himself as a farmer in the southern part of Graves County, where he purchased a tract of land, on which he resided for a period of fourteen years, when he disposed of his farm and bought his present beautiful place in Lynnville Precinct, which has been his home ever since. This farm comprises 200 acres of fertile land, and is justly considered one of the best plantations in southern Graves. Mr. Wade was married October 19, 1852, to Mary Ann, daughter of James and Sarah (Filgro) McCuan, the former a native of Tennessee and the latter of Kentucky. Mr. and Mrs. Wade are the parents of the following children: Sallie Ann, Mary Jane (deceased), James Hampton, Ady, B. R., William C., George W., Virginia C. and Florence Lee. Mr. Wade is an active member of Lynnville Lodge, No. 408, A. F. & A. M. In politics he is a liberal Democrat, voting for the man rather than the party. The dates of birth of Mr. Wade and family are as follows: C. C. Wade, born May 24, 1829; Mary A. Wade, born November 13, 1827; Sallie Ann Wade, born August 11, 1853; Mary Jane Wade, born October 9, 1854; James Hampton Wade, born August 21, 1856; Ada Wade, born November 26, 1858; B. R. Wade, born August 29, 1860; William C. Wade, born October 16, 1862; George W. Wade, born November 26, 1864; Virginia C. Wade, born July 15, 1868; Florence L. Wade, born June 13, 1873.

JOHN B. WATSON, farmer, Graves County, was born September 23, 1834, in Davidson County, Tenn., and is the eldest of eight children born to William and Mary (Pierce) Watson, also natives of Tennessee. William Watson, father of our subject, was the son of William and Lucy Ann (Phipps) Watson. John B. came to this county with his parents in 1842, remained on the home farm until eighteen years of age, and then began farming on his own account. November 24, 1852, he married Sarah Jane Pryor, of Graves County, and daughter of Blanton and Catherine (Clapps) Pryor, natives of Alabama and of Dutch descent. To this union were born eight children: William R. (deceased), John F. (deceased), Thomas H., Francis L. and Mary A. (both deceased), Eudora C. (now Mrs. Spess), a seventh child deceased, and James L. Two years after his marriage Mr. Watson removed to Mississippi County, Mo., where he resided eleven years. In 1867 he located on his present farm of eighty acres in Graves County. Mrs. Watson died in December, 1865, aged thirty-three years, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In April, 1868, Mr. Watson married Mary Jane Suit, of Missouri, a native of Graves County, Ky., and daughter of Bartlett and Alcy (Nanney) Suit, natives of Tennessee. To this marriage have also been born eight

children: Eolian May, Altha M., Lena O., Alcy M., Isaac G., Bertha E., Iva M. and an eighth child, deceased. Mr. Watson has served as justice of the peace, and is a much esteemed citizen.

N. B. WATTS was born May 15, 1837, in Missouri. He is a son of Wesley and Mary C. (Bressie) Watts. The father was born in middle Tennessee; he died in 1841, aged thirty-six years. The mother was born in 1801 in Virginia and is now living with her son in Mayfield. The family came to Graves County, in 1838 and engaged in farming; this business he continued until 1880, when the Watts Brothers opened a general family grocery and have since been successfully engaged at this business. N. B. Watts was married in December, 1860, to Miss Elizabeth Pritchard of Graves County. They have six children—five daughters and one son, John W., now express agent at this place. Mr. Watts is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

JAMES T. WEBB was born June 8, 1853, in Graves County, and is a son of J. G. and Mary (Dunbar) Webb. The father was born in Warren County, and about 1848 came to this county, where he still resides on his farm. James T. Webb spent the first eighteen years of his life on his father's farm, at which time he began teaching school, which he continued for five years. In 1876 he began the study of law with Judge R. H. Williams and was admitted to the bar in 1877, since which time he has been practicing with marked success. He was married in December, 1878, to Mrs. M. N. Johnston, of Graves County. They have had two children, one of whom is living. Mrs. Webb has two children by her first husband.

AMOS WEST was born September 27, 1837, in Logan County, Ky. He is a son of Richard and Amy (Williamson) West. The father was born in Logan County, and died March 4, 1841, at the age of thirty-five. The mother was born in Virginia, and died in June, 1880, aged sixty-seven. Amos West came to Graves County with his mother in 1846, and assisted on her farm and attended the neighboring schools. After attending the Linden Seminary, Tennessee, he returned to Graves County, where he taught school for three years. At the breaking out of the war, he entered the Confederate Army, and in February, 1862, he was promoted to the rank of second lieutenant, which position he held until the close of the war, when he returned to Mayfield and secured a position as clerk with Smith & McElrath. He remained with the firm for two years, then with Mr. Hobson opened a grocery store, at the same time handling leaf tobacco. After continuing in the business for three years he sold out his interest in the grocery business. He was appointed by Judge Crossland circuit court commissioner, and held the position for two years. Mr. West was married on December 20, 1870, to Olivia Collins of Mayfield by whom he has two children—one son and one daughter. Mr. West is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

JOSIAH C. WILLIAMS is a native of Hickman County, Ky., and was born February 5, 1833. In 1847 he was brought by his parents to Graves County, where he still resides. He is the son of Jordan C., and Salley D. (Boaz) Williams, whose children are Thomas S., subject, Joshua, Martha E. (Ladd), Polly A. (Starks), Robert, Lydia F. (Cannon) and Samuel. Subject was married December 20, 1854, to Miss Parthena A., daughter of Isaac and Betsey A. (Gray) Cannon of Graves County, and to them have been born William T. (deceased), Isaac J., Sallie A. (Carter), Martha C. (deceased), Jo. N., Joshua, John B., Robert, Horace K., Earnest (deceased) and a son unnamed, born February 5, 1883. Mr. Williams is a farmer and an extensive dealer in produce and live stock. He is the owner of 360 acres of good land in a splendid state of cultivation.

LEVI C. WILLIAMS, Graves County, was born in Davidson County, Tenn., November 26, 1828, where he was reared until 1845, when he removed with his parents to Fayette County, and in 1852 came to Graves County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Freeman Williams, a native of Dinwiddie County, Va., settled in Tennessee about 1800, and died in 1847, aged eighty-four years. He was the son of a Revolutionary soldier. Freeman's wife, Martha Coleman of Virginia, died in 1840, aged seventy years. Their children are Jordan C., Joseph, Harbert, Susan S. (Vaught), Joshua, Clem W., Nancy (Carper), Luke L., Rachel G., William N., subject and Berry P. On May 4, 1858, subject was married to Mrs. Mary F. Walthall (born November 20, 1834), daughter of W. C. and Mary A. (Mott) Scofield of Graves County, Ky., and to them have been born Martha A. (Pullen), Sarah L. (deceased), Mary T. (Roberts), Harbert L., and Cordelia (deceased). Subject is a farmer, having 270 acres of good land, in first-class condition. He is a worthy member of the A. F. & A. M., a member of the Christian Church, and a Democrat.

WILLIAM JEROME WILLINGHAM was born June 6, 1836, in Graves County, Ky.,

where he still resides. His father, Alexander H. Willingham, was a native of Henderson County, Ky., born in 1809, and died in Webster County, in 1882, a State senator at the time of his death. He carried the first United States Mail from Wadesboro to Iron Banks (now Columbus), Ky., was sheriff many years, and six times represented Graves County in the legislature. He was the son of Isaac, a Virginian, one of the first settlers in the Purchase. Subject's mother, Mary H. (Murray) Willingham, of Henderson County, died in 1850, at the age of thirty-nine years. Alexander H. was thrice married, and his child by his first wife is Pulaski M. By his second marriage: subject, James M., Benton P., Mary E. (Hardwick), Robert and Nancy E. Willingham. By his third wife: Amey J. (Walker and Couch), Kittie A. (Hall), Campbell H., Lucy A. and Susan A. (Eades). In youth subject was favored with a good education and is an extensive reader. He was married, in 1865, to Miss Sarah A., daughter of J. W. Willingham of Graves County. She was born September 29, 1847, and died January 12, 1872. From this union sprang William M. and Jennie R. On January 6, 1876, subject married Miss Maggie E., daughter of William R. and Mary A. (Burges) Roach, of Franklin County, Mo. (born October 29, 1850), and to them were born: James S., Bessie R., Oscar T., Daisey and Grover Cleveland. Mr. Willingham, our subject, commenced merchandising at Water Valley in 1874, and has been very successful. He served four years during the late war in the Twelfth Tennessee and Third Kentucky Infantry, Confederate cause. In politics he is a Democrat.

DANIEL WILSON, Graves County, was born December 22, 1807, in Mecklenburgh County, Va., and is the third of nine children born to William and Fannie (Moore), natives respectively of Amelia and Mecklenburgh Counties in the State named. The father was the son of Daniel and Sarah (Gresham) Wilson; the mother, daughter of George and Millie (Owen) Moore. In 1830 Daniel Wilson came on horseback to Trigg County, Ky., where he passed about two years superintending farm hands; thence he went to Christian County, and was one of the first to raise yellow tobacco in the counties named. In the fall of 1832 he returned to Virginia; in 1834, went to Fayette County, Tenn.; in the spring of 1835 he again came to Christian County, Ky., where he remained until 1846, when he moved to Trigg County and settled on a farm he had purchased in 1835. In 1854 he sold out and came to Graves County, and purchased 240 acres of his present farm. Notwithstanding the loss of some ten or twelve negroes by the war, he has since increased it to about 600 acres and improved it with substantial buildings. October 12, 1840, Mr. Wilson married Nancy C. Richardson of Trigg County, Ky. but a native of Pittsylvania County, Va., and daughter of Henry and Biggie (Waddle) Richardson. By this union Mr. Wilson had born to him eight children: Mary F. (now Green), Cornelia H. (now Stampel), W. M. Marshall, John O., D. B., Calhorine J. (now Wright), and Lula. The family are all members of the Baptist Church—Mr. Wilson for upwards of fifty-one years.

DANIEL B. WILSON, farmer, was born in Graves County, Ky., February 26, 1859, and is the sixth in a family of eight children —four boys and four girls—all living—born to Daniel and Caroline (Richardson) Wilson, natives of Virginia. (Fuller genealogical details are given in the sketch of Daniel Wilson above.) Our subject was fairly educated at the district schools, and at Mayfield, but was chiefly engaged on the home farm, until his marriage, December 6, 1883, to Miss Rena Leech, daughter of William and Nancy (Hughes) Leech, natives of Tennessee and Kentucky respectively, and of English extraction. Mrs. Rena Wilson for three years attended school at McKenzie, Tennessee, and is now a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Wilson is a member of the Baptist Church. He is the owner of 225 acres of good land, of which 150 acres are under cultivation and furnished with good buildings. He makes a specialty of breeding short-horn cattle and Berkshire hogs and is one of the most progressive young men of his district.

WILLIAM T. WIMAN, Graves County, a native of Meade County, Ky., was born January 18, 1832, and is the third of fifteen children of Milton S. and Elizabeth (Thorp) Wiman, natives of Washington County, Ky., and of Dutch and Scotch descent respectively. December 16, 1852, he married Miss Amanda M., daughter of James and Elizabeth (Fulgham) Lamm, natives of Tennessee, and to his union with her were born twelve children: John M., Minerva A. (now Maxey), Margaret E., a fourth child never named, William A., George H., Thomas O., James A., Mary E., Hattie A., Walter G. and Holly O. The parents of Mr. Wiman brought him to Graves County when he was but a year and a half old, and settled upon 320 acres of land, unimproved, save by a little cabin and one and a half acres of cleared land near where our

subject now resides. Milton S. Wiman and three of his sons were Missionary Baptist preachers, and of this church subject and wife and six of his children are members. Milton S., a pioneer preacher, preached in every community of the Purchase, and died December 10, 1863, at the age of fifty-five years. William T. has been a deacon and clerk of the church and is now a lettered member. He owns 132 acres of land and is highly respected in the community.

DR. JOHN R. WINSTON, physician and druggist, was born in Dresden, Tenn., in January, 1840. His parents were George and Hixie D. (White) Winston, both natives of North Carolina. The father was a hatter by trade, and served as a private a short time in the war of 1812. His death occurred in 1866, at about the age of ninety-seven years. He and wife were life-long members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was one of the charter members of the Washingtonian movement in Dresden, and was a great temperance worker all his life. His extreme old age gave conclusive proof of a sober and virtuous life. The mother died with measles in 1844, at the age of fifty years. These parents had four children —James M. and the doctor are the only ones now living. Our subject began for himself at the age of sixteen years. He worked on the farm as a hand, and soon began teaching. He left the school-room at the breaking out of the civil war to enter the Confederate States Army service, and in that service continued until his time, one year, was completed. He next enlisted in the Union Army as private for three years, or during the war. After serving three months he was promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant of the regiment. This position he held twelve months, when his health failed, and he was honorably discharged July 25, 1863. He then went to Ann Arbor, Mich., and took treatment while attending the medical department of that institution. He next went to Pryorsburg, Ky., practiced his profession a short time, then joined the Capitol Guard Regiment, under the call of Gov. Bramlette. In this regiment he performed the duties of assistant surgeon in the State Hospital, and was there when the war closed. He then returned to west Tennessee, and practiced two years, then came to Wingo, where he has resided ever since. He was a practicing physician nearly fourteen years when he opened the present drug store, in which he is doing quite a successful business. He does an extensive prescription business, and gives special attention to chronic diseases. The doctor is an outspoken temperance man. He was married October 6, 1867, to Miss Mary J. Baucom, of Tennessee. Minnie C., Martha A., Nellie S., John S. and George are his children. Mrs. Winston is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church; the doctor is a member of the Swedenborgen Church, and is also a member of the Masonic order and I.O.O.F.

W. A. YARBROUGH was born December 30, 1826, in Stewart County, Tenn. He is a son of George and Lucretia (Stokes) Yarbrough. The father was born in North Carolina. He came to Graves County in 1832, engaged in merchandising, a few years later in farming. This he continued till his death, which occurred in July, 1848, at the age of fifty-five. The mother was born in North Carolina; she died February 13, 1884, aged eighty-seven years. W. A. Yarbrough was brought up on his father's farm, and has always followed the business of farming. In August, 1878, he was elected sheriff and re-elected in 1880. He was married May 3, 1848, to Elizabeth Leech of Graves County. She died January 28, 1881, leaving three sons and two daughters. His second marriage was in April 3, 1884, to Miss M. E. Purdy of this county, Mr. Yarbrough is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

HICKMAN COUNTY.

S. G. ARNOLD, Clinton, Hickman County, was born in Wythe County, Va., March 29, 1854. He is a son of A. S. and L. H. (Bartley) Arnold, both natives of the same county and State. In the fall of 1862 the family came to Clinton. Here A. S. Arnold held the office of deputy sheriff from 1862 to 1867, after which he was elected sheriff and served in this capacity until 1871; he was elected a member of the legislature in 1871, and served one term. Soon after coming to Clinton he engaged in merchandising, and was also extensively engaged in handling cotton until 1868. He died April 27, 1880, aged fifty-one. Our subject owns a farm where he now lives, which joins Clinton on the west. It consists of seventy acres well improved. He was married in February, 1879, to Miss Kittie Perry, of Clinton. This union is blessed with two children—one son and one daughter.

T. W. ASHLEY was born in Hickman County October 30, 1839. He is the son of Dr. C. M. Ashley, who was a native of Virginia and who about 1828 came to this county, engaged in farming and also followed his profession and merchandising; he died in September, 1883, aged seventy-nine. Our subject was reared on his father's farm; at the age of eighteen he entered the store of W. F. Wooldridge as clerk; there he remained until 1866, at which time he commenced business for himself and has since continued. In 1880 he, with Jacob White, built the Opera House block. Mr. Ashley now owns the store he occupies in this block, also one-half interest in the opera house. He held the office of postmaster from 1866 to August, 1882. He was married in December, 1869, to Miss M. C. Bradley, of Clinton. This union has been blessed with five children—two sons and three daughters. Both parents are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

EDWARD W. AVEY was born in Memphis, Tenn., August 18, 1841, and is the second of five children born to John R. and Margaret (Cunningham) Avey, natives of Indiana and of German and English descent, respectively. John R. Avey soon after his marriage, in about 1835, moved to Memphis, Tenn., where he was engaged in shipping produce by flat-boats to all points on the Mississippi River until his death in 1848. His widow departed this life in 1870. She was a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. When but seven years old, Edward W. Avey was thrown upon his own resources and subsequently the support of a widowed mother and several younger brothers and sisters devolved mainly on him. In the latter part of 1848 the family removed to Louisville, Ky., and from thence in 1849 to Meade County, Ky., where our subject was engaged in burning lime. In 1857 they removed to Breckinridge County, Ky., where he was also again engaged in the lime business. In the early part of 1858 they removed to Hawesville, Hancock Co., Ky., and in the fall of the same year came to Columbus, Hickman Co , Ky. From that time until the breaking out of the late civil war our subject was engaged in steamboating on the Mississippi River. During the time that the Confederate forces held Columbus, he kept a sutler's store near the fort on the bluff overlooking the city. After the withdrawal of the Confederate line, he clerked in his brother's grocery store for a time. He then passed a summer in Louisville, and in 1863–64 he was engaged in farming near Columbus, but the latter year his crop was almost wholly destroyed by a bandit. He then returned to Columbus in 1866; he commenced boating and huckstering on the Mississippi and continued the same for several years. He was then elected marshal of the city of Columbus and served for nearly two years. In 1877 he opened a hardware store at Columbus, and has been engaged in that business ever since. He carries a large and well selected stock of stoves, shelf and heavy hardware, tinware, etc., amounting to about $3,500. He also owns a similar establishment at Clinton, which carries a stock of some $2,500. Mr. Avey was married February 11, 1863, to Miss Anna B. Alexander, a native of Hickman County, Ky. Six children have blessed this union—four sons and two daughters—all of whom are yet living. Mr. Avey and wife are members of the Baptist Church. He also takes a lively interest in Sunday-school work, having been superintendent and teacher in the Baptist Sunday-school

for several years. He is also a member of the K. of H. In politics he is a Democrat.

W. T. BARNES, Hickman County, was born in Nash County, N C., September 21, 1817. He is a son of Benjamin and Temperance (Taylor) Barnes, natives of Nash County, their parents having in an early day immigrated to that county from Virginia. In 1827 the father came to Kentucky and settled in what was then Hickman (now Fulton) County. There he remained nine years, and then moved to Mississippi. In that State he lived only two years, and then moved to Weakley County, Tenn., where he died in November, 1846; the mother died in the May preceding. W. T. Barnes is the eldest son of fifteen children, of whom but six are now living. He remained in Tennessee until 1842, when he came to Fulton County, Ky. He resided there ten years, when he came to this county, and purchased his present farm of 220 acres. He also owns about 160 acres in Graves County. Of the whole there are about 215 acres in cultivation. Mr. Barnes was married in Fulton County, Ky., in September, 1842, to Miss Mary Newton, a daughter of William and Anna (Titsworth) Newton, natives of Tennessee. This lady died in May, 1843, in Stewart County, Tenn. In March, 1845, Mr. Barnes married Miss Fannie A. Weaks, a daughter of William and Polly (Adkins) Weaks, and born in Stewart County; the parents were from Virginia and were among the early settlers of Clarksville. Mrs. Barnes became the mother of eight children, of whom five are now living: Benjamin L., in Graves County; Mary T., wife of E. W. Stevenson; Donna M., wife of Frank B. T. Holland, of Humphreys County, Tenn.; Emma M. and William T. This lady died in 1871. Mr. Barnes was next married, September 20, 1874, in Weakley County, Tenn., to Mrs. Rebecca A. Stevenson, a daughter of John and Holland (Bowden) Olive, natives of North Carolina, the father being of English descent, the mother of Irish. Mr. Barnes served as magistrate ten years before the war, and has served two years since as such. He and wife are members of the Primitive Baptist Church.

JOB BARTON was born in Monroe County, N. Y., January 20, 1824, and is the sixth child of a large family of children born to Wrescom P. and Dimmis (Phillips) Barton, both of whom were natives of New York, and of English descent. Wrescom P. Barton was educated and married in his native State, where in early life he learned the millwright's trade, which, in connection with farming, he followed all his life. His death occurred in 1840; he and wife were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Job Barton, at the age of about eighteen or twenty years, commenced to work at the millwright's trade, having learned the same with his father and brother. In 1842 he removed to Stony Creek, Ontario, where he remained about one year. He then removed to Waterloo Township, near Guelph, Canada, where he resided for a short time. He continued to follow his trade at various points in Canada until September, 1865, when he came to Hickman County, Ky., where he bought a farm two miles east of Columbus, and has since been employed in agricultural pursuits, fruit-growing, and at his trade. He was married, February 18, 1851, at Wellington Square, near Hamilton, Canada, to Miss Amelia M. Morgan, a native of New York. Twelve children blessed their union, six of whom, four sons and two daughters, are yet living. Both Mr. Barton and wife are devoted and consistent members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is also an earnest advocate of the temperance cause, and in politics he is a Republican.

DR. GEORGE BEELER, Hickman County, was born December 21, 1830, in Jefferson County, Ky. He is a son of George and Hannah (Stansbury) Beeler. The father was born in east Tennessee and died in 1850, aged sixty-seven years. The mother was born in Bullitt County, Ky., and died December 21, 1830. Mr. Beeler, being the son of a farmer, was thoroughly drilled in farm work when comparatively a boy. He remained on his father's farm in Jefferson County until 1851, but being ambitious to acquire a more thorough education than could be had in the common schools of his neighborhood, he was influenced by a dear friend and former preceptor, Simon Snyder, to enter Clinton Seminary, an institution of learning in Clinton, Hickman Co., Ky., where he remained until January, 1853, and then commenced the study of medicine under Dr. John S. Ray, of Clinton. After one year's study he went to Louisville and continued his studies with Dr. Robert Breckinridge, proffessor of *Materia Medica* in the Kentucky School of Medicine. After taking a preliminary course in the Kentucky School of Medicine, he went to Lexington where he entered the medical department of Transylvania University. He graduated in the class of 1855 and then returned to Clinton, where he practiced until the following fall; he then went to Philadelphia and took a course of medical lectures in the Jefferson Medical College and received his second degree from

that institution, in March, 1856. He then returned to Clinton, where he has been since, actively engaged in his chosen profession. Dr. Beeler was married November 18, 1856, to Viola Whayne, of Ballard County, Ky. This union has been blessed with an interesting family of children, of whom two sons and five daughters are living, Blanche the eldest is the wife of the Rev. J. W. Higbee, of Mexico, Mo., and Love is the wife of J. L. Moss, county clerk of Hickman County. The doctor has been president of the Southwestern Kentucky Medical Association, twice vice president of the State Medical Association and is a permanent member of the District, State and American Medical Associations; during the war of the Rebellion he was post surgeon during the occupation of Clinton by the Federal forces under Col. Moore, Maj. Moore and Maj. Hendrix. He is also a member of the Christian Church.

HENRY BERBLING, Hickman County, was born February 13, 1847, in the town of Herbolzheim near the city of Freiberg, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany. In 1862 he was apprenticed to the pottery trade, at which he served three years as apprentice; he afterward traveled over Germany and Switzerland as a journeyman potter, as was then the custom. In the fall of 1867 he was drafted for the army, but was not called into service until 1869, when he decided to try the new world instead of wearing the emperor's coat. Accordingly he came to America and stopped in Evansville, Ind., where he worked at his trade until 1876, when he came to Columbus, and has been here in business ever since. Mr. Berbling is a member of the city council and of the K. of H. He was married in the fall of 1869 to Bernhardina Keppner; she was born in the same town as Mr. Berbling. They have four children: Charles H., Henry J. Rosa and Augusta.

G. J. BINFORD was born in this county October 5, 1830, and is a son of Robert S. and Mary Ann (Jarratt) Binford. The father was a native of Goochland County, Va., and came to this county in 1827, being one of the earliest settlers here. He was killed here in 1837, while making the senatorial race from this district. His brother, Thomas Binford, was the first man to erect a house in the vicinity of Clinton. Gideon J. Binford grew to manhood on the farm. His means of education were so limited that he never attended school a year altogether. However, he has educated himself to a considerable extent, and is what might be called a self-made man. When a young man he moved to Fulton County, where in 1858 he was elected one of the magistrates of the county, and served in that capacity until the breaking out of the war. August, 1861, he raised a company of infantry from this county and Fulton, which was placed in the Seventh Regiment, Confederate States Army, and he was made captain of Company B. He was wounded at the battle of Shiloh and disabled from infantry duty. As soon as he was able he returned to Clinton, and made up a company of cavalry which formed part of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Confederate States Army. He served with this regiment until February, 1865, when he was taken prisoner and remained in confinement until the close of the war. Upon his return to this county, he farmed two years, and then turned his attention to merchandising, settling at Moscow. He followed that business until the spring of 1874, and in August of the same year was elected to the office of county judge, was re-elected and served until 1882. In August, 1883, he was elected representative to the legislature from this county and Fulton, and is still serving in that capacity. He also owns a farm of 292 acres, situated one mile southeast of Clinton, about 150 acres being in cultivation. Mr. Binford was married in March, 1852, to Miss Mary S. May, of Fayette County, Tenn. She died in April, 1854, leaving one son. His second marriage was in October, 1858, to Miss Mathina Wall, of Fulton County, Ky. This lady died in 1866, leaving two children, a son and a daughter. In December, 1867, Capt. Binford married Miss Lucy Hicks, of Fulton County, who died in January, 1869. In December, 1869, he was married to Miss Anna A. Hall of this county. This union has been blessed with seven children, one son and six daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Binford are members of the Christian Church. He is also a member of the I. O. O. F. and of the A. F. & A. M.

J. HAYS BLAIR was born September 22, 1833, in Rutherford County, Tenn. He is a son of Ralph A. and Asenath (McFadden) Blair. The father was born in Pittsylvania County, Va., and died August 26, 1860, aged sixty-seven. The mother was born in Davidson County, Tenn.; she died in August, 1860, aged sixty-four. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, where he remained until 1862, when he enlisted in Company A, Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, and served until the end of the war, after which he returned to the farm, remaining there two years; in 1867 he came to Hickman County, where he now owns 800

acres of land; he also owns a comfortable residence in Clinton, where he resides, with about six acres of land; also about twelve acres of land near the depot, and other property in the town. He has held the office of magistrate about eight years. Mr. Blair was married November 21, 1867, to Sarah A. Latta, of this county; they have had four children, three living. He is a life-long and devoted member of the United Baptist Church, and Mrs. Blair is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

WILLIAM C. BLAIR was born September 10, 1826, in Humphreys County, Tenn., and came with his parents, in 1838, to Hickman County, Ky., where he still resides. His father, James M. Blair, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1804, removed to Tennessee in childhood, and died in 1844. He was the son of Hughey, who died about 1832, aged eighty-four years. James M. married Nancy, daughter of E. A. Ballard, born in 1805, and died in 1829, and our subject is the result of this union. To James M. and second wife were born: Nancy C., Martha A., Sarah J., Elizabeth C. and James A. At the age of eighteen, William C. Blair began flatboating, and followed that in connection with steamboating for four years, on the Mississippi River. He then followed farming until the beginning of the war, and after the war he engaged in the stock business for about four years; then in lumber trade, and of late years he has given his undivided attention to farming, in which he has been successful. March 29, 1848, subject was married to Miss Mary E., daughter of Richard and Martha (Perkison) Dickens, of Hickman County, and to them have been born George C. (deceased), William L. (deceased), Martha K. (Salmon), Mary W. (Salmon), Robert M., Elizabeth E. and Susan K. Two nephews, Weldon and William L. Benthil, are also members of his family. Subject is an extensive farmer and stockdealer, owning 1,400 acres of good land, 700 of which are in a high state of cultivation. He is a member of the Christian Church, and in politics is a Democrat.

WILLIAM S. BLESINGAM was born in Perry County, Tenn., October 17, 1844, and is one of ten children born to John and Jane (Bates) Blesingam, the former a native of Alabama, and the latter of Tennessee. They were of Scotch and German descent, respectively. John Blesingam, when a young man, removed to Perry County, Tenn., where he was married and soon afterward engaged in steamboating on the Mississippi River and tributaries, which he continued, in connection with farming, for a number of years. His death occurred in May, 1854, in his forty-fourth year. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church. William S. Blesingam was employed on his father's farm until he was twenty-two years old. He then engaged in the saloon business at Troy, Tenn , which he continued for two years; thence he removed to Moscow, Hickman Co., Ky., where he was engaged in the same business for some six or seven years. In January, 1878, he removed to Belmont, Mo., where he continued the saloon business until the spring of 1884. He then came across the river to Columbus, Ky., where he opened a saloon and is doing a good business. In August, 1864, he enlisted in Company I, Ninth Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, Confederate service, and served under Gens. Forrest and Wheeler until the close of the war. Mr. Blesingam is a member of no church, but belongs to the I. O. O. F. In politics he is a Democrat.

W. F. BOONE was born November 12, 1826, in Davidson County, Tenn.; soon after this the family came to Graves County, Ky. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, and at the age of sixteen he commenced to learn the carpenter trade; this he has since followed. In 1851 he came to Hickman County; in 1856 he was elected county judge; he held this position for twelve years, and has also held the office of master commissioner of the circuit court twelve years. Judge Boone was married in 1848 to Agnes Aloway of Wilson County, Tenn.; these parents have had twelve children, nine sons and three daughters, and are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

E. E. BOWERS, postmaster, was born March 24, 1843, in Dresden, Weakley County, Tenn. He enlisted in 1862 in Company K, Sixth Tennessee Cavalry, Union Army, and served three years, when he received an honorable discharge. In 1867 he went to Moscow, where he was engaged in merchandising most of the time until 1880, when he came to Clinton, where he has since been engaged in merchandising; he was appointed postmaster in 1882, which office he has since held. Mr. Bowers was married in 1868 to Lydia May of Enterprise, Miss.

J. E. BOWERS was born in Dresden, Weakley County, Tenn., October 8, 1846, and is a son of Giles and Rebecca (Adams) Bowers. The father was born in North Carolina, and at about the age of eighteen moved to Tennessee, where he lived till his death, at the age of sixty-two. The mother was born in Tennessee, and is now living

with her sons in Clinton. In 1869 our subject came to Clinton, where he has since been engaged in merchandising. His store is the largest in Hickman County, being 24x125 feet, and he is doing a business of about $30,000 a year. He enlisted in 1862 in Company K, Sixth Tennessee Cavalry, United States Army, and served until the end of the war. Mr. Bowers was married in 1872 to Miss Nannie Boone, of Clinton. They are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and Mr. Bowers is a member of the I. O. O. F. and K. of H.

WILLIS R. BRADLEY, Hickman County, deceased, was born in Christian County, Ky., February 12, 1821. About the age of twenty he commenced the study of law with R. L. Mayes, of Mayfield, and there was admitted to the bar. In about 1857 he removed to Columbus and there followed his profession until 1861, when he removed to a farm, remaining there until 1865, when he came to Clinton and practiced law until his death, which occurred in 1881. He was married in 1845, at Mayfield, to Ann E. Rodgers, born in Williamson County, Tenn. They had five children, three living: Dr. Eugene Willis Bradley, a graduate of the Louisville Medical College, now engaged in farming; Kate, now the wife of T. W. Ashley, of Clinton; and Miss Nettie. They are members of the Presbyterian Church.

CAPT. L. T. BRADLEY was born December 28, 1835, in Trumbull County, Ohio. He is the son of John W. and Mary A. (Cook) Bradley. The father was born in Chester, Penn.; his early life was passed in a carriage shop, and later he engaged in preaching. He died February 13, 1876, in White County, Ill. Our subject was reared in Meigs County, Ohio. In 1857 he went to New Orleans, there engaged in steamboating until 1861, and during the war had charge of a government steamer, after which he was captain of the steamer "General Anderson," running from Columbus to Cairo. The past fifteen years he has been captain of the transfer steamer "St. Louis," at this point, and owned by the I. M. R. R. Capt. Bradley was married in 1866 to Miss E. M. Sanders, of Meigs County, Ohio. Six children have blessed this union, three sons and three daughters. The captain is a member of the K. of H. and K. & L. H.

OSCAR F. BRIDGMAN, of Hickman County, was born in North Carolina, August 2, 1835, and is one of fourteen children born to Joshua and Elizabeth (Beasley) Bridgman, the former of whom was a native of the "Old Dominion," and the latter of North Carolina. They were of German and English descent, respectively. Joshua Bridgman, when a young man, removed to North Carolina, where he was afterward married, and where he was engaged in planting until about 1840, when he came with his family to Hickman County, Ky., and bought a farm near the present site of the village of Oakton, where he resided for some five or six years. He then removed to the southern part of Ballard County, Ky., where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits until his death, which occurred December 3, 1883, in his eightieth year. Oscar F. Bridgman was employed on his father's farm until he was twenty-one years old. He then farmed on shares in Ballard County for a short time, after which he removed to Massac County, Ill., where he bought a farm and resided for about two years. He then returned to Ballard County, Ky., where he remained until 1875, when he came to Hickman County. Here he farmed on a rented farm for about three years, and then bought a farm some two miles east of Columbus, where he resides. He was married in 1858 to Miss Margaret A. Thomas, a native of Robertson County, Ky. Eight children have blessed their union, six of whom, three sons and three daughters, are yet living. Both Mr. Bridgman and wife are members of the Baptist Church. In politics he is a Republican.

COL. THOMAS BROWN, of Hickman County, was born September 1, 1819, in Henry County, Ky. He is the son of Thomas and Nancy (Chenault) Brown. The father was a native of Ireland, and when a boy he came to Philadelphia and secured employment in a mercantile house; some years later he removed to New Castle, Ky., where he engaged extensively in merchandising; he died in 1865, aged eighty. The mother was born in Madison county, Ky., in 1790; she died in 1854, in New Castle. Our subject represented Henry County in the legislature during the session of 1849–50. He was for many years a resident of Missouri. During the late war he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel, commanding the first division of the First Missouri Infantry, Confederate States Army. After the war he made one crop in Claiborne County, Miss., after which he came to Columbus, where he has since resided. He owns and controls over 2,000 acres of land in Ballard County. He was married in 1856 to Nannie K. Hunter, a grand-daughter of Joseph Hunter, and was appointed by Jefferson a member of the first council held in Missouri Territory. This lady was born in Mississippi

County, Mo., and died in Columbus in February, 1868, aged thirty-two, leaving four children, two sons and two daughters. Col. Brown's second marriage was in October, 1871, to Mrs. Ann B. (Vance) Ford. Five children have blessed this union, two sons and three daughters. This last wife died May 5, 1885. Judge William R. Vance, the father-in-law of our subject, was born December 5, 1805, in Jefferson County, Ky. His father was born in Virginia in 1771, and moved to Jefferson County in 1798. He was a minister of the Presbyterian denomination, as well as one of the earlier Presbyterian ministers of the State. He died September 18, 1829. Judge Vance engaged in merchandising at about the age of twenty-five, continuing about ten years. He was a member of the legislature and state senate, and from 1847 to 1851 was mayor of Louisville. He was marshal of the chancery court of Louisville, and United States pension agent for three years. In 1856 he removed to Ballard County, and was elected county judge. In 1858 he came to Columbus; here he has been mayor for several terms, also city attorney. He has been for many years elder of the Presbyterian Church. Judge Vance died April 23, 1885.

DR. THOMAS D. BRYAN was born September 21, 1851, in Fulton County, Ky., where he grew to manhood; in 1881 he came to Hickman County, where he now resides. His father, Dr. William A. Bryant, a native of Pittsylvania County, Va., removed to Tennessee in youth, and at the age of twenty-three years to Fulton County, Ky., where he died in 1876, at the age of fifty-three years. He was the son of John Bryan, a soldier in the war of 1812. Dr. William A. married Rebecca A., daughter of Ralph and A. C. (McFadden) Blair, of Rutherford County, Tenn.; she died in 1874, having borne the following children: Susan F. (Wills), Asenath J. (Wright), James R., subject, John F., Nathan T., Robert A., Josiah, Samuel B., Mollie R. and Sallie R. On November 23, 1876, Thomas D. was married to Miss Georgia A., daughter of John and Elizabeth E. (Simmons) Hester, of Obion County, Tenn. She was born November 7, 1858. In 1875 subject commenced the study of medicine with his father, and attended lectures at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., in 1879, and graduated in 1881. Dr. Bryan then settled at his present location, where he has met with reasonable success in the practice of his profession. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, also of the Baptist Church, and in politics he is a Democrat.

JUDGE EDWARD I. BULLOCK was born in Gloucester County, Va., February 15, 1810. He was a son of Edward Bullock, a native of the "Old Dominion," of Irish descent and one of the leading farmers of Gloucester County, where he resided until his death. Our subject graduated from the William and Mary College in 1829, and immediately after removed to Cumberland County, Ky., where he remained a short time, and then removed to Jamestown, Russell County. There he was for a time engaged in surveying and afterward studied law. In 1834 he represented Russell county in the lower house of the legislature; afterward he was appointed commonwealth's attorney, and during that time prosecuted the famous Wilkinson case brought from Louisville to Shelby County on a change of venue. In 1841 he removed to Mills' Point, now Hickman, where he practiced his profession and was chosen county attorney. He also edited for several years the Hickman *Argus*. In 1850 he came to Clinton, Hickman County. where he resided until 1856, when he settled at Columbus. Here he practiced his profession until his death, February 15, 1883. In 1856 Judge Bullock was the Whig elector for the First Kentucky District. In 1861 he started the *Confederate News* at Columbus. In 1862, when the Confederate Army evacuated Columbus, he went to Richmond, Va., where he remained until 1864. He then returned to Columbus. In 1866 he was appointed judge of the First Judicial Circuit of Kentucky, to fill out the unexpired term of C. S. Marshall. In 1873 he was appointed by the governor one of three commissioners to revise the general statutes of Kentucky. In 1832 Judge Bullock was united in marriage to Maria S. Emerson, a native of Kentucky, and of German descent. Ten children were the result of this union, five of whom, one son and four daughters, are yet living. Judge Bullock was a member of the Episcopal Church, also of the A. F. & A M. and R. A. M. He was one of the early pioneers as well as one of the popular lawyers of the Purchase District, and one of the ablest jurists in the State.

EDWARD T. BULLOCK, the only surviving son of Judge Edward I. Bullock, was born in Fulton County, Ky., September 13, 1847. At the age of nineteen he graduated at the State University of Missouri, at Columbia, after which he was deputy circuit clerk of Hickman County for one and a half years. He then commenced the study of law under the instruction of L. D. Husbands, of Paducah. In 1869 he was admitted to the bar, practiced at Paducah until 1873, when

he moved to Columbus, Ky., where he has since practiced his profession with excellent success. From 1869 to 1873 he was master commissioner of the McCracken County circuit court. Mr. Bullock is and has been for four years city attorney for Columbus, and was a member of the Democratic Central County Committee for two years. He has also held the office of county examiner. He was married April 24, 1871, to Miss Bettey Pettitt, a native of Caldwell County, Ky. One son has been left to him. Mrs. Bullock departed this life in January, 1874. She was a devoted member of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Bullock is a member of the K. of H., of which order he is L. D. D. In politics he is a Democrat.

R. J. BUGG was born in this county, February 29, 1844, and is a son of Jesse and Mary O. (Evans) Bugg. The father was born in Muhlenburg County, Va., April 10, 1820, and came with his father, James Bugg, to this county in 1823. The latter settled in McCalister Precinct, on the farm now owned by M. H. Hardin. He subsequently moved to the Goodjoin Precinct, where he resided for many years. He died in this district in 1858, at a good old age. Subject's parents are still living in this district. Subject was the eldest of seven children, six of whom are now living. He remained on the home farm until the breaking out of the war. In December, 1863, he enlisted in Company A, of the Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, and remained in active service until February, 1865, when he took the oath and came home. He commenced life for himself in 1866, and settled one mile south of where he now resides. He came to his present farm in 1871, and now owns about 330 acres, of which there are about seventy acres in cultivation. He was married October 18, 1866, to Miss Elizabeth Evans, a daughter of William and Mary Jane (Faulks) Evans. The result of this marriage has been eight children, of whom five are now living: William J., Henry T., Lou A., Dilla R. and Thomas W. Mr. Bugg and family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and he is a member of the Spring Hill Lodge, No. 574, A. F. & A. M. In 1878 he was elected to the office of magistrate of that district and is still serving.

GEORGE W. BURY was born February 22, 1848, in Paducah. He is a son of James and Eliza (Byington) Bury. The father was born in Washington, D. C., and there learned the blacksmith trade in the navy yard. In 1845 he came to Paducah, and there carried on his trade till his death, which occurred in 1873, aged fifty-eight. The mother was born in Pittsburgh, Penn.; she died in 1867, aged fifty-one. Our subject was reared in Paducah, and followed civil engineering, also farming. In 1881 he, with Mr. Graves, built the Clinton Mills, which they have since operated. Their capacity is about fifty barrels of flour and 200 bushels of corn per day. Mr. Bury was married, in 1872, to Hannah Craft, of Paducah. He is a member of the city council; also a member of the Presbyterian Church.

ROBERT N. BUSHART was born in Henry County, Tenn., March 2, 1840. He is a son of Jacob Bushart, who is a native of Alabama, but now living in Fulton County, Ky. Subject was next to the youngest of a family of seven children, and remained at home until sixteen years of age, and then began life for himself. In 1861 he enlisted in the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, and served until the close of the war. He was wounded at the battle of Shiloh, but returned to duty as soon as he was able. Returning home from the war, he settled down on a farm in Fulton County, Ky., where he remained five years. In 1869 he came to this county, and settled on the farm now owned by his widow. Here he resided until his death, September 10, 1876. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He was married December 1, 1869, to Miss Mary J. Hardin, a daughter of John S. and Mary E. (Walker) Hardin. The father is a son of Otho Hardin (see sketch of M. W. Hardin), and is now living on the farm owned at one time by his father. He commenced life for himself at the age of twenty-one, and at one time owned 240 acres, a part of which he has since divided among his children. He ran a saw-mill on his farm for some time, and has served as magistrate of the district for some years. Mrs. Hardin died July 12, 1884. Mrs. Bushart is the mother of three children, all of whom are living, John W., James W. and Robert L. She and her father are both members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

HENRY C. BRUMMAL was born in January, 1859, in this county, to John M. and Sally (Davy) Brummal. The father of our subject is a lawyer in good practice in Columbus; is also a native of this State, and was born in Green County, in 1830. Mrs. Brummal is a native of Independence, Mo. Henry C. is the third of seven children born to them. He received a good common school education, afterward going to Neopheogen

College, Gallatin, Tenn. He also was sent to West Point, but remained there only three months, his leaving in such a short time being caused by a severe illness. He clerked shortly afterward for W. M. Heron for a few months, and also for Morton & Bro. for the term of two years. In 1882 he went to Louisville, Ky., clerking on the packet-boat for the Louisville & Henderson Company for a short period, coming home at the end of that year to commence farming on his own account on a farm, which he had purchased in 1880, situated two miles from Columbus on the Clinton Road, which he cultivates principally in fruit. He also farms on his father's property. In 1882 he married Miss Louisa C. Nagel, one of a family of children born to the late Frederick and Catherine Nagel, natives of Germany, who came to this country some short time after their marriage. In politics Mr. Brummal is a Democrat.

WILLIAM W. CRAIG was born in Hickman County, Ky., July 19, 1844, and is the eldest child in a family of six children born to James and Maria D. (Kerr) Craig, both natives of the "Old Dominion," and of Scotch and English descent, respectively. James Craig received his early education in his native State. At the age of sixteen, in 1834, he came with his parents to Hickman County, Ky. In about 1839, he engaged in merchandising at Hickman, now the county seat of Fulton County, Ky., where he remained several years. From thence he removed to his farm five miles south of Columbus, where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits until his death, which occurred April 5, 1877, in his fifty-eighth year. He was for many years a devoted and consistent member of the Masonic fraternity, and was one of the early settlers and respected citizens of Hickman County. Our subject received a good common school education in youth in his native county, and was employed on his father's farm until he attained his majority, after which he was employed as a salesman, first in the dry goods and then in the drug business, for several years. He was then engaged in railroading on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad for some three or four years, after which he opened a drug store of his own at Columbus, where he has since been doing an excellent business. He was married January 10, 1883, to Miss Lilla Markham, a native of Logan County, Ky. One son has blessed this union—Wallace S. Mr. Craig is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and Mrs. Craig of the Baptist Church. Mr. Craig is also a member of the United Order of the Golden Cross. In politics he is a stanch Democrat, and is one of the prominent citizens of both the city and county.

JOHN B. COOK was born in Columbus, Hickman Co., Ky., December 17, 1846, and is the eldest living child born to William and Sophia M. (Cobb) Cook, the former a native of Richmond, Va., the latter of Eddyville, Lyon Co., Ky., and of English descent. William Cook came with his parents from Richmond, Va., to Columbus, Ky., when only four years old, in 1819. From 1829 to the fall of 1861, he was extensively engaged in merchandising in Columbus, and from that time until his death, he was principally engaged in the forwarding and shipping business at the same place, part of the time in company with his elder brother, Thomas Cook, who died in March, 1842, and the remainder of the time with his younger brother, R. E. Cook. Mr. Cook established the first commission house ever established at Columbus. His death occurred September 27, 1872, in his fifty-eighth year. Mr. Cook was postmaster at Columbus from 1836 to 1854. In 1853 he was appointed treasurer of the north end of the Mobile & Ohio Railway, which office he held until the completion of the road in 1861. He was also city treasurer for the city of Columbus for a number of years. In all these positions of trust he proved faithful and efficient. For more than thirty years he was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was also a member of the Masonic fraternity. He was married November 1, 1871, to Miss Martha J. James, a native of Danville, Boyle Co., Ky. Four children have been left them; one son and three daughters. In politics he is a Democrat, and is the oldest male white citizen born in the place.

OTIS COOK was born June 18, 1852, in Columbus, Ky., and is a son of William and Sophia M. (Cobb) Cook. The father was born April 27, 1815, in Richmond, Va.; he died in Columbus, September 27, 1872. The grandfather of our subject, William Cook, Sr., was born in 1782 in what is now Howard County, Md. He came with his family to Columbus, Ky., in 1819, having first purchased a stock of general merchandise in New Orleans; these goods were brought to Columbus by a keeler, occupying three weeks on the passage, and were the first ever sold at this point. At this early day this locality was a dense forest, and Indians roamed here in great numbers. William Cook, Sr., entered a quantity of land from the government, part of which is now owned by his daughter, Miss Annie E. Cook. He died in Columbus, June 6, 1829. Miss

Annie E. Cook was born in Columbus, January 2, 1827, and has always resided here. William Cook, the father of Otis Cook, was extensively engaged in the forwarding and commission business; he also held many offices of trust, and was postmaster from 1836 to 1854. In 1853 he was appointed treasurer of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company, which position he creditably filled for several years; at the time of his death he was city treasurer of Columbus, and had been a life-long and devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Otis Cook is the owner of 487 acres of land, located four miles southeast of Columbus, on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, about 250 acres of which are under cultivation; he has recently placed on this farm a number of short-horn cattle, this being the first thoroughbred stock ever brought to Hickman County. Miss Annie E. Cook owns 320 acres of land located two miles west of Clinton; this land was entered by her father from the government. She also owns three entire blocks and portions of several other blocks in Columbus, also a farm of 220 acres in Mississippi County, Mo., lying near Belmont.

ISAAC R. COOK was born in Columbus, Hickman Co., Ky., December 23, 1849, and is the fourth child born to William and Sophia M. (Cobb) Cook. He was married November 6, 1873, to Miss Nellie V. Gray, a native of Louisville, Ky. Three children blessed their union, only two of whom, one son and one daughter, are living. Both Mr. Cook and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Cook is also a member of the I. O. O. F., and in politics he is a Democrat.

BERRY D. DAVIS was born November 14, 1832, in Dyer County, Tenn., and in 1840 came with his parents to Hickman County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Isaac Davis, who was a native of Virginia, died in 1860, at the age of fifty-five years. He was the son of Bartlett Davis, a soldier in the war of 1812. Isaac married Lucy (who died in 1851), daughter of Roland Via, of Hickman County, Ky., and they were blessed with the following ten children: Sallie A. (Shelton), Mary (Glascow), John H., Berry D., Lucinda (Rodgers), James, Isaiah, Edward, Christina (Spicer), Liza Jane (Davis). In 1854 Berry D. Davis married Miss Frances Via, who died in 1876. To them were born two daughters: Josephine and Fannie. Mr. Davis was next married in 1877 to Mrs. Sallie A. Kough, who died in 1878. In 1880 he married Miss Mollie Remley, who survived a little more than two years. In 1883 subject was married to Miss Bettie Davis, of Hickman County, who was born in 1862. Mr. Davis is a farmer owning 218 acres of fine land, in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Knights of Honor. In religion he is a Methodist.

WILLIAM B. DAVIS, Hickman County, was born February 25, 1816, in Pittsylvania County, Va.; removed in infancy with his parents to Maury County, Tenn., and in 1829 came to Hickman County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Daniel Davis, a native of Pittsylvania County, Va., was born in 1794, and died in 1820. He was a soldier in the war of 1812. His father, William, of Virginia, died in 1835. Daniel married Lydia, daughter of Shadrach Boaz (born in 1795, and died in 1863), and from this union sprang: subject, David J. and Constantine D. March 19, 1835, William B. Davis married Miss Mary M., daughter of Rev. Joshua and Elizabeth (Smith) Cole, of Hickman County (born 1815, and died in 1882), and to them were born Lydia E. (deceased), David W. (deceased), Sarah C. (deceased), Constantine D., William S. (deceased), Ann E. (Lester), Joshua C., Elzara F. (Scott), and Laura B. Mr. Davis is a farmer having 110 acres of fair land in a good state of cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and is identified with the Democratic party.

HILLERY DAVIS was born in what is now Marion County, Ky., January 8, 1817. He is a son of Nathaniel and Dolly (Mills) Davis. The father was a native of this State, and the grandfather, of English descent, came from Maryland in an early day. The father of our subject ran a still in his native county, and in 1824 he came to this county, and settled in this district. After residing here a short time he moved to Graves County, where he remained until 1839, when he came back to the county. Here he lived until his death, which occurred in 1844. Subject was the fourth of seven children, of whom three are now living: Nathaniel (in Butler County, Mo.), Cynthia (widow of James Jackson), and Hillery, (our subject). The latter remained with his father until about eighteen years of age, and then began life for himself as a boatman on the Yazoo and Tallahatchie Rivers, which he followed for about five years. Returning to this county, he made a settlement where John S. Hardin is now living. He soon after came to his present farm, where he owned at one time 280 acres. A part of this has since been divided among his children. Mr. Davis was

married in 1840 to Miss Albina Gardner, a daughter of Clement and Polly (Davis) Gardner. Mrs. Davis was born in Marion County, Ky., and is the mother of seven children, five of whom, two sons and three daughters, are still living. This lady died March 3, 1881. Subject was married the next time October 1, 1882, to Mrs. Mollie D. Smith, a daughter of Noah and Mary (Fields) Norman, a native of Williamson County, Tenn. Mrs. Davis was born in Fulton County, September 5, 1838.

JESSE DEWEESE, Hickman County, was born September 4, 1829, in Jefferson County, Ill., was taken by his parents, in 1833, to Butler County, Ky., where he grew to manhood and in 1870 settled in Hickman County, where he has since resided. His father, William Deweese, was born in 1805, near Richmond, Va.; came to Kentucky in 1819, and died in 1859. He was the son of Jesse, of Virginia. William married Elizabeth, daughter of John and Mary (Phelps) Pitman, of Kentucky. She was born about 1810, and died about 1872. Their offspring are subject, as above, Pierson R., Lucinda E. (Jones), John P., Mary (Jones) Daniel P., Virgil M., Sarah A. (Gawyer), William G. and Melinda J. (Emery). April 17, 1851, subject married Miss Sarah, daughter of James and Eva (Duvall) Shaller, of Edmondson County, Ky. (born in 1835, and died in 1862), and from this union sprang James P., Eva J. (Jones), and William B. He was next married November 14, 1867, to Miss Susan P., daughter of Willis and Minnie (Womack) Hunt, of Kentucky, and to them have been born Luther B., Powell, and Peachie. Subject is a successful farmer, owning 413 acres of first-class land in good condition. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and in politics a Democrat, The grandfather of Mrs. Susan (Hunt) Deweese, John Hunt, came from Germany and bought land and settled at Huntsville, Ala., and from him that town derived its name. His youngest son, Robert, married Elizabeth Willis and then moved across the mountains from Alabama to Pulaski County, Ky., remained there five years and then moved to Edmondson County, where he died in 1861, aged ninety-five years.

W. N. DITTO was born March 2, 1835, in Tipton County, Tenn. He is a son of William and Nancy (Adams) Ditto. The father was born in Franklin, Williamson Co., Tenn.; he followed the cabinet-making business, and died in Tipton County, August 10, 1835. The mother was born in Maryland. She died in 1872, aged seventy-two. Our subject was reared on his mother's farm. In 1854 he was employed as overseer on a cotton plantation, and continued in this capacity until 1863, when he came to Hickman County, and has since been working at the carpenter trade. Mr. Ditto was married January 17, 1855, to Elizabeth Eason, of Haywood County, Tenn.; she died in 1864, leaving three children, two now living, one son and one daughter. His second marriage, in September 10, 1866, was to Mary Sanders, of Dyer County, Tenn.; she died in 1879, leaving two daughters. His third marriage, March 17, 1881, was to Paulina Lee, of Hickman County; they have two children, one son and one daughter. Mr. Ditto is a life-long member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

DAN DODGE was born August 10, 1840, in Hickman County. At the age of fifteen he went to Louisville, where he worked at the carpenter trade until the breaking out of the war, when he enlisted in Company D, Seventh Tennessee Cavalry, Confederate States Army, and served until the end of the war. He then came to Clinton, and soon after engaged in the furniture trade, which he continued until 1881, when he engaged in the grocery and hardware business, which he has since continued, being now a member of the firm of Dodge & Owen. Mr. Dodge was married in 1870, to H. V. Jordan, of Clinton; four children have blessed this union—one son and three daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Dodge are members of the Christian Church.

THOMAS E. DODGE was born October 1, 1849, in Clinton, Hickman County. He is a son of I. R. and M. F. (Sublett) Dodge. The father was born in Connecticut, and reared in Long Island, N. Y. He came to Clinton in 1830, and here he remained until his death, which occurred in 1865, at the age of fifty-five years. The mother was born in Westport, Ky., and died in Clinton, in 1867, aged fifty years. At the age of twenty, Mr. Dodge entered a store as clerk and since that time has been engaged in merchandising.

ROBERT H. EMERSON was born April 25, 1826, in Cumberland County, Ky. He is a son of Judge John M. Emerson, who was born in Pennsylvania, and whose father served in the Revolutionary war. Judge Emerson was reared in Green County, Ky.; he owned a mill and distillery, served as assistant judge, also as magistrate and sheriff, and died in 1840, aged fifty-two. Our subject, at the age of fourteen commenced the carpenter's trade; after working a short time he was engaged as a clerk in a grocery, where he remained seven years; he then commenced the study of

medicine with Dr. Michael L. Stone and continued about two years; he then went to Texas, where he remained about one year; in 1852 he came to Hickman County, where he has since been engaged in farming. He owns a farm of 250 acres adjoining the town of Clinton, also his residence and other property in Clinton. He was elected county clerk in 1862, but refused to serve. Mr. Emerson was married June 3, 1852, to Mary Galbraith, of Christian County; they have four children, three sons and one daughter. The family are members of the Christian Church.

JOHN C. EVANS was born December 16, 1819, in Dickson County, Tenn. He is a son of George and Jane (Baker) Evans. The father was born in Tennessee; he died in 1872 in Hickman County, aged seventy nine. The mother was also born in Tennessee; she died in 1880, aged eighty-one. Our subject came to Hickman County November 9, 1862, and has since been engaged in farming; he owns a farm where he now resides about one mile north of Clinton, also another farm elsewhere in this precinct, in all about 300 acres, all of which he has acquired by his own exertions. Mr. Evans was married, in 1852, to Rebecca Wilkins, of Tennessee. These parents have eleven children, six sons and five daughters. Mr. Evans is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and has served as deputy sheriff two years.

THOMPSON FALKNER was born September 11, 1820, in Simpson County, Ky.; removed with his mother in childhood to Calloway County; thence in 1834 to Graves County, and in 1855 came to Hickman County, where he has since resided. His father, Lewis Falkner, a native of Surrey County, N. C., died about 1824. Lewis married Sarah Lawson, of North Carolina, who died about 1834. Their children are Mornin, Caroline (Ragsdale), Milford F., Rebecca (Lawrence), William, subject and Narcissa (Nolen). Thompson Falkner was married January 7, 1841, to Miss Susan, daughter of Gideon and Dorothy Price, of Graves County (died in 1862, aged about forty years), and to them were born Henderson F., James W., Sarah E. (Bone), Henry, Thomas F. (deceased), George G. (deceased), Andrew T., Martha (Crooks), Nancy J. (Jones), Joseph, Frances (Lumsden) and Price. Subject was next married, in 1865, to Mrs. Fredonia Hill, daughter of James Doorson. She was born March 1, 1828. Mr. Falkner is a successful farmer, having 310 acres of good land. In religion he is a Cumberland Presbyterian, and in politics a Democrat.

WILLIAM H. FERGUSON was born December 22, 1845, at Rome, Perry Co., Ind. He removed with his parents in infancy to Bolivar, Miss.; in 1848, moved to Duboise County, Ind.; removed in 1850 to Perry County, then in 1853 to Shelby County, Ohio; in 1858 to Fulton County, Ky.; in 1861 returned to Indiana; in 1865 came to Christian County, Ky.; in 1870 moved to Sullivan County, Ind., and in 1873 to Moscow, Ky., where he still resides. His father, Allen M. Ferguson, was born near Pittsburgh, Penn., in 1818, and is now living. He is the son of William Ferguson, who is also living. Subject's mother, Mary, daughter of Joshua B. and Rebecca (Lang) Huckeby, of Rome, Ind., was born in Kentucky, and died in 1863, at the age of forty-seven years. William H. Ferguson was married December 10, 1874, to Miss Hetty S., daughter of Daniel and Susan (Smith) Roberts, of Henderson County, Ky., and to them have been born Mary A. (deceased), Harry (deceased) and Alla. Mr. Ferguson engaged in clerking for a number of years, until 1882, when he commenced business as a druggist in Moscow, at which he has been successful. He is also engaged in the insurance business to some extent. He is an Odd Fellow and a member of the Episcopal Church.

H. M. FIELDS, Hickman County, was born March 13, 1848, in Gibson County, Tenn. He is a son of W. D. and Elizabeth (Hale) Fields. The father was born in middle Tennessee; he died in 1863, aged fifty. The mother was born in North Carolina, January 22, 1822, and is now living with her daughter near Clinton, Hickman County. Our subject came to Hickman County in 1870, where he has since lived and owns 103 acres of land. Mr. Fields was married in 1873 to Miss F. J. Evans, of Hickman County; this union has been blessed with three children, one son and two daughters.

REV. G. W. FLOWERS was born in Louisville, Ky., March 17, 1850. He is a son of John W. and Caroline (Von Metz) Flowers. The father was born in Philadelphia, and was for many years captain and part-owner of a packet running from Louisville to New Orleans; he died January 12, 1862, aged forty-eight. The mother was born in Rhein-Greis, Bauern, Germany, twelve miles from Frankfort-on-the-Main, September 25, 1826, and now is living with her son in Columbus. Our subject received his literary education in Louisville. In 1872 he went to Alexandria and attended the Virginia

Theological Seminary; graduated in June, 1876; he then returned to Louisville and was ordained to the deaconate. He then went to Shelbyville, where he was pastor of a parish one year. In 1878 he accepted a call to St. Paul's parish, Hickman, having charge there two years. During this time he opened the mission at Fulton. At the expiration of two years he resigned the Hickman charge, and took charge of the Columbus parish in connection with the Fulton mission. He removed to Columbus, January 13, 1882, where he has since resided; he is also president of the faculty of Columbus College. Mr. Flowers was married, September 6, 1876, to Miss V. Smith, of Louisville. This union has been blessed with four sons.

W. H. GALBRAITH, Hickman County, was born September 10, 1834, in Christian County, Ky. He is a son of Henry and Sarah B. (Tribble) Galbraith. The father was born in Pennsylvania in about 1793. He first settled in Cumberland County, Ky., in 1828, and later in Christian County. In 1851 he came to Hickman County, and settled on the farm where our subject now lives. It consists of 150 acres, and joins the town of Clinton on the north; is beautifully located, and commands a fine view of Clinton and the surrounding country. In 1862 W. H. Galbraith enlisted in Company B, Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Confederate States Army, and served to the end of the war, after which he returned to his present farm; he has also carried on the carpenter trade here, and has held the office of magistrate, constable and deputy county surveyor. Mr. G. was married in 1856 to Mary Weatherley, of Hickman County. This union has been blessed with four children—three sons and one daughter.

MOSES W. GALLOWAY was born July 4, 1817, in Mecklenburg County, N. C. He removed with his parents in 1821 to Maury County, Tenn., where he grew to manhood. In 1837 he removed to Graves County, Ky., and in 1870 came to Hickman County, where he now resides. His father, John Galloway, a native of North Carolina, died in 1859, at the age of seventy-five years. John was twice married; first to Lucy, daughter of John Thompson, of Mecklenburg County, N. C., and their children are Sarah (Jones), John T., subject, Agnes N. (Mozeley), Daniel M., Narcissa (Hamlett) and Samuel S. There were born to him by his second wife Lucy (Fonnell), Elizabeth (Hamlett) and William M. Moses W. Galloway was married December 10, 1838, to Irena, daughter of John and Rebecca (Wall) Galbraith, of Maury County, Tenn., born in 1820, and died in 1870, and to them were born Mary J. (deceased), John T., Rebecca A. (Hughs), Virginia K. (Williamson), Victoria (deceased) and Ben H. He was next married, October 4, 1870, to Miss Sarah J., daughter of William and Elizabeth (McKiver) Cason, of Hickman County, Ky., born in 1822. Subject is a farmer, having 100 acres of good land in a high state of cultivation. He served as sheriff in Graves County, and has acted for many years as magistrate. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and since 1844 has served as elder in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. In politics he affiliates with the Democratic party.

JUDGE JOHN A. GARDNER, of Hickman County, was born August 4, 1811, in Butler County, Ky., and was reared on his father's farm. At the age of twenty-one he removed to Hopkins County, where he farmed two years; he then moved to Chariton County, Mo., where he remained two years, and while there was engaged in the Mormon war under the call of Gov. Lilburn A. Boggs, and was captain of a company until the Mormons were routed from the State of Missouri. Peace being restored, he returned to his farm, at that time in Linn County, Mo. He next moved to Scott County, Mo. In 1884 that county was divided, Mississippi County now forming a portion of it, in which he continued to reside, engaged in farming, livestock raising and in practicing law. His farm consists of 924 acres, of which 600 are well improved. In 1842 he was elected constable, and served four years; he next held the office of justice of the peace from 1846 to 1858, when he was elected county judge. In 1861 he was required to take the oath of allegiance to the United States; he consequently resigned, and turned his attention to furnishing the Southern Confederacy with live stock. In 1864 he was again elected county judge. By an act of the legislature the governor was invested with the power of removal, which power he exercised in the case of Judge Gardner. In 1866 the judge was appointed deputy revenue collector, and held this office two years. From 1868 to 1880 his time was taken up on his farm. In October, 1880, he came to Clinton, where he has since resided. Judge Gardner was married, in 1832, to Lucinda Llewellyn, of Kentucky; she died in 1835, leaving two children, now deceased. In 1842 the judge married Lavina Mills, of Mississippi County, Mo.; she died in 1846, leaving one son, Vardry, now in Tennessee. The judge next married Jane Adams, of Mississippi County, Mo., in 1848; she died in

1862, leaving one daughter, since deceased. His fourth marriage, July 15, 1863, was to Mary E. Barker, also of Mississippi County, Mo., and to this union have been born one son and three daughters. The judge united with the Baptist Church, in 1846, at Wolf Island, Mo., and is still a consistent member of that denomination.

BENJAMIN S. GAYLE was born in Franklin County, Ky., October 14, 1825, and is the second child in a family of eleven children born to John M. and Elizabeth H. (Stewart) Gayle, both natives of the "Old Dominion." John M. Gayle learned the millwright's trade in his native county. While yet a young man he moved to Frankfort, Ky., where, for a short time, he followed his trade, but was afterward engaged in the carpenter's trade for many years. He was also married at Frankfort, where he resided until his death, which occurred in 1872, at the age of seventy-two years. During his latter years he had retired from active business life. He and wife were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Benjamin S. Gayle, at the age of thirteen, went to learn the cabinet-maker's trade, at which he served an apprenticeship of some five years, and immediately afterward he learned the carpenter's trade. After completing his trades he again went to school for a time. He then worked at the carpenter trade in the summer and at the cabinet business in the winter at Frankfort for a number of years. In 1846 he enlisted in the First Kentucky Cavalry, commanded by Col. Humphrey Marshall, and served under Gen. Taylor in the war with Mexico one year, and participated in the battle of Buena Vista. In 1857 he came to Columbus, Ky., where he followed the carpenter's trade until after the close of the late civil war. In 1867 he embarked in the cabinet and furniture business at Columbus, and has pursued that business with success ever since. He recently erected and now occupies one of the best business houses in the city. He is also engaged in agricultural pursuits to some extent, owning a well improved farm near the city. He was married in 1855, to Miss Lucy L. Campbell, a native of Frankfort, Ky. One son has been left them—Walter—who resides in Clay County, Mo. In politics Mr. Gayle is a Democrat.

WILLIAM A. GEST was born in Clermont County, Ohio, November 10, 1843, and is one of three living children born to Joseph M. and Sarah A. (Hageman) Gest, both natives of Ohio and of English and German descent, respectively. Joseph M. Gest, at the age of fourteen, went to Cincinnati, where he attended school for a time. After this he was employed in his father's store in the city, and afterward in the country for some two years. After this he was engaged in agricultural pursuits in Ohio, until 1846, when he moved to Louisville, Ky. Here he was engaged steamboating and flatboating for some four years. In 1850 he removed to Cannelton, Perry Co., Ind., where he was engaged in merchandising for some ten or twelve years, and during this time was clerk of both the common pleas and circuit courts for four years. In 1862 he removed to Columbus, Hickman County, at which place and at Hickman, Ky., and Cairo, Ill., he was in the United States revenue service some three years. He then engaged in merchandising at Columbus until 1869, when he removed to Ballard County, Ky., where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits until 1883, when he returned to Columbus, where he has since lived a retired life. He and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity, and was W. M. of his lodge in Indiana for several years. William A. Gest, at the age of eight years, went into his father's store, and with the exception of two years spent on a packet line plying between Louisville and Memphis, and a short time at school, he has been constantly engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1864 he opened a grocery store at Columbus, and has since continued that business, to which he has also added hardware, agricultural implements and harness. He is the oldest grocer in the city, and the oldest business house but one. Mr. Gest was a member of the city council for several years, also city clerk two terms and city collector one year. He is and has been for the past two and a half years city treasurer. He was married, in 1876, to Miss Mary E. Parks, a native of Tennessee, who departed this life April 3, 1883. She was a devoted and consistent member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Gest is also a member of the same church, and of the K. of H

J. R. GRAHAM was born August 6, 1842, in Marion County, Ky. He is a son of Marcus and Isabella (Cunningham) Graham. The father was born in Ireland in 1795, came to Virginia in about 1815, and was engaged in peddling dry goods about ten years, after which he came to Marion County, Ky., and there he remained until his death, which occurred in 1874. The mother died in 1858, aged fifty-three years. Our subject came to Hickman County in 1869, where he has since been engaged in farming and trading; he resides on his farm of 100 acres about one

mile east of Clinton; he also owns several other farms in this county. He was married, in 1869, to Ruth M., daughter of the late Hercules Hays, one of the oldest and best farmers of Hickman County; these parents have had six children, four sons and two daughters, and are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

ROBERT W. GRAY, Hickman County, was born in Mississippi County, Mo., April 29, 1857, and is the second of six children born to John C. and Mary R. (Jordan) Gray, natives of Hickman County, Ky., and of English and Irish descent, respectively. In early life, John C. Gray engaged in agricultural pursuits, and continued the same all his life, being one of the most extensive farmers of eastern Missouri. At one time he had over 1000 acres in cultivation in Mississippi County, Mo., besides other lands in Hickman County, Ky. His father, William Gray, served under Gen. Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, and his grandson, our subject, has in his possession a gun and hunter's horn which once belonged to him. John C. Gray's death occurred March 20, 1883, in his fifty-third year. He was an adherent of the Catholic faith and a member of the Masonic fraternity. Robert W. Gray received a good academic education at Columbus, Ky. At the age of nineteen, he took charge of his father's farm, assisted by his brother, Shapley P. Gray, and continued the same for some four years. In the meantime he diligently pursued the study of law, was admitted to the bar in Hickman County in 1882, and practiced his profession at Columbus until March, 1884, when he has appointed local clerk of the Anchor Steamboat line at Columbus, which position he still holds. Mr. Gray is related on his mother's side to John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Gov. Thomas T. Crittenden of Missouri. He is a member of the Baptist Church.

C. A. GREEN was born in Graves County, Ky., January 1, 1840. He is a son of Meekley and Julia A. (Goad) Green. The father was born in Virginia, and reared in Tennessee, and later removed to Graves County, Ky.; he is now living in southwest Missouri. The mother was born in Tennessee, and came with her parents to Graves County, in about 1830; they were among the earlier settlers of the county. Her father assisted with a whip-saw in sawing the lumber for the first house ever erected in Columbus. Our subject, at about the age of thirteen, came to this county, where he has since lived; he owns a farm of about 175 acres which he cultivates, but for the past eight years has also been engaged in merchandising. About three years since, a postoffice was established at his store, at which time he was appointed postmaster—Cypress being the name of the office. Mr. Green was married, in 1859, to Luticia Hayden of Graves County. These parents have had eight children, six of whom are now living. Mr. and Mrs. Green are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

DANIEL S. GREEN, Hickman County, was born in Point Pleasant, Mo., October 11, 1851, and is a son of Thornton and Matilda A. (Stewart) Green, natives of Kentucky, and of Scotch descent. Thornton Green received his early education in Hickman County, Ky., where he was also married. When a young man, he learned the harness-maker's trade at Columbus, and followed the same at that place until the beginning of the late civil war, with the exception of four years when he resided in Point Pleasant and New Madrid, Mo. During the war he was engaged in farming near the city. In 1865 he moved to Owen County, Ky., where he farmed until 1870, when he removed to Carroll County, Ky., where he still resides and is engaged in agricultural pursuits. He was for several years a member of the city council of Columbus. Daniel S. Green was employed on his father's farm until he was twenty-one years old, after which he was engaged in farming and the saw-mill business for two years. In 1874 he was employed as a salesman in the grocery store of W. A. Gest, at Columbus, and is still so employed. During all these years, however, he has been engaged in agricultural pursuits in connection with his business in town. He was married October 18, 1882, to Miss Minnie Todd, a native of Louisiana, Mo. Mr. Green is a member of the K. of H. He is one of the enterprising and rising young business men of the city and county.

GEORGE W. GRIFFEY was born March 12, 1833, in Hickman County, and is a son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Webb) Griffey. The father was born in Campbell County, Ky., and died August 18, 1853, aged fifty-six years. He held the office of sheriff seventeen years prior to the new constitution, also two years after its adoption, and for many years held the office of magistrate. He was one of the first settlers of this county, having come here in 1819. The mother was born in Logan County, and died in 1878, aged seventy-seven. Our subject was reared on his father's farm where he remained until the age of twenty-one; he then began merchandising which he followed four or five years. He first commenced reading law in 1853, and resumed his studies in 1866. He was admitted

to the bar in December, 1867, and has since followed that profession. He has held the office of county clerk, county attorney and deputy circuit clerk. He enlisted in 1861 in Company E, First Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, was taken prisoner at Paducah, and released in July, 1865. Mr. Griffey was married February 20, 1867, to Virginia A. Northcote of Weakley County, Tenn.; they have three sons and four daughters, and are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

MRS. MARTHA V. C. GRIFFEY, Hickman County, was born April 22, 1840, in Moscow, Hickman County, Ky., and removed with her parents to Fulton County. She is the daughter of Dr. Samuel B. and Mary A. (Ashburn) Luten. She was married December 24, 1857, to Wiley P. Griffey, a son of Thomas Griffey of Hickman County. He was born March 8, 1831, and died December 21, 1876. He was a man of great energy and enterprise, marked by a public spirit and especially zealous in matters pertaining to Christianity. The result of the union of our subject and her husband was the birth of Luten (deceased), Ida (Roberts) (deceased), Samuel D., Mary S., Thomas (deceased), Martha P. (deceased), Lutenia, Elizabeth, Wiley P. (deceased) and Eckert (deceased). Mrs. Griffey is engaged in farming, and the combined realty of the estate amounts to 600 acres of valuable and very productive land in a good state of cultivation. This family are zealous Methodists.

M. W. HARDIN, was born in Marion County, Ky., February 16, 1823, and is a son of Otho and Nancy (Davis) Hardin. The father was also a native of Marion County, and was born March 15, 1791. His father, a native of Virginia, having come to the State some time prior to the Revolution. In 1828 Otho Hardin came to this county, and settled within half a mile of where subject is now living, in Section 4, Town 1, Range 2 west. He was a farmer, and owned at one time considerable land. He died June 5, 1871; his wife died in 1846. Both were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. M. W. Hardin is the second of seven children, six of whom are living. He remained at home until twenty-four, and then settled on the present farm of 200 acres, a part of which he has divided among his children. In 1858 he commenced to work at the carpenter trade, and has followed it to some extent ever since. Mr. Hardin was married September 1, 1847, to Miss Nancy J. Hicks, a daughter of John and Margaret (Sutton) Hicks, who came here in 1832 from Jessamine County, Ky. Mrs. Hardin was born in that county, and is the mother of nine children, all of whom are living: Otho H., John W., James R., M. S., Margaret S., M. D., T. W., Nancy J. and Donnie L. Subject and family are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and Mr. Hardin is a local preacher in that denomination. He is also a member of the Westley Lodge, No. 452, A. F. & A. M. February, 1862, he enlisted in Faulkner's company of Polk's scouts, but after three months' service the company was disbanded.

WILLIAM HARRISON was born in McCracken County, Ky., April 19, 1850, and is the fifth of six children born to William and Isabella M. (Long) Harrison, the former a native of Louisville, and the latter of Christian County, Ky. William Harrison, Sr., was left an orphan at the tender age of two years, after which he was bound out until he was twenty-one years old to a tailor. After attaining his majority he followed his trade in connection with trading, agriculture, and other business, at Louisville, and at various other places, and also on the river, until his death, which occurred in December, 1853, in about his forty-fifth year. At that time he owned a farm of some 400 acres near Clinton, Hickman Co., Ky., which was operated by his servants, and where his family resided. His business, however, was mainly at Louisville. He was worth, at the time of his death, some $35,000. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, having attained to the degrees of Knighthood. Mrs. Isabella M. Harrison was next married to George Byassee. Her death occurred in Hickman County, Ky., December 8, 1878, in her forty-eighth year. She was a member of the Disciples Church. William Harrison, Jr., passed his early life on the home farm, and on attaining his majority he bought a farm near Columbus, Ky., his wife also owning a farm near the same place, On these farms he has since been engaged in agricultural pursuits, now owning 312 acres of well-improved land. He was married March 14, 1872, to Mrs. Martha C. (Trevathan) Taylor, a native of Henry County, Tenn. Two children, one son and one daughter, have blessed this union. Mrs. Harrison has one daughter by her former marriage. In politics Mr. Harrison is a Democrat.

MISS A. M. HICKS, principal of the Clinton College, was born in Putnam Co., Ohio. She is a daughter of Ezra and Julia A. (Lincoln) Hicks. The father was born in Warren County, Ohio, and died in August, 1882, aged eighty-two. The mother was born in Vir-

ginia, and died in 1853, aged fifty-two. After attending the schools of the neighborhood, Miss Hicks went to the high school at Lima, Ohio, and in 1871 to Oswego, N. Y., and attended the normal school at that place. In 1873 she came to Paducah and was there appointed principal of the high school, holding that position one year. In 1874 she came to Clinton, and held the position of associate principal of Clinton College until 1880, since which time she has held the position of principal of the college. This school was first opened in the Baptist Church with fifteen pupils, and now has an annual enrollment of 260 pupils. On leaving this college pupils are prepared to enter any of the universities of the United States. Since the age of fifteen, Miss Hicks has received no assistance from any source, and solely by her own exertions she has supported and educated herself.

BAT E. HILLIARD was born in Green County, Ky., and is a son of David M. and Catherine A. (Embry) Hilliard. The father was born in the same county and State November 29, 1812. The mother died January 25, 1856, in her thirty-sixth year. March 23, 1863 the family came to Hickman County. In 1867 they moved to their present farm of 264 acres, about 200 of which are improved. Bat E. enlisted November 12, 1863, in Company A, Twelfth Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, and served about one year; he participated in the battles of Okalona, Tupelo, Paducah and others. He was married November 12, 1873, to Laura E. Oakford of Trenton, Tenn.; this union has been blessed with three children: Fannie D., Mary B. and Lizzie A. The parents are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

JUDGE E. C. HODGES was born April 10, 1844 in Hickman County, and is a son of Eli P. and Elizabeth (Crosland) Hodges. The father was born in Knoxville, east Tenn., and died in 1868, aged fifty-four. When a resident of Mississippi he held the office of sheriff and various other offices, and was also engaged in milling and farming. Subject, at the breaking out of the war, enlisted in Company B, Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, and served until 1864, when he was taken prisoner and confined at Camp Morton, Ind., till the close. He returned to the farm and attended school; afterward taught school a short time, then began the study of law with N. P. Moss and was admitted to practice in 1872. Soon after he was elected county attorney; held that office until 1882, and in August of that year was elected county judge, which office he has since honorably filled. The judge was married in 1876 to Emma Hayes of Dresden, west Tenn.; they have two sons and one daughter. Mrs. Hodges is a member of the Christian Church.

JOHN M. JACKSON, M. D., Hickman County, was born in Nashville, Tenn., June 13, 1827, and is the eldest son of Col. Hardy Jackson, who was colonel of the Twelfth Kentucky Volunteers under Gen. Downing in the Florida war. In early life, Col. Jackson received a good English education, mainly at the seminary of Franklin, Tenn. At the age of twenty-three, in 1825, he married Miss Sallie Little, a native of Nashville, Tenn., of English origin, and a niece of Stephen Hopkins, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1830 Col. Jackson came to Graves County, Ky., where he was successfully engaged in agricultural pursuits for about fifteen years. In 1845 he removed to northern Louisiana, where he was extensively engaged in cotton planting until his death, which occurred in 1862. At the time of his death he was engaged in recruiting a regiment for the Confederate service. He and wife were consistent members of the Baptist Church. Dr. John M. Jackson received a good classical education, and, at the age of eighteen, he commenced the study of medicine under the preceptorship of the late distinguished Volney A. Hawkins, M. D., of Feliciana, Ky., with whom he pursued his studies until 1847, when he attended his first course of lectures at the Memphis Medical College. In 1848 he commenced the practice of his profession at Columbus, Hickman Co., Ky., continuing the same with excellent success in that city and vicinity for some thirteen years, with the exception of one year, when he attended the medical department of the University of Louisville, Ky., graduating with high honors in February, 1859. In 1861 he removed to Columbus, Miss., where he at once secured an extensive and lucrative practice, devoting much of his time to surgery. He was also employed as assistant surgeon in Yandell Hospital, of Columbus, Miss., under the late Dr. Paul F. Eve; to which institution he devoted two hours each day for some four years. In July, 1866, he returned to his home in Columbus, where he has since devoted himself assiduously to his profession. In order to keep up with the advancement in the science of medicine he has passed parts of several summers at the hospitals of various cities, including New York. Although he has sustained many and severe financial reverses, he has yet, by close attention to business, acquired a handsome

fortune, being one of the principal owners of city real estate in Columbus. On the 30th of May, 1849, he was united in marriage to Miss Martha T. Johns, a native of Hickman County, Ky., and a daughter of William Johns, one of the early pioneers of the district. Five children were the fruit of this union, all of whom died in infancy, except one daughter, Marietta, who married Benjamin M. Monroe, of Columbus, Ky. Mrs. Marietta Monroe died in 1881 in her twenty-third year, leaving a little daughter to the care of the doctor and his estimable lady. Dr. Jackson is and has been for years a member of the city council of Columbus. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity, the I. O. O. F., and of the K. of H. In politics he is a Democrat, and he and wife are members of the Presbyterian Church.

WILLIAM A. JACKSON was born December 7, 1846 in Hickman County, Ky., where he still resides. His father, John S. Jackson, was born in 1823 in Christian County, Ky., and is still living. He was the son of William, a soldier in the war of 1812, who died in 1873. John S., married Mary, daughter of James Harris of Obion County, Tenn. (born in 1827, and died in 1856). Their children are: James K. P., subject, John E., and Sarah (Evans). Subject was married December 16, 1866, to Miss Loutilla W., daughter of A. M., and Nancy A. (Ward) Johnson, of Hickman County, and to them have been born: Reuben, Peter, John M., Adella, Damaris, and Rufus. Subject has served both as constable and magistrate. He is a farmer, having 220 acres of good land. He is a Mason, an Odd Fellow, a Baptist and a Democrat.

FELIX E. JEWELL, Hickman County, was born in Daviess County, Ky., May 6, 1838, and is a son of Louis and Mary N. (Potts) Jewell. The father was born in Fayette County, Ky., in 1802, and his grandfather, David Jewell, was born in Loudoun County, Va. The latter was a soldier in an early day and participated in St. Clair's defeat. He came to the State in 1795, and settled in Fayette County. He came to Daviess County, in 1837, where he died December 17, 1848. In 1851, the father of our subject came to Hickman County, and settled on the farm now owned by the latter. Prior to his coming to this county he had been a miller, but after his arrival here he confined his attention to farming. He died January 3, 1873, a member of the Masonic fraternity. His wife died October 7, 1872. Felix E. Jewell was the fourth of six children, and is the only one of them now living. He has always resided on the home farm, and now owns 135 acres, of which fifty-five acres are in cultivation. Mr. Jewell was married in Franklin County, Ky., February 7, 1866, to Miss Mary A Utley, a daughter of Allen R., and Harriet (Alexander) Utley. Her father was a native of Jessamine County; her mother of Trimble. Mrs. Jewell was born in Woodford County, April 1, 1844, and is the mother of two living children; Richard A., and Mary L. Mr. Jewell enlisted in Company A, of the Thirty-ninth Kentucky Mounted Infantry, United States Army, December 15, 1863, and was discharged April 18, 1865. Mrs. Jewell is a member of the Baptist Church, and Mr. Jewell of Milburn Lodge, K. of H.

T. B. JOHNSON was born in this county, February 26, 1837, and is a son of Hudson and Elizabeth (Light) Johnson. The father was a native of Dickson County, Tenn. He came to this county in 1835, and settled in this district on the farm, where some of the family are still living. He first entered eighty acres, which he subsequently increased until he secured about 2,000 acres, which were divided among his children. He also extensively followed stock-raising at one time. He died in this district October 11, 1875; his wife died April 18, 1868. Subject was the fifth of eleven children, of whom six are now living; Mary E., Thomas B., Nancy V., wife of W. J. Hays; Rufus H., W. R., and N. J. T. B. Johnson remained at home until he was twenty-three years old, when he went to Columbus, where he merchandised until 1861. He then enlisted in Company A, of the Second Kentucky Infantry, under Col. J. W. Moss. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Fort Donelson, and confined seven months. He was then exchanged and joined his company. He subsequently took part in the battles of Stone River, Chicamauga, Jackson, Dallas, and many others. Returning home in 1865, he settled on his present farm, where he now owns about 700 acres, of which, about 300 are in cultivation. Mr. Johnson was married June 20, 1871 to Miss Sallie Jewell, a daughter of Lewis and Mary (Potts) Jewell. Two children, Mary E., and Gracie A., blessed this union. Mrs. Johnson died in April, 1875. He was next married June 6, 1878 to Miss Lorella Cookendorfer, a daughter of George and Elizabeth (Magruder) Cookendorfer. The result of this marriage has been three children: Mattie B., Thomas N. and Nannie N.

NIMROD P. JOHNSON, Hickman County, was born August 19, 1836, in Humphreys County, Tenn., where he grew to manhood,

and in 1859 came to Hickman County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Hiram Johnson, a native of upper Kentucky, died in 1844, in Tennessee. He married Milberry, daughter of Patrick Spicer; she died about 1870. Their children are: Spencer A., Jesse, Caroline, Nimrod P., Margaret and Cordelia. July 7, 1859, N. P. Johnson was married to Miss Eliza J., daughter of Cornelius and Susan Carter, of Hickman County, and to them have been born: Mollie H. (Bugg); Fannie B., deceased; David H., James H., William T., and Joseph J. Mr. Johnson is a farmer, having 303 acres of good land, in a fine state of cultivation. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M., and in his religious affiliations is a Methodist.

R. H. JOHNSON was born September 28, 1844, in Hickman County. He is a son of Hudson and Elizabeth (Light) Johnson. The father was born in Tennessee about 1829; he came to Hickman County, and died in 1873, aged sixty-four. The mother was also born in Tennessee; she died in 1871, aged sixty-two. Our subject was reared on his father's farm. He enlisted in 1861, in Company A, First Kentucky Cavalry, Confederate States Army, and served to the end of the war. On his return he attended school two years, also taught school two years. He then commenced farming on 160 acres of land, given him by his father; this farm he has since well improved, and there he continued to reside until his election to the office of sheriff, in 1882, at which time he removed to Clinton. Mr. Johnson was married in 1868 to Fannie Johnson, of this county. These parents have four children, one son and three daughters.

DR. W. A. JORDAN was born in Lawrenceburg, Anderson Co., Ky., December 31, 1836. He is a son of J. G. and J. H. (Gaines) Jordan. The father was born in the same county and State, and died January 18, 1875, aged seventy-one. The mother was also born in the same county; she died May 15, 1879, aged seventy-two. The doctor was reared on the farm, and later engaged in merchandising. At the breaking out of the war he enlisted in the First Kentucky Infantry, and served until the close, after which he commenced the study of medicine under the preceptorship of Dr. Morgan V. Tomlinson, and graduated in the class of 1873, from the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia. He then came to Clinton, where he has since been engaged at his chosen profession. Dr. Jordan was married in May, 1877, to Miss Belle, daughter of Dr. N. I. Hess, of Trenton, Tenn. Two children bless this union, one son and one daughter.

THOMAS G. JORDAN was born April 10, 1830, in Hickman County, Ky., where he was reared and still resides. His father, William S. Jordan, was born in Anderson County, Ky., in 1799; removed in 1826 to Hickman County, where at different times for many years, he served as constable, magistrate, high sheriff and county judge, and died in 1876. He was the son of George Jordan, of Culpeper County, Va., who was seven years a soldier in the Revolution. George was the son of "Blind Tom Jordan," of Virginia. William S. married Julia A., daughter of Dr. Allen and Mary (Allen) Caldwell, of Woodford County, Ky., born in 1809, and died in 1848. Their children are: George A., Ophelia C. (Utterback), subject, Mary R. (Gray), Rev. William H., a minister of the Methodist Church; John V., Judge Frank A., Martha A. (Parsons), Eugene B., Leanora (Farris), Virginia E. (Whayne), and Edwin S. Thomas G. Jordan was married January 3, 1856, to Miss Mary, daughter of Rev. John and Melinda (Person) Bryars, of Hickman County, and to them have been born: Lena M. (Shaw), Annie A. (Weaver), Virgil N., John S., Mary T., Frank X. and William P. Mr. Jordan is a farmer, owning 220 acres of productive land, which he is successfully cultivating. He is a Mason, a Granger, a Methodist and a Democrat.

PAT KEIRCE, car inspector for the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, was born January 6, 1846, in Ireland. He is a son of Michael and Hannah (Quinn) Keirce. The father still lives in his native country, now at the advanced age of eighty-five. The mother died in May, 1866, aged fifty-four. In 1862 our subject came to Louisville, Ky., worked there at various kinds of employment until December, 1865, and then came to Columbus, where he has since resided. His first work was on a wharf-boat for Halliday Brothers, remaining in their employ five years, after which he secured employment with the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company as car repairer; this position he held until 1883, when he was appointed car inspector, which position he now satisfactorily fills. He was married in 1867 to Ellen O'Donnell, of Columbus; this union has been blessed with three children, two sons and one daughter. They are members of the Catholic Church.

JOHN R. KEMP was born May 18, 1844 in Cumberland County, Ky. He is a son of W. T. and S. H. (Emerson) Kemp. The father was born in Abingdon, Va., and is now living in Clinton. The mother died in 1852, aged thirty years. John R. enlisted, in 1861, in Company L, of the Third Ken-

tucky Infantry, Confederate States Army, and served until the battle of Franklin, where he was wounded and taken prisoner; he was confined until the close of the war, and then released on parole. He afterward returned to Clinton, where he was appointed deputy circuit clerk. This position he held until 1869, when he went to Louisiana, where he engaged in farming and merchandising, remaining there until 1878, when he returned to Clinton. In the fall of 1880 he was elected to the office of circuit clerk, in which capacity he is still serving. He was married in December, 1870, to Julia Raiford, of Marshall County, Miss. Three children, one son and two daughters, have blessed this union. Mr. Kemp is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

JOSEPH KENNEDY, Hickman County (deceased), was born August 9, 1820, in Bourbon County, Ky., where he grew to manhood; in 1849 he came to Hickman County, where he resided until his death April 27, 1885. His father, Jesse Kennedy, a native of Bourbon County, was born in 1787, and died at the same place in 1863. He commanded a "pack-horse" brigade in the war of 1812, and was four times representative in the legislature. He was the son of Thomas, a native of Maryland, who was born in 1744, went to Virginia in 1775, to Bourbon County in 1776, to Strades Station in 1779; was a carpenter and mason, and died in 1827. He was the son of John, of Ireland, who was kidnaped, and sold in Maryland. Jesse married Mary Waugh, who died in 1828. Their children are: Thomas, Franklin, Jesse G., subject, Washington, George, William W. and Mary M. (Kennedy). Joseph Kennedy was married February 24, 1848, to Miss Elizabeth A., daughter of Milton P. and Rebecca (Miller) Wheat, of Columbia, Ky., and to them were born: Milton J. (deceased), Jo-Ella (Winter), who died August 16, 1884, Julia A. (Bell), Thomas G. (deceased), Susan M. (Salmon), Sarah F. (Smith), Allie W. (Deweese). Mr. Kennedy was a farmer, and owned 370 acres of valuable and productive land in a fine state of cultivation. He was an active member of the Christian Church, and in politics was a Democrat.

MRS. LUCY A. KERR, Hickman County, was born November 13, 1824, in Franklin County, Tenn. She is a daughter of James Stanley, who was born in South Carolinia, and while in Tennessee held the office of sheriff, and various other offices. He moved to Charleston, Mo., in 1832, and died there in 1838. Our subject was married to John O. Morton, in 1840; he died soon after, leaving one son, John M. Her second marriage was in 1844, to John W. Dunn; he died in 1847, leaving one child, Mary A. Her third marriage, in 1849, was to James C. Burgess, of Virginia; he died in 1862, leaving two sons and one daughter. Her fourth marriage, in 1867, was to N. M. Kerr, of Virginia; he died in 1876, leaving one daughter. In 1844 Mrs. Kerr went to Cape Girardeau, Mo.; after remaining there one year, she returned to Charleston, and in 1849 moved to Wolf Island; there she continued to reside until 1878, when she came to Columbus. She owns two farms on the island, consisting of several hundred acres, one of which is now rented. John W. Dunn was elected county judge, and died in the fall of his election. Her son, John M. Morton, served in the late war and is now engaged in farming on Wolf Island. Mrs. Kerr is a member of the Baptist Church.

M. V. KERR was born in Hickman County, Ky., April 21, 1855, and is the eldest living son of William J. and Elizabeth (White) Kerr, a sketch of whom will be found in this volume. Our subject was employed on his father's farm until he attained his twenty-seventh year. He was then united in marriage to Miss Sallie B. Stone, of Pemiscot County, Mo. One son has blessed their union, Orvil J., born February 29, 1884. Since his marriage, Mr. Kerr and his brother have continued to farm the home place. He was for several years one of the school trustees for his district. He was appointed justice of the peace in 1877 and was elected to that office in 1882, and still holds the office. He belongs to no church but is a member of the Masonic fraternity. In politics he is a Democrat.

WILLIAM J. KERR was born near Georgetown, Scott County, Ky., July 30, 1820, and is the only living child of William and Cecilia (Anderson) Kerr, both natives of the "Old Dominion," and of Scotch and English descent respectively. Subject's father received his education and learned his trade, that of a saddler and harness maker, in his native State. Soon after his marriage he removed to Georgetown, Ky., where he followed his trade for some twenty years. In December, 1824, he came with his family to Hickman County, Ky., and settled on a military claim on the Mississippi River, four miles south of Columbus and near what is known as the chalk banks. Here he commenced to improve a farm and was also extensively engaged in furnishing wood for steamboats on the river. His death occurred in August, 1825. After his death his widow

and children continued to occupy and improve the farm, which soon became one of the best improved as well as one of the richest in the county. The death of Mrs. Cecilia Kerr occurred at the home of our subject, September 20, 1863, in her eighty-eighth year. She was a life-long and devoted member of the Church of England. Her father, Richard Anderson, was one of the pioneers and most noted financiers of Richmond, Va. William J. Kerr's early life, in fact all his life, was passed on the old home farm, which he owns and to which he has added other lands, now owning a well improved farm of 350 acres. For twenty-five consecutive years Mr. Kerr was, by election of the people, justice of the peace for Columbus, Hickman County, and during all that time no appeal was ever taken from his decisions. Mr. Kerr has been thrice married. On March 10, 1847, he married Miss Jane S. Creig, a native of Virginia, who departed this life on the 10th of the following December. Mr. Kerr was next married, February 20, 1850, to Miss Elizabeth P. White, a native of Fulton County, Ky., and a niece of the Rev. Willis White. To this union were born nine children, seven of whom—three sons and four daughters—are yet living. Mrs. Elizabeth P. Kerr died April 12, 1872, a member of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Kerr married his present wife, Mrs. Mary J. (Blair) Davidson, on February 12, 1874. Mrs. Kerr is a member of the Baptist Church. Mr. Kerr is a member of the Masonic fraternity, having been W. M. of his lodge for some five or six years. He is, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the oldest living settler in the Purchase, having lived in Hickman County for more than sixty years.

CHRISTOPHER H. LEE, was born in Bullitt County, Ky., July 24, 1842, and is one of the children born to James and Margaret (Atcher) Lee. The father was born in Bullitt County in 1806, and his mother was born in Leesville, Va., in 1807. In 1845 the family moved to Mississippi County, Mo., where James Lee died in 1877; his wife's death took place in 1867. In the spring of 1862 Christopher enlisted in the Eighth Missouri Cavalry, but was mustered out after a year's service on account of bad health. Mr. Lee spent most of his time prior to the war in working on the farm with his father, and hunting, a pastime in which he takes considerable pleasure up to the present time, being a dead shot. Mr. Lee was united in marriage to Miss Alice Ann Jones, a daughter of John F. and Jane (Edrington) Jones, of Mississippi County, Mo. Her grandfather, Price Edrington, was one of the earliest settlers of Wolf Island. To Mr. and Mrs. Lee have been born the following family: Margaret Jane, born in Hickman County, Ky., July 19, 1867; Rachael Valentine, born in Hickman County, Ky., February 14, 1869; Lillie Miles, September 23, 1871; Bettie Bryant, August 23, 1874; Chris. H., February 24, 1878; John James, May 31, 1880; Hooper Crews, February 8, 1883; the last five were all born in Missouri. Mr. Lee farms in Missouri, also in Wolf Island, where he has a nicely improved farm, willed to him by his father-in-law in 1883, comprising 117 acres. Unfortunately in 1882–84 the rising of the water did considerable damage to the crops, the loss in 1883 having been over $1,000.

MRS. A. C. LESTER, was born January 23, 1820, in Simpson County, Ky. She is a daughter of Henry Wright, of Maryland. He came to Hickman County in 1839, and here engaged in farming until 1853, when he moved to Texas, where he soon after died, at the age of sixty-two, of yellow fever. Mrs. Lester was married in 1839 to Richard Lester; he was born in Pulaski County, Tenn., came to Columbus in 1853, and was engaged in merchandising until his death in 1859, leaving a family of six children, five of whom are living: Sarah (now Mrs. Webb), Ada (now Mrs. Jones), Belle (now Mrs. Emerson), Milton H. (in the employ of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad for the past twelve years), Ada J. (now living at home), Henry F. (entered the Confederate Army in 1862 as second lieutenant, and later was promoted to captain; he died in Columbus in October, 1865, aged twenty-six.

WILLIAM P. LEWIS, was born March 8, 1840, in Robertson County, Tenn., and in 1851 removed to Weakley County, where he grew to manhood. In 1861 he entered the army, where he remained until 1864. He then came to Hickman County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Williamson Lewis, a native of Brunswick County, Va., was born in 1789, and died in 1873. He was the son of Harbert Lewis, of Virginia, who died at the age of one hundred and twelve years. Subject's mother, Sarah P., daughter of Mathew Freeman, of Virginia, is now living at the age of seventy-eight years. Williamson was twice married, and his children are, by first wife, Lillian, Peggy (Collins), Lemie (Slaten), Lear (Harris), Harbert, George B. and John W.; by his second wife, Nicholas L., James M., subject, Mary J. (Seals), Elizabeth and Joseph B. William P. Lewis was married November 22, 1866, to Miss Mollie E., daughter of John and Ann

E. (Grant) Salmon, of Fulton County, and to them have been born George L., Mary I., William F., Oscar M. and Blanche (deceased). Mr. Lewis is a successful farmer, having 156 acres of valuable land. He is a member of the Baptist Church, and in politics a Democrat.

MRS. HALLIE G. LILLARD was born in 1835, near Paris, Bourbon County, Ky., was reared on her father's farm and came with her parents in an early day to this county. In 1856 she was married to Dr. W. W. Lillard, of Lawrenceburg, Anderson County. To this union there were three sons born, Thomas H., George K. and Robert. Dr. W. W. Lillard was educated at Franklin Military Institute, Kentucky; enlisted in the Mexican war, was wounded at Buena Vista, from the effects of which he never recovered. After his return home he studied medicine, came to Hickman County in 1852, and located in the town of Clinton as practicing physician. He was surgeon in the late war, and died in 1867, in Columbus, where he had been practicing medicine for three years. Since his death Mrs. Lillard has been managing the farm, which is in a good state of cultivation, well improved and consists of 180 acres. During the war Mrs. Lillard was visited by Gregory's men and had a good deal of trouble with them. Mrs. Lillard is a lady of great refinement and is highly educated.

JOHN T. LITTLE was born November 12, 1850, in Graves County, Ky.; removed with his parents in 1852 to Fulton County, where he grew to manhood, and in 1872 came to Moscow, where he has since resided. His father, William Little, a native of Virginia, was born in 1820, and died in 1880. He was the son of John, a Virginian, who served in the war of 1812, and died in 1881. William married Sarah J., daughter of Elder Fleming Cayce, of Hickman County, and from this union sprang subject, Wade S., Anna (Hornsby), Martha E. (deceased), Joseph F., Hardy C. and Cynthia. April 23, 1874, John T. Little married Miss Susan A. daughter of W. B. and Sarah F. (Jaines) Milner, of Fulton County, and to them have been born Nina A. and Ira W. He commenced merchandising in 1872 at Moscow, has met with marked success, and now under the firm name of J. T. Little & Co., is extensively engaged in general merchandising and dealing in grain and produce.

JAMES MARRE was born December 28, 1853, in Italy. He is a son of Toney and Maria (Botto) Marre. In 1859 he came with his parents to Memphis, Tenn., where they remained about sixteen months, after which they came to Hickman; there they remained about the same length of time, and then returned to their native country, where the parents have since lived. In 1869 James Marre returned to America, and the following year settled in Columbus, where he has since been engaged in the saloon business. He was married in 1876 to Ella Devoto, of Memphis, Tenn. This marriage has been blessed with two children, one son and one daughter. Mr. Marre is a member of the city council, now serving on his second term.

S. B. MAY, Hickman County, was born March 18, 1822, in Spencer County, Ky. He is a son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Berkley) May. The father was born in the same county and State; he carried on farming and trading, served in the war of 1812, holding a commission of second lieutenant, and died on his farm in 1859, aged sixty-six. The mother was born in Loudoun County, Va.; she died in 1860, aged sixty-three. Our subject was reared on his father's farm and after the death of his father, became owner of 367 acres of property, which originally comprised 613 acres; here he continued to reside until 1872. In 1880 he came to his present farm, which consists of 276 acres and is known as the Ringo farm. Mr. May was married in 1859 to Miss Sarah F. Yantis, of Garrard County, Ky.; this union has been blessed with five daughters. Mr. and Mrs. May are members of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. May is also a member of the Masonic fraternity.

CHARLES E. MEDLEY was born October 17, 1845, in Halifax County, Va. He is a son of Isaac and Caroline A. (Edwards) Medley, who was also born in the same State and county. In 1852 the family moved to Christian County, Ky.; there the father died May 27, 1879, aged seventy-four. The mother was born January 14, 1819; she died May 29, 1870. Our subject was reared on his father's farm until 1869 when he went to New Orleans, was there employed by a commission firm two years, after which he returned to Christian County. In 1871 he went to Texas, also extended his travels through the western territories, and returned to Christian County in 1873; there he raised one crop and 1874 came to Hickman County and settled on his farm, which now consists of 450 acres, four miles south of Columbus. He engaged in farming until 1882, when he moved to Columbus and has since been in the employ of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad.

JAMES A. MILLER was born Septem-

ber 18, 1836, in Bath County, Ky. He is a son of A. A. and Susan (Berry) Miller. The father was born in Virginia, and died in 1865, aged sixty-seven; he has been engaged in the milling business most of his life. The mother died in 1874, aged seventy-two. At the age of eleven, James A. Miller commenced working in his father's mill; this business he has since followed. In 1856 the family moved to Paducah; after his father's death he took charge of the mill, which he operated until 1878, at which time he came to Clinton, and bought his present mills; the capacity of the grain-mill is about 100 bushels of wheat and 250 bushels of corn. The saw-mill has a capacity of about 10,000 feet of lumber a day.

BEN M. MONROE, Hickman County, agent of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, at Columbus, was born December 31, 1849, in Frankfort, Ky. He is a son of Andrew and Martha (Taylor) Monroe. The father was born in Adair County, Ky.; he was a lawyer by profession, and had held many important offices, among which was county judge of Jefferson County; he died in 1867, aged forty-five. Our subject received his education at Louisville. In 1868 he came to Columbus; since 1872 he has been in the employ of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad Company, and is now acting station agent at this point. He was married in 1877 to Miss V. M., daughter of Dr. J. M. Jackson, of Columbus. She died in the fall of 1881, leaving one daughter. His second marriage was in 1883, to Miss Sue M., daughter of Thomas Winn, of Hickman County. Mr. Monroe is a member of the K. of H.

ROBERT W. MOORE was born in Clinton, Hickman County, October 14, 1857. He is a son of John T. and Susan (Walker) Moore. The father was born in Bowling Green, Ky.; the mother in Westport, Ky. When about seven years of age, John T. Moore came with his parents to Clinton, where he has since resided, and is now a member of the firm of John T. Moore & Co. His father opened a store here, and John T. was taken in as clerk, and subsequently became a member of the firm. He has since boyhood been engaged in merchandising at this place. Robert W. Moore, who is a member of this firm, was, married in 1880 to Florence Wells, of Indiana. This union has been blessed with two sons.

W. J. MOORE was born February 5, 1823, in Hickman County, and is probably the oldest living native of the county. He is a son of Ira and Phœbe (Farmer) Moore. The father died in 1868, aged eighty-three; the mother died in 1881, aged seventy-three. For some good reason the father disposed of the home place, on which our subject was reared, but in 1851 William J. Moore purchased this farm back, and has since owned it. It is pleasantly located about two and one-half miles east of Clinton, and contains 120 acres of land well improved. W. J. was married in 1847 to Matilda Adams, of this county. She died in 1854, leaving one son, now in Tennessee. In 1855 Mr. Moore married Mary Hayden, of Graves County. This union has been blessed with six sons and four daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Moore are life-long and devoted members of the Baptist Church.

J. L. MOSS, Hickman County, county clerk, was born April 15, 1847, in Green County, Ky. He is a son of George B. and Elizabeth (Marshall) Moss, both natives of the same county and State. The father died in October, 1881, aged sixty-three. Our subject was reared principally by his grandfather, Beverly Marshall. In 1870 he secured the position of deputy circuit and county clerk, and since that time has been connected with this and the office of the circuit clerk. In August, 1882, he was elected to his present position. He is also a member of the firm of L. C. & J. L. Moss, dealers in farm machinery, and doing a business not excelled by any other firm in the Purchase. Mr. Moss was married October 23, 1883, to Miss Love, daughter of Dr. George Beeler, of Clinton.

N. P. MOSS was born February 15, 1835, in Wilson County, Tenn. He is a son of John and Susan (Murray) Moss, both natives of Halifax County, Va. The father was born in May, 1798; he died January 8, 1867. The mother was born December 3, 1802; she died June 18, 1873. They were married in July, 1822, and in 1843 came to Hickman County, and engaged in agricultural pursuits. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, and attended the Clinton Seminary, after which he completed his literary course at Bethel College, Tennessee. In 1856 he took up the study of law with Col. E. Crossland, was admitted to the bar in 1858, then went to Texas and engaged in practice till 1861, when he enlisted in Company C, Fifth Texas Infantry, and served till the battle of Gettysburg, when he was taken prisoner and confined at Fort Donelson till the close of the war. He then came to Clinton, where he has since been engaged in the practice of his chosen profession. Mr. Moss was married in November, 1871, to Miss Ada M. Semple, of Clinton. This union has been

blessed with three children—two daughters and one son. Mr. Moss owns a farm of 300 acres, on which he resides, and which joins Clinton on the west. This farm is in as fine a state of cultivation as any in the county.

WILLIAM H. MOSS was born in Greensburg, Ky., February 8, 1825, there grew to manhood, and in 1856, came to Hickman County, where he still resides. His father, Capt. Thomas S. T. Moss, a native of Virginia, was born in 1790, removed with his parents in childhood to Mercer County, Ky., served twice as captain in the war of 1812, and died about 1850. He married Judith C. Bullock, of Perryville; she was born in 1800, and died in 1866. Their children are George B., Louisa (Hutchinson), Col. James W. (killed in battle), subject, John A., Mary (Montgomery), Susan H. (Poe), Lieut. Luther C., Harriet (Thompson), Katie (Overal and Van Meter), Thomas E. and Josephine I. The family have largely participated in the wars of the country; three brothers having served in the Mexican war, and four in the late war, our subject having taken an active part in both. On May 29, 1851, Mr. Moss married Miss Sarah J., daughter of Rev. Joseph and Patsey (Moss) Price, of Green County, Ky., (born in 1827, and died in 1882), and to them have been born John L., Joseph P., Thomas S. T. (deceased), William J. (deceased), George T., Wesley E. (deceased), Robert E. and Pelham A. Subject was next married March 14, 1883, to Miss Rachel A., daughter of Kirby and Rachel (Wyatt) Jones, of McCracken County, Ky. Mr. Moss is a farmer, owning 200 acres of good and productive land. He is a Royal Arch Mason; a Methodist in religion, and an old line Whig in politics, now affiliating with the Democratic party.

JOHN MUSCOVALLEY was born in 1810, on the Island of Mytelene, Greece, where he resided until the age of nine, and emigrated to the Ionian Isles, stopping there for ten years. He returned to Greece for a few months, then embarked for the United States, from Smyrna, on board the ship "Marmette," which was on its way to Africa for a cargo of wool, and was under the command of Capt. William Phelps, and was owned by a Mr. Bradshaw. Upon leaving Africa, the "Marmette" retouched Smyrna, then setting sail for the west, arrived at Boston in 1831. There he shipped on board the "Forrester," Capt. Brown, as a sailor, and went to the Brazils, but on the return of the ship to Boston, he left her and went to New York, there entering a grocery store kept by a Mr. Moffatt, and stayed there for nearly a year. After this he went to work in a foundry, and worked for six years. Mr. Muscovalley also sailed to Charleston, S. C., on the steamship "Columbia," the packet plying between New York and South Carolina. He next went to New Orleans on the steamship "New York," then engaged in carrying soldiers to Black Creek, Fla., to fight the Indians, also making a trip to South Carolina and Savannah on the same business, returning to New Orleans after a period of two or three months. He next attended store for more than two years in New Orleans. At the end of this time he commenced trading for himself up and down the Mississippi, buying goods at one place and selling them at another, doing an extensive business in chickens. In this he was engaged for a term of twenty-two years. In 1839 he came to this county, and purchased a farm one-half mile south of where he now resides, and in 1843, he purchased another farm of 200 acres four miles below Columbus, on the river front, he himself, being at that time still engaged in the river trade. In 1862 Mr. Muscovalley left the river and settled on his farm, and since that time has gone on farming and purchasing land, until he now owns the enormous acreage of 3,300. In 1833 he married Miss Jane Anderson, a native of Ireland, and a resident of New York. Of this union there were eight children born, three of whom are living, two boys and one girl. Miss Muscovalley was married to Thomas Davis, of Arlington, Ballard Co., Ky. Mr. Muscovalley is a Master Mason and was possessed of an apron and scarf, which were manufactured in Jerusalem, but during the fire which occurred on his farm on April 10, 1884, his house and all the contents, including the apron and scarf, were burnt. In politics he is a Democrat, and is also a member of the Greek Church. Mrs. Muscovalley is an Episcopalian.

WILLIAM MUSCOVALLEY was born in this county, in 1851, of John and Jane (Anderson) Muscovalley, of this county, whose sketch precedes this. William went first of all to the common schools, afterward to Milburn Academy, town of Milburn, Ballard Co., Ky. After leaving the academy he worked for his father until of age, when he started for himself on a good, but small farm, situated on the river front, adjoining his father's property, and which he cultivates principally in corn. It is well improved with a comfortable house, and all under cultivation. In 1880 he commenced as a lumberman on his own account, hauling and rafting logs to Memphis, also in lumber-

ing generally, which he continued for three years very successfully, making a good deal of money at it. In 1883 he again settled down to farming. September 15, 18—, he was married to Miss Fanny Watson, daughter of Emanuel and Sarah (Ward) Watson, of Ballard County. In politics he is a Democrat.

JAMES H. MYERS was born July 27, 1845, in Fulton County, and is a son of William T. and Rachael M. (Green) Myers; both parents were born in Bertie County, N. C., where they were married, and in 1845 came to Fulton County, Ky.; the father died in 1856, aged forty-two. The mother now lives in Hickman County. Our subject was reared on his father's farm. He enlisted in 1862 in Company A, Twelfth Kentucky Cavalry, Confederate States Army, and served to the end of the war; after which settled in Wingo, and followed the carpenter trade and engaged in merchandising, in all about twelve years. In 1881 he moved to Wickliffe, and engaged in merchandising about eleven months; he then came to Clinton, where he has since resided, and at times is engaged in preaching in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Meyers was married September 21, 1875, to Mrs. Nannie S. Hatchell of Graves County; they have one daughter. Mrs. Myers has two children by her former marriage.

FREDERICK NAGEL, Jr., was born in St. Paul, Minn., October 3, 1857, and is the eldest of seven children born to Frederick and Catherine (Kraft) Nagel, both natives of Germany. Frederick Nagel, Sr., when a young man, immigrated to the United States, and settled in Louisville, Ky., where he learned the baker's trade, and followed the same for several years. He then removed to St. Louis, Mo., where he pursued the same business for a time; thence he moved to St. Paul, Minn., in 1856, where also he followed the baking business. In 1858 he returned to St. Louis where he was employed as foreman in a cracker factory until 1862, when he came with his family to Columbus, Ky., where he opened a bakery and followed his trade until his death, which occurred on August 25, 1875, in his forty-second year. For the last four or five years of his life he also ran a saloon in connection with the bakery. He belonged to no church, but was a member of both the Masonic and I. O. O. F. fraternities. Frederick Nagel, Jr., at the age of fifteen, went into his father's saloon as assistant, and continued until the father's death, after which he took charge of the business on his own account, continuing the same until 1876. In 1877, he opened a saloon at Belmont, Mo., where he remained about two years. He then sold the saloon and was employed as an engineer on the Iron Mountain Transfer Boat, plying between Belmont and Columbus, which position he still holds. In June, 1884, he opened a saloon at Columbus, which he conducts with the assistance of his youngest brother, George F., in connection with his work as engineer. He is yet unmarried and makes his home with his mother who conducts a bakery and grocery store at Columbus. Mr. Nagel belongs to no church, but is a member of the I. O. O. F. In politics he is a Democrat.

THOMAS J. NALL, Hickman County, was born June 9, 1808, in Washington County, Ky. He is a son of Martin and Elizabeth (Elliston) Nall. The father was born in Virginia, came to Washington County, Ky., at an early day, and in 1832 the family came to Hickman County. He died in 1852, aged seventy-two. The mother was born in Washington County, and died in 1818. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, and at the age of twenty-one commenced farming for himself, which he has since continued. He has owned 220 acres of land, a part of which he has deeded to his children. He was married in 1832 to Sarah Jenkins, of Washington County; she died in 1834, aged twenty. In 1835 he married Sarah Spicer, of Georgia; these parents have seven children, four sons and three daughters: John A., enlisted in 1861 in Company E, Twelfth Tennessee Infantry, and served to the end of the war; William J. enlisted in 1861 in Company E, Twelfth Tennessee, in 1862 were both transferred to the Third Kentucky Infantry, and served to the close of the war; Maria E., now wife of William Pharis; Sarah F., now Mrs. Leroy Eggbert; Martha A., wife of George W. Parrott; Thomas M. and James H. William J. was married June 15, 1865, to Susan C. Byrd, of Hickman County; they have three sons and two daughters. John A. was married in 1868, to Lydia J. Gwyn, of Hickman County; she died in the spring of 1884, leaving four sons. The family are members of the Baptist Church.

LUKE L. OLIVER, Hickman County, was born November 18, 1845, in Fulton County, Ky., and in 1871 came to Hickman County, where he has since resided. His father, Lee Oliver, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1800, removed to Fulton County, Ky., in 1826, and died in 1868. He was the son of Shade Oliver, of North Carolina, who died about 1848. Subject's mother, Drusilla (Cloyes) Oliver was born in 1816, and is still living. To her and

husband were born Harvey, subject, John M., Robert W. and Melissa J. Luke L. Oliver was married February 24, 1870, to Miss Mary J., daughter of Harris and Betty (Mobley) Pruitt, of Gibson County, Tenn.; this union has been blessed with the birth of one child, Arena. Mr. Oliver is a successful farmer, owning 177 acres of fertile land. In religion he is an active Methodist and in politics affiliates with the Democratic party.

GEORGE W. PARROTT was born July 22, 1847, in Hickman County, Ky., where he was reared to manhood, and has always resided. His father, Shelton Parrott, a native of Washington County, Ky., died in 1875, at the age of seventy-seven years. Shelton married Betsey Littsey, who died in 1880, at the age of sixty-five years. The offspring of this worthy couple are James G., Louisa E. (House), Amanda (Howard), Mary A. (Nall), and subject. George W. Parrott was married October 22, 1868, to Miss Mattie, daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Spicer) Nall, of Hickman County, and from this union have sprung two sons, viz.: Harvey McElroy and James Felix Melvill. Mr. Parrott is a farmer, having 160 acres of good land, in a fine state of cultivation. In politics he is a Democrat, and his wife is a member of the Baptist Church.

WILLIAM PHARIS, Hickman County, was born March 4, 1836, in Cumberland County, Ky. He is a son of Samuel and Sarah (Norris) Pharis. The father was born November 15, 1811, in the same county and State; in the fall of 1856 he brought his family to Hickman County, bought 160 acres of land and now owns 175 acres, 100 acres of which are improved. William Pharis owns about ninety acres where he now lives; this land he has acquired by his own energy and hard work. He was married in 1859 to Maria E. Nall, of this county; this union has been blessed with three children, two sons and one daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Pharis are members of the Missionary Baptist Church.

J. P. POLLOCK was born December 24, 1837, in Todd County, Ky. He is a son of John and Rebecca (McCauley) Pollock. The father was born in Todd County, and died in 1850, aged thirty-four years. The mother was born in Dickson County, Tenn.; she died in 1864, aged sixty-four. After the death of the father the family moved to Ballard County and engaged in farming. In 1866 our subject came to Columbus, where he has since resided. He holds the office of justice of the peace, now serving on his fourth term. He has also held the office of mayor of Columbus several terms. Mr. Pollock was married in 1860, to Margaret F. Richardson of Ballard County; this union has been blessed with four children, two sons and two daughters. He is a member of the K. of H., K. & L. of H., U. O. of the G. C. and member of the Baptist Church.

JOE E. PORTER was born April 29, 1852, in Hickman County, Ky. He is the son of E. H. and Priscilla (Porter) Porter. The father was born near Eminence, Ky., and came to Hickman County about 1840, where he has since resided and engaged in farming. Our subject was reared on his father's farm. In 1873 he went to Milburn, Ky., where he was engaged in merchandising seven years, after which he went to Paducah and secured a position as traveling salesman for George Rock & Co., and remained with them four years. He then went to St. Louis and traveled for Claflin, Allen & Co. one year, when, on account of sickness, he resigned. In September, 1883, he came to Clinton, where he has since lived. He was married in 1875 to Nannie S. Gregory, of Mayfield, Ky. These parents have three sons. J. M. Porter, the brother of Joe E. Porter, was born in August, 1857, in Hickman County. He engaged in merchandising in Arlington in 1875. In 1878 he went to Paducah, and was traveling salesman for W. N. Robinson three years. He then went to St. Louis and secured a position with the St. Louis Glass & Queensware Company, and has since represented this firm. Mr. Porter is regarded as one of the most successful salesman on the road. In November, 1883, the firm of Porter, Myatt & Co. was established.

B. W. RAMSAY, Columbus, merchant, dealer in staple and fancy groceries. Large stock kept on hand. Prices are adapted to the trade and the times.

F. M. RAY was born July 5, 1822, in Washington County, Ky., and is a son of Dennis and Nancy (Hays) Ray. The father was born in the same county and State, in 1798, and died here in 1874. He was one of the earliest settlers of Hickman County, having come here in 1827. He served as one of the magistrates of the county for many years prior to his death. F. M. Ray was reared on his father's farm where he remained until the age of twenty-one. He then attended college and taught school five years. During a portion of this time he also read law. He then taught the Clinton Seminary for eight years, meanwhile pursuing his law studies. Discontinuing teaching, he turned his attention to the practice of law, and has since followed that profession. He

represented this county in the legislature in the session of 1854–55. He spends his winters in Florida, where he owns an orange grove near Fort Dade, Fernando County. He was married November 4, 1847, to Miss Martha Hart, of west Tennessee, and this union has been blessed with ten children, five of whom—two sons and three daughters—are now living. Mr. and Mrs. Ray have been life-long members of the Misssionary Baptist Church.

MATTHEW REILLY was born in West Virginia, November 17, 1824, came with his parents in 1831 to Hickman County, Ky., and in 1839 moved to Scott County, Mo.; then in 1847 to Lee County, Iowa, returning in 1860 to Hickman County, Ky., where he has since resided. His father, Edward Reilly, died in 1833, aged about sixty-five years. He was the son of Peter Reilly, an Irishman, who lost his life in the American Revolution. Edward married Ann Root, and their offspring are Mary A. (Baran), Eliza (Baker), Peter, James M., Caroline, Lilburn H., Helen M. (Conder), Zerilda (Madigan and Henley), subject and Andrewville. Matthew Reilly was married in 1846, to Miss Emily E., daughter of Alfred E. Harris, of Scott County, Mo. (died in 1854), and to them were born Ann E. (Cromwell), William (deceased), Andrewville (deceased) and Napoleon B. He was next married in 1858, to Mrs. Sarah Rodman (born in 1827), daughter of Thomas and Mary (Scott) Bryars, and their children are Oscar (deceased), Lilburn H., Josephine (Baker), Edward T., Martha, Sidney and Calvin B. Mr. Reilly is a farmer, having 225 acres of productive land. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Christian and a Democrat.

ELIZA G. (BUCHANAN) REMLEY, Hickman County, was born in Lincoln County, Tenn., on August 2, 1835; daughter of Elbridge Gerry and Katherine Sidney (Garner) Buchanan. Mrs. Remley was brought up in Tennessee till the age of twelve, when the family removed to Columbus, Ky. In Tennessee Mr. Buchanan followed the business of a general merchant, but on removing to Kentucky he went into the grocery business, also keeping two hotels, the Buchanan House in Columbus, and another one in Clinton. During the war the Buchanan House was taken by the army and used as a hospital, all the furniture being broken up, and no allowance being made for it; the Confederate Army, on evacuating Columbus, forgetting all about the ruin they had caused at the hotel. Elbridge James Buchanan, a brother of our subject, served till the close of the war under Gen. Faulkner. Mrs. Remley received a good common school education. In 1853 she married Granville Remley, a native of Ohio, who came to Kentucky in 1851, and whose birthday took place on July 4, 1827. He worked as carpenter and blacksmith in Columbus up to the close of the war, also contracting for the supply of meat for the portion of the army stationed at Columbus. At the close of the war Mr. Remley had the sum of $60, and a little furniture. He then leased some property known as the Dabney farm, living on it till the time of his death in 1880. Mrs. Remley still conducts it, and has also since that time bought and paid for another farm of about 145 acres six miles from Clinton. They had a family of nine, three of whom are dead: William G., Mary (Davis), Kate (Moss), Alice H. (Fisher), James Elbridge, George A., Frank K., Henry F., and one that died unnamed. The late Mr. Remley was a Master Mason, a Baptist, and a strong advocate of the temperance cause. Mrs. Remley is a Baptist.

ROBERT D. RENNICK, Hickman County, was born in Lynchburg, Va., July 8, 1836, and in 1843, came with his parents to Hickman County, Ky., where he still retains his residence. His father, Samuel F. Rennick, was born in Lincoln County, Ky., in 1798, and died at this place in 1859. He was the son of James Rennick, of South Carolina, a Rovolutionary soldier. Samuel F. married Jane C., daughter of James Lindsay of Rockbridge County, Va. She was born in 1798 and died in 1877. The union was blessed with the following named offspring: James, George W., Samuel W., John F., Andrew T., and subject. Our subject was favored with a good English education, and is a man of considerable reading. In the late war he was a soldier in Forrest's command. He is now engaged in farming, owning at the old family homestead, 170 acres of good land, which he is successfully cultivating.

DR. W. W. RICHMOND was born April 7, 1846, in Hickman County, Ky. He is a son of William and Harriet T. (Woods) Richmond. The father was born in Tennessee, and died in 1848, aged thirty, the mother was born in Kentucky, and died in 1874, aged fifty-two. The doctor after completing his literary education, taught school one year, after which he worked out three years. In 1871 he commenced the study of medicine under the preceptorship of Dr. George Beeler, and graduated in March, 1874 at the University of Louisville. He then settled in Alexander, Fulton County,

where he practiced his profession eight years. In 1882 he came to Clinton, where he has since practiced. He was married in May, 1879, to Lucy E. Marshall of Paducah; two children, both daughters blessed this union. They are members of the Missionary Baptist Church.

THOMAS N. RINGO was born December 5, 1831, in Hickman County, Ky., where he grew to manhood, and in 1853 removed to Dade County, Mo., and after a short period, returned to Hickman County, where he has since resided. His father, Dr. James S. Ringo, a native of Montgomery County, Ky, was born in 1800, and died in 1874. He was the son of Joseph Ringo, a native of Germany, who died about 1860. Dr. James S. married Elizabeth Harris of Alabama; she was born in 1800 and died in 1831, and was the mother of the following children: Joel, Micajah, Monteville J., Mary A. (Persons) and subject. By a second marriage (with Sallie White), the doctor became the father of Amanda (McDonald), Martha (Sublett), Fee (Gore), Coleman, Willis, James M. and Belle. Dr. Ringo came to Hickman County about 1827. In October, 1852, subject was married to Miss Martha A., daughter of William and Elizabeth (Handley) Amos of Hickman County (died in 1854), and to them was born William F. He was next married in May, 1858, to Miss Nancy E. (born September 17, 1836, and died February 24, 1874), daughter of Arthur and Eveline (Travis) Brand of Graves County, Ky., and to them were born James M., Mary A. (Clark), Kate (Hopkins), Joel, Willis (deceased), Amanda B., Fredonia E. (deceased), Minnie, Henry and Robert L. Mr. Ringo is a farmer, owning 165 acres of fair land in good condition.

JOHN D. ROBERTS was born in Shreveport, La., February 23, 1845, and is the only child of John and Sabina (Dunlap) Roberts—the former of whom was a native of Tennessee, and the latter of Indiana. They were of Scotch and English descent respectively. Our subject however, has six half-brothers, the fruit of a subsequent marriage of both his father and mother. John Roberts received his early education in his native State of Tennessee, where he also learned the saddler and harness-maker's trade. When a young man he removed to Shreveport, La., where he followed his trade with abundant success until his death, which occurred in May, 1845, when our subject was only three months old. He was a member of the Baptist and Mrs. Roberts of the Presbyterian Church. Our subject received a good common school education, and an academic one at Warsaw, Ind., in early life. At the age of eighteen years he went to Cairo, Ill., and here he served seven years as an apprentice and clerk in the drug business. He then came to Columbus, Ky., where he clerked in a drug store for some four years, after which he opened a drug store of his own at the same place, and has been engaged in that business ever since. He is one of the oldest and best posted druggists and chemists in the Purchase. Mr. Roberts is yet unmarried, he and three of his half-brothers living together. He is liberal in his political views and is one of the leading and promising citizens of the city and county.

S. ROBERTS was born in Daviess County, Ky., May 7, 1843. He is a son of Henry and Elizabeth (Duncan) Roberts. The father was born in Virginia, and died in 1855, aged seventy-five. Our subject was reared on his father's farm and at the age of twenty-one, commenced telegraphing and railroading, and was appointed station agent at Humboldt. He was also seven years engaged in repairing wires and telegraphing, after which he went to Grand Crossing, and there worked one year for the Western Union. In 1875 he moved to Arlington and held the position as station agent at that point about eight years; in the winter of 1883 he came to Columbus, and purchased the Columbus City Mills, which he has since operated. He owns one farm in Hickman County, and two farms in Ballard County, also a hotel and other property in Arlington, all of which he has acquired by his own exertions. Mr. Roberts was married in 1872 to Miss Julia Payne of Union County, Ky., who has borne him two children —one son and one daughter. He is a member of the Masonic order.

E. P. ROBERTS was born February 13, 1839, in Mason County, Va. At about the age of six years he was taken by his parents to Cincinnati, Ohio, and there he received his early schooling. At the age of thirteen he commenced working at the ship-carpenter trade, and has been for the past twenty-five years engaged in steamboating on the Mississippi and other rivers. In 1870 he was employed as mate of the transfer steamer "St. Louis;" the following year he was promoted to pilot, which position he has since faithfully filled. In 1863 he entered the Mississippi Marine Brigade as carpenter, Union Army; he served in that capacity until the close of the war. Mr. Roberts was married in 1870 to Sallie J. Hunter, of Mound City, Ill., and three sons and

two daughters have blessed this union. He is a member of the K. of H.

THOMAS J. ROBERTS was born August 10, 1835, in Weakley County, Tenn., where he resided until 1872, when he came to Moscow, Ky. His father, Richard Roberts, a native of Chesterfield County, Va., removed in youth with his parents to Weakley County, Tenn., and died in 1857, at the age of forty-nine years. He was the son of William Roberts. Richard married Jane, daughter of William F. Farmer, of Weakley County, Tenn., born in 1814, and from this union sprang Susan A. (Wheeler), subject, Caledonia P. (Lloyd), William F., Isabell (Winstead), James (deceased), Martha J. (Orr), and John R. Subject was married June 11, 1867, to Miss Alice G., daughter of Franklin G. and Susan (Clemons) Beadles of Weakley County, and born in 1848. To them have been born Richard S., Joseph T., Blanche E., Edward and Lura D. Mr. Roberts was engaged three years in clerking and then commenced merchandising in 1859, at Dukedom, Tenn., but closed his business in 1861 on account of the war, and during the period of strife, engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1869 he dealt in tobacco and cotton, then for a period of seven years was in the live stock business, and in 1872 removed to Moscow, Ky., where he carried on the business of general merchant and produce dealer until 1877, when he purchased and operated a flouring-mill until 1881. He is now, with his partner, under the firm title of Roberts & Worthe, constructing a custom and merchant mill, that bids fair to be not only profitable to the enterprising owners, but a valuable acquisition to the community. Subject is a member of the A. F. & A. M., and in politics is a Democrat.

JOHN M. ROBINSON (deceased) was born June 16, 1816, near Harrisburg, Ky., and at the age of sixteen, came with his parents to Hickman County. They located at Columbus, and engaged in the hotel business till 1843, when their premises were destroyed by fire. The father then moved to Mayfield, where he died in 1856. John M. removed to a farm, where he remained fifteen years. At the close of the war he came to Clinton, where he engaged in merchandising, livery and hotel business until his death, which occurred July 10, 1880. He was married April 14, 1840, to Martha A. Watson, of Georgia; she was born in 1821, and educated in Paris, Tenn. They had eight children, but one of whom is now living, Emma. Mrs. Robinson is a member of the Baptist Church. She still continues in the hotel business, owning the premises herself. She has lately rebuilt and renovated the house throughout, and now has the most comfortable house in the county.

THE SALMON FAMILY, Hickman County. John Salmon, the progenitor of the Salmons of Kentucky, was of an old Virginia family, and was born in Williamson County, Va., in 1807; removed to Tennessee in 1817; thence to Ballard County, Ky., in 1844; to Fulton County in 1857, and died in 1863. He was the son of Robert Salmon. John espoused Ann E., daughter of James A. and Susan (Odeneal) Grant of Tennessee. She was born in 1810 and died in 1865. Their offspring are Susan C. (Johnson), Tate L., James C., Quintus M., Samuel B., Henry D., Mollie E. (Lewis), George C. and John O. The children are an honor to their parents and useful members of the community.

Henry D. Salmon was born October 6, 1844, in Montgomery County, Tenn. He was married September 20, 1866, to Mary A., daughter of John K. and Nancy (Bell) Morris of Hickman County, Ky. She died in 1871, at the age of twenty-four years. From this union sprang one child, Susan V. Subject was next married May 16, 1872, to Miss Martha K., daughter of W. C. and Mary E. (Dickins) Blair of Hickman County, born April 30, 1854, and to them have been born Lura B., Harriet C. and William L. Henry D. is a farmer owning 240 acres of very fertile land in successful cultivation. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, a Christian and a Democrat.

John O. Salmon, the youngest son of John Salmon, is a native of Ballard County, Ky., where he was born June 18, 1854, and came with his parents to Hickman County, where he still retains his residence. February 6, 1883, he espoused as a life companion, Miss Sue M., daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Wheat) Kennedy, of Hickman County. Mr. Salmon is a successful farmer, having ninety acres of first-class land in good condition. In politics he is identified with the Democratic party, and his wife is a member of the Christian Church.

WAKEFIELD M. SAMUELS was born February 17, 1821, in Nelson County, Ky. He is a son of John and Rachael (Kirtz) Samuels. The father was born in 1796 in the same county and State; he died in 1852. The mother was born in Maryland; she died in 1866, aged seventy-two. Our subject was reared on his father's farm. In 1838 he went to Adair County, and there worked at the saddlery trade. The following year he returned to Bradstown, Nelson County. In

1841 he removed to Cumberland County, and there remained until 1852, when he came to Hickman County, where he has since lived. He was here engaged in merchandising and the hotel business about five years, after which he removed to his present farm, which joins Clinton on the west. This farm consists of 130 acres, largely devoted to the nursery business—only nursery in the county, and no finer can be found in the State. His principal productions are the apple, peach, pear, plum, quince, cherry, grape and strawberry. He employs from ten to thirty hands, and his strawberries are shipped principally to Chicago. His trees are sold principally in Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri and Illinois. Mr. Samuels was sheriff of this county from 1863 to 1867; he has also been police judge. He was married November 12, 1844, to Sarah L. Stoner, of Cumberland County. These parents had eight children, five living—three daughters and two sons. Mr. Samuels is a member of the Christian Church.

DR. J. R. SCARBOROUGH was born in Stewart County, Tenn., April 12, 1846, and is a son of W. W. and M. L. (Wofford) Scarborough. The father was a native of North Carolina, and moved to Tennessee in a very early day. In 1852 he came to the Purchase, and settled in Ballard County, near Milburn. There he farmed until his death in 1856; his widow died in 1876. Subject was the tenth of twelve children, of whom seven are now living: Sarah A. (wife of J. H. Ashbrook, in Ballard County), W. H. (in Milburn), Celia A. (in Ballard County), S. L. (in Spring Hill), J. T. (in Graves County), M. E. (wife of George Purtle), and J. R. (our subject). The early life of the last named was spent on a farm. He received his literary education in Ballard County. In 1870 he turned his attention to the carpenter's trade; this he followed until 1876, when he began reading medicine at the office of Drs. Hocker & Hobbs in Graves County. He subsequently attended lectures at the Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tenn., and graduated from that institution in the class of 1878. He first settled in Danville, Tenn., where he followed his profession one year. He then came to this district and is now the only physician in the place. At present he is a member of the Western Kentucky Medical Society. Dr. Scarborough was married December 14, 1882, to Miss Molly F. Lamkin, a daughter of Shelton and Louisa (Atwood) Lamkin, natives of Kentucky. The result of this union has been one child, since deceased. Dr. S. has been identified with the I. O. O. F. fraternity.

ROBERT L. SCEARCE was born December 16, 1852, in Fulton County, Ky., where he grew to manhood and lived until 1878, when he came to Hickman County, where he still retains his residence. He is a son of A. H. and Martha Scearce, of Fulton County. November 13, 1877, he was married to Miss Ella S., daughter of W. W. and Emeline Webster, of Fulton County, and to them has been born one child, Effie Lee. Mr. Scearce is a successful farmer, turning his attention chiefly to the raising of corn, wheat and stock. He is industrious, energetic, and full of business. In politics he is independent, and his wife is a member of the Christian Church.

JOHN A. SCOTT was born June 3, 1848, in Jackson, Mich., and is a son of William H. and Jerusha W. (Shipman) Scott. The father was born in Brunswick, N. J., and died November 22, 1872, aged fifty-two years. The mother still resides in Jackson. In 1860 John commenced learning his present business of architect and builder, which he has since followed, and for several years past has been superintending the construction of public buildings. He has recently completed the court house in Trigg County, which is an excellent specimen of architecture, and reflects credit on its builders. He is at present superintending the building of the court house at Clinton, which is a safe guarantee that the work will be faithfully performed. Mr. Scott was married October 28, 1877, to Rosella Childers, of Fulton. They have three children: Herbert H., Cordelia M. and Cecil R. Mrs. Scott is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Mr. Scott is a member of the I. O., O. F. Frank Carr Lodge, of Fulton, Ky.

THE SEAY FAMILY.—James G. Seay, a native of Washington County, Ky., was born in 1799, came to Hickman County in 1834, and here died in 1881. He was a nephew of Felix Grundy, and the son of Samuel Seay, of Amelia County, Va., who was born in 1760, and was a soldier in the war of 1812. James G. was twice married, first to Annie Parrott, who bore him the following children: Elizabeth M. (Titsworth and Alexander), Dr. Charles T., Samuel R., Dr. George W., Amanda A. (Earle) and John R. From his second marriage, which was with Marion, daughter of Josiah Wright, of Graves County, born in 1808 and died in 1856, sprang Annie V. (Erwin) and Dr. Felix G.

SAMUEL R. SEAY was born December

10, 1827, in Washington County, Ky., and came with his parents, in 1834, to Hickman County, where he has since resided. In youth he secured a moderate education, and engaged in teaching. He was married December 10, 1850, to Miss Martha F., daughter of Joseph and Rhoda (Riggs) Hughes of Graves County and to them have been born Joseph J., Annie E., Mary L., Laura B., Samuel H., George W., Rhoda, Lillian, Felix G. and Maurice A. Subject is a farmer, owning 590 acres of good land, well-improved and highly cultivated, in this district, and also 595 acres of valuable land in Florida, where he spends his winters. On this land he has two orange groves. He is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Felix Grundy Seay was born April 12, 1848, on the place where he now resides, in Hickman County, Ky. In youth he was favored with fair opportunities, and procured a good education, which he has constantly improved by application and continued reading. January 8, 1883, he married Miss Pattie R., daughter of Scarlet B. and Sarah (Yantis) May, of Hickman County, Ky. She was born April 17, 1862. In 1870 subject commenced the study of medicine with his brother, Dr. Charles T. Seay, and in 1872 attended the university of Louisville, from which he graduated in 1874. Since his return to his native home he has established and now enjoys a lucrative and extensive practice. He is also engaged in farming, and owns 244 acres of good land. He is a member of the I. O. O. F., and is a Methodist and a Democrat.

J. K. SELLARS, Hickman County, was born in Maury County, Tenn., February 11, 1811, and is a son of John and Eleanor (Kenny) Sellars, natives of North Carolina, the father of English descent, the mother of Irish. In 1833 the father came to Hickman County, and settled on the farm now owned by subject. He was a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and died here in 1847. The mother died in September, 1835, being at the time of her death a faithful member of the Baptist Church. Subject was the third of nine children, of whom but two are now living: Mrs. Jane Evans, in Graves County, and John K., our subject. In 1840 John K. assumed control of the home farm, where he has since resided. He now owns about 120 acres, with about seventy acres in cultivation. He was married October 27, 1842, to Miss Bethina Weatherspoon, a daughter of William and Mary (Keorcum) Weatherspoon. Three living children have blessed this union. Mr. and Mrs. Sellars are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

J. G. SLAYDEN was born November 13, 1855, in Humphreys County, Tenn. He is a son of T. E. and Lovey (Council) Slayden. The father was a native of Virginia. In 1871 he came to Hickman County, and engaged in farming. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, and at the age of eighteen entered a drug store as clerk. He has been engaged at this business ever since, and his present store was established in 1878. Mr. Slayden was married January 6, 1880, to Miss Mattie, daughter of Z. N. Bell, a native of Shelby County, Ky., who came to Hickman County in 1866. This union has been blessed with one daughter.

CAPT. THOMAS SPROAT, Hickman County, was born in Scotland, May 11, 1801, and is the only child born to John and Mary (Anderson) Sproat, both natives of Scotland. John Sproat received a good common school education in his native land, where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits all his life. Both he and wife were life-long and devoted members of the Presbyterian Church. Thomas Sproat received a liberal common school education in his native Scotland, where he was employed on his father's farm until he was seventeen years old, when he went to Oxford, England, where he served three years with his uncle, Hugh Sproat, at the grocery business. In May, 1821, he immigrated to the United States and settled in Saratoga County, N. Y., where he was employed as a farm laborer for some four years. He then went to Newark, N. J., where he was employed in a stage barn for two years, and afterwards was a stage driver for four years. In 1832 he engaged in the grocery trade on his own account, at Newark, and continued in that business until the panic of 1837. In 1842 he removed to Covington, Ky., and soon after to St. Louis, Mo., where he commenced steamboating on the Illinois, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers, first in the capacity of a clerk, and afterward as pilot, captain, and owner or part owner of some eight or ten steamboats. Capt. Sproat continued to follow the river until 1855, when he engaged in the ice trade, shipping ice in barge loads from the upper Illinois to various towns on the lower Mississippi. In April, 1862, he landed at Cairo, Ill., with six barge loads of ice, towed by the steamer "Philadelphia", destined for Cairo, Pittsburg Landing and Mound City; a few days after a terrible storm arose, which broke boat and barges loose from their moorings. The barges were wrecked, and out of over 3,000 tons of ice only 1,000 tons were saved.

which he was employed at brick-making and brick-laying for some five years. In 1853 and 1854 he was employed in the steam saw-mill at Columbus. In 1855 he went to Memphis, Tenn., where he was overseer of the chain gang for one year. He then returned to Columbus, and thence to New Madrid, Mo., where he taught dancing school for one year. He then went to Rolla, Tenn., where he taught a dancing school for another year. In 1859 he returned to Columbus, Ky., and in 1862 enlisted in Company L, Eighth Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, United States service, and served eight months, when he was discharged on account of disability. He then returned to Columbus, where he has since been employed as a carpenter and brick mason, when able to work at all. He was married March 23, 1848, to Miss Sarah E. Howell, a native of Sumner County, Tenn. Ten children, three sons and seven daughters, have blessed their union, all of whom are yet living. Mr. Trevathan belongs to no church, but holds to the Universalist faith. He is a Republican in politics.

HON. C. M. VAUGHAN was born September 9, 1837, in Nottaway County, Va. He is a son of Patrick H. and Louisa (Winfree) Vaughan. The father was born in Halifax County, Va.; he was engaged in farming and also carried on a blacksmith shop. Our subject soon after his father's death, came to Hickman County, where he has since resided. He has held the office of magistrate three years and sheriff four years. He represented this county in the legislature one term and is now a member of the State senate, representing the First District. He has also held the office of sinking fund commissioner three years. He enlisted in 1861 in Company B, Seventh Kentucky, Confederate States Army. He owns a farm of about 400 acres, two miles north of Clinton, where he now resides. He was married December 15, 1858 to Nancy E. Fowlks, of this county; nine children have blessed this union, seven sons and two daughters. Mr. and Mrs. Vaughan are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

M. D. WARD was born September 8, 1840, in Hickman County, and in the house where he now lives. He is a son of Michael and Mary E. (Grace) Ward. The father was born in Stewart County, Tenn., immigrated to this county in 1827, and settled in the neighborhood of Shiloh, where he died July 7, 1877, aged seventy-five. The mother was born in Trigg County; she died in 1882, aged eighty-two. Our subject enlisted in 1861 in Company E, Twelfth Tennessee Infantry, Confederate States Army; the following year he was transferred to the Third Kentucky Infantry, and served to the end of the war, after which he returned to his father's farm, and was married to Sarah A. Spear, of this county; six children have blessed this union, four sons and two daughters. Mr. Ward was also engaged as a superintendent in the stave business from 1869 to 1871, in Missouri, Arkansas and Kentucky.

W. D. WARD was born February 20, 1858, in Ballard County. He is a son of W. A. and E. J. (Berry) Ward. The father was born in Calloway County, Ky., in 1825, and is now living on his farm in Hickman County. The mother is a native of Tennessee. Our subject was reared on his father's place, and at the age of twenty rented a farm, where he lived three years. He then bought a farm and soon after moved to Clinton, where he engaged in merchandising, which he still continues. In 1881 he engaged in the livery business, which he now carries on. He was married November 24, 1878, to Sophia Williams, of this county, and this union has been blessed with one daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Ward are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

WILLIAM WEATHERSPOON was born in Fulton County, Ky., December 6, 1837, and is a son of James and Nellie (Bowen) Weatherspoon. The father was a native of North Carolina, and of Scotch-Irish descent. He came to the Purchase in 1830, and settled in Fulton County. There he entered 200 acres, and turned his attention to farming. He also taught school, and was one of the earliest teachers of the day. He died March 17, 1844. He was a member of the Methodist Church, and a class leader in that denomination for many years. His widow died in 1868. William Weatherspoon is the second of a family of five children, of whom four are now living: Robert, in Fulton County; Thomas, in the Moscow District; James and William. He left home at the age of seventeen and came to Hickman County. There he apprenticed himself and worked at the blacksmith trade for three years. In 1858 he commenced for himself, and in 1860 came to his present location. At this point he has since followed his trade. He also manufactures the Diamond Plow, and follows wood work to some extent. He owns a farm of 146 acres, of which about seventy-five acres are cleared. Mr. Weatherspoon was married January 27, 1858, in Hickman County, to Miss Susan Colon Ray, a daughter of Samuel and Susan (Litsey) Ray. This union resulted in four children: Allie B., wife of Jefferson

Batts, deceased; Laura J., wife of I. B. Murphy; Kate L., wife of J. J. Gardner, and William J. Mrs. Weatherspoon died November 24, 1884. Mr. Weatherspoon enlisted in Faulkner's battalion in November, 1861; was captured in June, 1862 and taking the oath returned home. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

THOMAS P. WHAYNE, of Hickman County, was born August 7, 1834, in Daviess County, Ky., where he lived until 1849, when he was taken by his parents to Ballard County, and in 1850 brought to Hickman County, where he now resides. His father, Isaac Whayne, a native of Virginia, is still living at the age of seventy-four years. He was the son of Isaac W., of Virginia, who died about 1832. Subject's mother is Harriet, a daughter of Henry and Jane Pointer, of Daviess County, and to her and husband were born subject, Viola (Beeler), Dr. Alfred B., Trevor and Coleman. Our subject was favored with a good education, is a reading man and possesses one among the best libraries in the county. He was married December 12, 1868 to Miss Olivia, daughter of John and Isabella (Holland) Caldwell, of Hickman County, and from this union sprang Ulric, Thomas S. and Cora O. Mrs. Whayne died in 1873, and November 25, 1874, Mr. Whayne married Miss Virginia, daughter of William S. and Julia A. (Caldwell) Jordan, of Hickman County, and to them have been born Eugene C., Harry U. and Mary H. Subject is a farmer, having 325 acres of good land. He is a member of the Christian Church and a Democrat.

I. C. WHAYNE was born June 7, 1811, in Louisville, Ky. He is a son of Isaac and Mollie (Jones) Whayne. The father was born in Virginia, came to Jefferson County in 1808, and in 1816 removed to Daviess County, where he was engaged in farming, butchering, brick-making and was also tobacco inspector; he died in July, 1833, aged sixty. Our subject was reared on his father's farm, and in 1832 commenced farming on his own account in Daviess County; in 1849 he moved to Ballard County; in 1851 he moved to Clinton, and in the fall of 1852 returned to Ballard County; carried on his farming there until 1856, then bought a farm in Hickman County, and there lived till December, 1883, when he came to Clinton, where he now resides. Mr. Whayne was married in 1832 to H. E. Pointer; she was born in Halifax County, Va., in 1815; these parents have had ten children, five now living—four sons and one daughter. Mr. Whayne was postmaster several years when on his farm.

REV. WILLIS WHITE was born February 26, 1805, in Halifax County, N. C., and is a son of Dempsey and Priscilla (Morris) White, both natives of North Carolina. The father moved to Tennessee in 1805, resided there for some time, and then moved to Christian County, Ky., settling about eight miles from Princeton. He came to this county in 1824, and died here in 1842, at the age of seventy. He served the county as magistrate for many years, and finally became sheriff by reason of seniority. Willis White remained in this county until 1833, working on a farm. He then moved to Ballard County, and settled four miles north of Blandville, where he commenced farming. In the fall of 1833 he joined the Missionary Baptist Church, and in 1835 began preaching. In 1834 he was appointed one of the magistrates of the county, and served in that capacity until 1847, when he was elected to the office of sheriff, which position he held for two years. He remained in Ballard County until the fall of 1850, when he came to Clinton, where he has since resided. At this place he acted as pastor of the Baptist Church for twenty-three years. He has also served as pastor of the following churches: Lovelace, thirteen years; Metropolisville, four years; Columbus, four years and Hickman, five years. He has been instrumental in establishing many churches in the country. In 1872 he was elected to the office of school examiner, and subsequently, under the new law, to the office of county superintendent, and is still serving in that capacity. He has been mainly instrumental in founding, building and subsequent development of the Clinton Baptist College, and was about the first to agitate the starting of this institution. Since its organization in 1872, he has served as president of the board of directors. Mr. White has been twice married, first in 1826, in this county, to Miss Mary Wright, daughter of Enoch Wright, of east Tennessee. This lady died in 1849 leaving eight children, of whom one son and three daughters are now living. James D., the son, is now a lawyer at Blandville, and was formerly judge of the common pleas court of Hickman County. January 6, 1850, Mr. White was married to Mrs. Harriet T. Richmond, (*nee* Woods), a daughter of William Woods, a native of Kentucky, and one of the first residents of Clinton. Mrs. White died October 24, 1874, leaving three children, two of whom, a son and a daughter, are still living. Mr. White is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

JACOB WHITE, editor of the *Hickman County Times*, was born in Fulton County,

Ky., August 11, 1847, and educated in the country schools and at Clinton Seminary, Clinton, Ky. When about the age of eighteen he engaged in school teaching, which he continued several years, after which he commenced the study of law under the preceptorship of Judge Bradley. After several years' study under this gentleman, he was admitted to the bar, and has since followed his chosen profession. He has been several years engaged in merchandising. White's Opera House was built by him and Mr. Ashley in 1880. The *Hickman County Times* was established January 1, 1884, Mr. White being editor and proprietor; he is one of the stirring business men of the county.

H. C. WILKEY, postmaster, Columbus, Hickman County, was born October 11, 1814, in Pike County, Ohio. He is a son of John Wilkey, who was a native of Virginia; eh died in Illinois in 1850, at the advanced age of ninety-five. Our subject was brought up on a farm, and at the age of eighteen went to Wapello County, Iowa, and continued farming. He enlisted in 1861, in Company F, Seventh Iowa Infantry, served three years, and at the expiration of his enlistment, was honorably discharged. He participated in the following battles: Belmont, Fort Donelson, first and second battles of Corinth, Shiloh, Pulaski and others. He then went to Paris, Tenn., where he was engaged in merchandising seven years. He then moved to Jackson, Tenn., where he continued merchandising about two years. In 1875 he came to Columbus, where he has since been engaged in the jewelry business. October, 1881, he was appointed postmaster, which office he has since held. He is a member of the Republican Central Committee, Knights of Honor, and Knights and Ladies of Honor, and Knights of the Golden Cross. Mr. Wilkey was married, in 1865, to Mrs. Mary Johnson, of Tennessee; she died in 1880, leaving two daughters and one son; she also left one son by a former marriage. Mr. Wilkey was next married, in 1882, to Rose Patterson, of Hickman County. This union was blessed with one son. Mr. Wilkey is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has been superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Sunday-school for four years, which office he still holds.

B. S. WILLIAMS was born October 2, 1829, in Graves County, Ky. He is a son of Burrill and Stacey (Pryor) Williams. The father died in June, 1830. Our subject, at the age of twenty, commenced farming on his own account, which he has since followed. He enlisted in 1861 in Arkansas, and served about fifteen months in the Confederate States Army. In 1865 he came to his present farm, consisting of 160 acres. Mr. Williams was married in 1849 to Nancy Rozzell, of Graves County. These parents have five children—one son and four daughters. Mr. Williams is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

THOMAS WINN, JR., Hickman County, was born in Woodford County, Ky., February 27, 1824, and is the seventh of eight children born to Thomas and Maria (Cook) Winn, both natives of the "Old Dominion" and of English descent. Thomas Winn, Sr., when a young man, removed to Woodford County, Ky., where he learned the brickmaker's trade, which he followed for a time. In that county he was married, and was engaged in farming for several years, and had amassed considerable property, but met with severe financial reverses in consequence of having endorsed too freely for some of his neighbors. From Woodford County he removed to Henry County. In 1832 he came with his family to Hickman, which was then almost an unbroken wilderness. Here in 1837 he bought wild land, moved into a log-cabin, and subsequently improved a farm where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits until his death, which occurred July 7, 1862, in his seventy-seventh year. He was for several years one of the magistrates of the county. He and wife were devoted members of the Christian Church, in which church he was a ruling elder for over twenty years. When Mr. Winn first came to western Kentucky he lived for a short time in Columbus; afterward for a few months across the river in Missouri, and still later for about three years in what is now Ballard County. Thomas Winn, Jr., was employed on his father's farm until 1852, when he went to Columbus, where he took charge of a stock of goods for a widowed sister and conducted the business for about four years. He then engaged in the ferry business at same place, which he continued for some four or five years. The business not being a profitable one, however, he returned to the old home farm, which he has owned for several years. Here he has been extensively and successfully engaged in farming and stockraising. He was married in March, 1862, to Miss K. H. Green, a native of Mercer County, Ky. Two daughters have blessed their union, both of whom are now married. Mr. Winn and wife are and have been for more than twenty years members of the Christian Church. He is also a member of the K. of H., and in politics he is a Democrat.

JOHN WOODROW was born in Jefferson County, Ky., January 25, 1829, and is one of eleven children born to Alexander and Eunice C. (Guthrie) Woodrow, both natives of Jefferson County, Ky., and of Scotch-Irish descent. Alexander Woodrow received a good classical education, and was engaged at agricultural pursuits and at civil engineering all his life. He was for a number of years county surveyor of Jefferson County, Ky. At the age of seventeen he enlisted in Col. Hopkin's regiment, and served with that officer in his Indian campaign. His death occurred in the spring of 1873 in his sixty-ninth year: He was a life-long and devoted member of the Presbyterian Church. John Woodrow was employed on his father's farm until he was twenty-one years old. From that time until the fall of 1881, he was engaged in agricultural pursuits, fruit growing, gardening and the nursery business in Jefferson County, Ky. He then came to Hickman County, where he has since been engaged in farming near Columbus. He was married September 3, 1851, to Miss Frances J. Smith, a native of Jefferson County, Ky. Nine children blessed their union, five of whom—two sons and three daughters—are yet living. Mrs. Frances J. Woodrow departed this life February 24, 1875, a devoted and consistent member of the Presbyterian Church. In politics Mr. Woodrow is a Democrat.

J. E. MYATT of the firm of Porter, Myatt & Co., was born September 15, 1860, in Humphreys County, Tenn. He is a son of K. M. and E. J. (Slayden) Myatt, who were both born in Tennessee. In 1868 the family came to Hickman County, and are now living on their farm two and one-half miles northeast of Clinton. Our subject was reared on his father's farm and attended the schools of the neighborhood; at the age of eighteen he engaged in school teaching, and this he continued five years. March, 1884, he engaged in merchandising, handling groceries, provisions and general produce.

DOUGLAS ZIMMERMAN was born in Anderson County, Ky., January 22, 1821, and is the third in a family of four children born to William and Fannie (Hawkins) Zimmerman, both natives of Culpeper County, Va., and of German and English descent respectively. William Zimmerman, when a young man removed to Jessamine County, Ky., where he was afterward married and where he was extensively engaged in farming and stock-raising. Later he removed to Anderson County, where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits until his death, which occurred in 1865, in his seventy-seventh year. He was a veteran of the war of 1812. Douglas Zimmerman was employed on his father's farm until he attained his majority, after which he was employed at teaching school and selling and teaching music for some three or four years. He has more than ordinary talent for music, at which he excelled in early life. He was also and is still recognized as one of the best and most natural mathematicians in this part of the country. In 1849 he moved to Paducah, and the following year came to Hickman County, Ky., where he was engaged in the music business. During the winter of 1850 and 1851 he taught music at New Orleans. In 1852 he returned to Anderson County, Ky., where he was united in marriage to Miss Adaline Cornell. a native of Anderson County, and a relative of Gov. Cornell of New York. Eight children blessed their union, five of whom—three sons and two daughters—are yet living. In 1853, Mr. Zimmerman came back to Hickman County, Ky., where he was soon afterward elected school commissioner of the county, which office he held for some fifteen years. During these years he was also engaged in agricultural pursuits and in the cotton trade, owning and running a large cotton gin, and in merchandising at Clinton and Columbia, continuing the latter for several years after the late civil war. Mr. Zimmerman now resides on his farm two and one-half miles east of Columbus on the Clinton Road, where he has been extensively engaged in farming and stock-raising for several years. He owns well improved farms in Hickman County, amounting to some 500 acres; he also owns lands in Florida. Mr. Zimmerman was a soldier in the Second Kentucky Regiment of Volunteers, known as the Salt River Tigers, during the war with Mexico, and served under Gen. Taylor at the battle of Buena Vista. Both Mr. Zimmerman and wife are members of the Christian Church. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity, and of the I. O. O. F. In politics he is a Democrat.

PADUCAH AND McCRACKEN COUNTY.

HENRY M. ADCOCK, McCracken County, was born in Rockingham County, N. C., September 12, 1827, and came with his parents to Montgomery County, Tenn., in 1837, and is the eldest son of Absalom Adcock, of Virginia. His father was a farmer; his mother was Miss M. E. Morton, a native of Virginia, and is still living. She was the mother of a large family of children, of whom eight are now living, viz.: H. M., J. W., J. B., M. W., L. V., Cordelia L., Zorada G., and William B. Henry M. Adcock (our subject) resided near Clarksville, Tenn., until upward of twenty years of age, and was then married to Miss Mildred W., eldest daughter of John B. Williams, then a resident of that county, but since of Todd County, Ky., this union was blessed with the following children: H. May, Eugenie A., Morton W., Fannie B., John A. and Susie F. Mr. Adcock removed to Missouri from Todd County, Ky., where he engaged in farming, and served as deputy sheriff of Barry County until the beginning of the late war. He then returned to Kentucky and located in McCracken County, where he has since resided, devoting his time principally to farming, and to various agencies. His farm, about five miles from Paducah, comprises 121 acres. Mr. Adcock is a member of the Missionary Baptist Chuch, of the Masonic order, and is a zealous supporter of the temperance movement.

W. P. ALLEN, in 1833, came from near Petersburg, Va., to Kentucky, settling in McCracken County. Soon after removing to that county, he married Miss Lucinda Stanley, and they are still among the honored citizens of McCracken County, living in their old homestead, where they have passed a full half-century, the old gentleman still retaining much of his youthful vitality and actively superintending his farm. They have four living children, who are residents of their native county.

William E. Allen was born April 25, 1837, and was reared to manhood in McCracken County, where he has most of his time engaged in the pursuits of the farm. In 1872, however, he abandoned the farm, removed to Paducah and embarked in the manufacture of brick, which pursuit still occupies his entire attention, and in which he employs a large number of laborers. In 1876, in McCracken County, he married Mollie Lang, a daughter of William C. Lang, of that county. Their union has resulted in the birth of three children, viz.: Richard Maynard, Nellie L. and Irene Allen. In 1862, Mr. Allen espoused the cause of the Confederate Army, and served until disabled in 1863. He is a member of the Masonic order and K. of H.

MAJ. JAMES H. ASHCRAFT was born on May 4, 1840, in Brandenburg, Meade Co., Ky. His father, Absalom Ashcraft, died when James H. was an infant, he being the youngest of a family of eleven children. His mother, whose maiden name was Delilah A. Allen, is still living and resides with her son James H. in Paducah. In consequence of her widowhood, with a large family she was unable to do more than to instill habits of honor and industry into her children. James had the privileges of the common schools, and in early life engaged in the wharf-boat business in his native county, until the breaking out of the war, when he responded to the first call of the President for troops, and became a member of Company G, Twenty-sixth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and in the organization was elected first lieutenant of that company. He took the field in the fall of 1861, serving until the close of the war. In May, 1862, he was promoted to captain, and in April, 1865. was promoted to major of the regiment, with which commission he was mustered out at the close of the war. He shared the vicissitudes and fortunes of his command through all their varied experience, including the battles of Shiloh, siege of Corinth, battle of Nashville, Saltville, raid of West Virginia, and the campaign to the Atlantic Coast. While on detached duty in Kentucky, he was ambushed and wounded in Meade County, near his old home and birthplace. At the close of the war, he returned to Brandenburg and for two years was engaged in mercantile pursuits; thence went to Louisville, Ky., and for a short time engaged in the grocery business, but in 1869 was appointed United States Revenue Storekeeper, which he filled one year; was then made deputy United States

Marshal, under Gen. Murray, serving six years, of which time he was also deputy revenue collector for the First Kentucky District. In February, 1876, he was appointed by President Grant to the official honors of postmaster at Paducah; reappointed by President Hayes in 1880, and again by President Arthur, in 1884. Maj. Ashcraft is a man of fine personal appearance, of a military bearing and a true gentleman; to all polite and kind. He is a member of the Plainfield Lodge, No. 449, A. F. & A. M.; Paducah Chapter, No. 30, R. A. M.; Paducah Commandery, No. 11, K. T.; Friendship Lodge, No. 61, A. O. U. W.; Rapidan Lodge, No. 341, K. of H. In December 1865, in Louisville, Ky., he was married to Miss Mary E. Brown, daughter of Dr. E. O. Brown of that city. They have three children: Erasmus B., James H., and Allen M. Ashcraft.

EMMET W. BAGBY, lawyer, was born on June 7, 1845, in Glasgow, Ky. His father, Albert K. Bagby, was a native of Kentucky, of Scotch and Irish descent, and a mechanic by occupation. His mother, Martha A. Wooten, was a native of Barren County, Ky., of Virginia parentage. E. W. Bagby received a good English and classical education, which he completed in Urania College, of his native town. He studied law with his uncle, Hon. John C. Bagby, of Rushville, Ill., an ex-congressman from the Tenth District of that State. In 1866 he was chosen principal of the second ward public schools of Paducah. After occupying that position for two sessions, in connection with John W. M'Gee, was placed in charge of the Paducah Male University, and in the meantime engaged in the study of law under Hon. J. Q. A. King. He was admitted to practice July 7, 1868, at the bar of Paducah, but did not enter regularly into the practice of his profession until 1869. In 1868 he began his political career, espousing the cause of Seymour and Blair. In 1870 he entered the ranks of the Republican party, believing the principles, on which the organization is based, to be conducive to the greatest good in his section and to the country at large. In 1872 he made the race for city attorney, of Paducah, and was defeated by seventy votes. In 1874 he was elected to that office by a majority of ninety votes. In 1872 he was Republican presidential county elector; and in 1876 was district elector on the Republican ticket, exerting his influence in favor of Hayes and Wheeler, and engaging in a joint discussion with the Democratic elector throughout his congressional district. In 1878 he made his third race for city attorney of Paducah, and was defeated by eight votes. He made the fourth race for city attorney in 1882 independently, and was elected by a majority vote of 500. He was the Republican candidate for congress in the First Congressional District of Kentucky in 1878, and in 1883, without his solicitation, was placed before the Republican State Convention in Kentucky for nomination for governor. Mr. Bagby is a man of decidedly advanced views. In 1880, in Princeton, Ky., he made a speech against the then existing capitation tax law, relating to the State fund for colored schools, collected of colored persons, and advocated the creation of a general State school fund by taxation, and its *pro rata* distribution among all the pupil children of the commonwealth, irrespective of their race or color. Soon after this speech he had occasion to defend a suit against a colored man for the collection of his capitation school tax; of this suit he made a test case, carried it to the United States Circuit Court, where Justice Baxter decided the capitation tax law unconstitutional. This decision was the cause of awakening the Kentucky legislature, then in session, to the necessity of a more efficient law, and that body immediately passed the law now in force, which was first voiced by Mr. Bagby in his Princeton speech. He is an able and elegant public speaker, possesses many excellent qualities of mind, is controlled by manly and upright principles, prepossessing in person and manners, and has the necessary traits of character which insure his success and popularity. He was married, in 1873, to Miss Ellen D. Saunders, daughter of Dr. Reuben Saunders, one of the most worthy physicians in Paducah.

RICHARD J. BARBER was born in Halifax County, Va., in December, 1839. In 1845 his parents, Dr. Thomas Barber and Harriet (Maynard) Barber, removed with their family to west Tennessee, where R. J. was reared, and where he received an ordinary English education. In 1861 he espoused the cause of the Confederacy, and enlisted in the Twenty-seventh Tennessee Regiment, Company F, and in the organization of his company was made first lieutenant. He was promoted, in 1862, to the office of captain, and for three years shared all the experiences of his regiment, one of the most active in the Southern ranks. He was severely wounded at the battle of Shiloh, and two days after reported for duty, was again wounded, this time at Farmington, near Corinth, during the siege of that place. In 1864, in west Tennessee, he was made a prisoner, was paroled, and then became a resident of Paducah for

the first time. He soon after engaged in mercantile business, and was a member of the firm of J. M. White & Co., but soon severed his connection with it to engage in the wholesale grocery trade, which he conducted about five years. He then operated on the tobacco market, part of his time as inspector, until January, 1883, when he opened his present business. He is located on the corner of Market Street and Broadway, and is certainly an honor to the business circle of Paducah. Mr. Barber is an accepted member of the Presbyterian Church, Masonic order and K. of H. He was married in Paducah, 1865, to Miss Mamie Anderson, daughter of S. Q. Anderson. Their two children are Samuel and Lucy Barber.

MAJ. GEORGE F. BARNES was born October 14, 1836, in Davidson County, Tenn., to Andrew J. Barnes and Martha A. Barnes (*nee* Foster). These parents, both of whom were Virginians, settled in Davidson County in 1826, and there lived many years, removing thence to Kentucky in 1854, settling near Benton, Marshall County, where the mother died in 1868, the father living until 1883, when he died in Benton at the age of seventy-eight years. George F. is the fourth of a family born to them, of whom five are now living, and are residents of the Purchase. Maj. Barnes attended the common schools of Davidson County, Tenn., during his boyhood, and in early life began the mercantile business in his native county, which he continued until 1860. In 1862 he recruited a company of volunteers for the Federal service, was chosen its second lieutenant, and it became Company A of the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry. After serving in this capacity one year, he was authorized to recruit a regiment to be known as the Sixteenth Kentucky. He succeeded in procuring but five companies, four of which were made Third Battalion, and consolidated with the Twelfth Regiment, acting independently, however, until December, 1864; subject was placed in command of the battalion, with the commission of major, in the fortunes of which he shared until mustered out at the close of the war. He then went to Paducah, and for three years was engaged in merchandising, and in 1870 was made assistant assessor of internal revenue for the First District of Kentucky, serving as such for about four years, from which time, to 1880, he was in Paducah, and served three years on the police force of that city. In 1880 and 1881 he was employed as postal clerk on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, after which he was appointed to the office of deputy collector of internal revenue for the Second District of Kentucky. Maj. Barnes is a cultured gentleman, a man of administrative ability, and a faithful, efficient officer. He is a Republican in politics, and chairman of his party organization in the county, and a member of the K. of H. He was married in Paducah, December 31, 1865, to Miss Annie M., daughter of F. S. Robinson. They have three children: Ella F., Annie May and Della J. Barnes.

DR. JOSEPH W. BECKER is among the oldest medical practitioners in the city of Paducah, Ky., is the gentleman whose name heads this sketch and whose portrait is found elsewhere in this work. Dr. Becker was born in Smithland, Ky., in 1826, and is of German and French ancestry. His father, Joseph Becker, was a native of Quebec, Canada, removed to Kentucky in his early life, and was an early merchant in Paducah, in which city he died in June, 1857. Dr. Becker's mother, Catherine Becker, was born in Knoxville, Tenn., and is a daughter of John Hagey, who fought in the Revolutionary war. Mrs. Becker is now a resident of Paducah and a worthy member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The subject of this sketch received his preparatory education in the schools of Paducah, attending later the St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Ky. He then decided to adopt the medical profession, and prosecuted the studies of the same under Drs. Phillips & Jones. In the fall of 1847, he entered the medical department of the University of Louisville, graduating in February, 1849. After several years' practice in Metropolis, Ill., he located in Paducah, Ky., where he has practiced ever since. It is but just to accord to Dr. Becker the prestige of being not only a successful physician, but also one of the most highly respected citizens of Paducah, being especially interested in efforts to promote the cause of education, as well as all enterprises tending to the best interests of the people. He is a member of the Kentucky Medical Society; Southwestern Kentucky Medical Association; Paducah Medical Club; Masonic order, and of the Episcopal Church. In 1852 he married Miss Katie Baker, daughter of John D. Baker of Louisville, Ky. She died in September, 1853.

ELIJAH W. BENSON, McCracken County (deceased), was well known in McCracken County as a Baptist minister of great zeal and piety. He was born in Robertson County, Tenn., October 17, 1823, and received his early education at Lebanon and Murfreesboro. He taught school for a while, but soon gave his attention to religious subjects, and

during the balance of his life, had pastoral charge of various churches in several States. He came to McCracken County in 1860, and thereafter devoted his time to the labors of the ministry and also to farming. He had been in feeble health for some years, yet his great energy continued undiminished, and gave success to his every effort. He was firm in his beliefs, yet of a very winning disposition, and his death was a severe loss to the community, in which he had faithfully labored for many years. He filled the moderator's chair and for many years was clerk of the West Union Association. The parents of Mr. Benson were John and Jane (Sayle) Benson. The father was a mechanic and farmer and served in the war of 1812. To the parents were born thirteen children, three of whom are now living: Agnes, E. H. and Gaylon. Our subject married Miss Gillie S. A. Boldry, who now survives him. She is a daughter of W. S. and Jane (Hampton) Boldry, natives respectively of Kentucky and Tennessee. The union has been blessed with seven children, of whom five are living: Mrs. M. E. Hart, Sudora M., Eddie W., Algernon S. and Lelia I.

JUDGE JAMES L. BETHSHARES, a native of Rutherford County, Tenn., was born in October, 1832, and is a son of William S. Bethshares and Martha L. Bethshares, *nee* Johnston, both parents being Virginians by birth, the mother still living and a resident of Paducah. The father died in Rutherford County, Tenn., in 1848, and a few years later the family removed to west Tennessee, where in the Cageville Academy, James L. was chiefly educated, and was admitted to the bar in 1875. Since his admission to the bar, Judge Bethshares has devoted himself exclusively to his profession, for which he possesses a natural fitness. In 1882, he was the choice of the people of McCracken County for judge of the county courts, and is now occupying that office with credit to himself and acceptance to the people. He is an honored member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He was married in February, 1870, to Miss Felicia A. Hand, daughter of Henry Hand, of Paducah, Ky. It is but justice to Judge Bethshares to say that he has risen to the position of professional honor as the result of his own native energy and perseverance. His gentlemanly and courteous treatment to all has surrounded him with a large circle of admiring friends.

HON. JOSEPH M. BIGGER, lawyer, and one of the ablest jurists of the State of Kentucky, was born in Simpson County, Ky., on the 22d day of September, 1824. He received the rudimentary education in the common schools of Barren and Warren Counties, Ky., and in early life conceived a taste for the profession of the law. In order to gratify this inclination, he, in 1846, entered the office of Judge E. I. Bullock, of Hickman, Ky. Under the instruction of this able preceptor, he pursued his legal studies until his admission to the bar, which was granted in 1847. He at once commenced practice in Ballard County, where he remained until 1853, and from whence he came to Paducah, his present home. The legal record of Judge Bigger presents a series of continued successes, until he has attained to the proud distinction of one of the foremost men of Kentucky, a State already famous for able men. In 1858, he was elected to the position of judge of the equity and criminal court, for the First Judicial District of Kentucky, then comprising the area of fifteen counties. In this responsible office he served with acceptance for three years and until the court was abolished as a result of the civil war. In 1866, he was elected to the Kentucky State Senate, to fill an unexpired term, after which he declined a re-election. In 1877, his ability was again recognized by his election to a seat in the lower house of the state legislature, to which he was re-elected in 1879, and in the organization of that body was made Speaker of the House, which position he filled with marked ability. Judge Bigger is of commanding appearance, a man of true culture, and a highly moral and social character. He is a member of the I. O. O. F., having served as Deputy Grand Master and is now Grand Master of that fraternity for the State of Kentucky. He is also a member of high standing in the Masonic fraternity and an official member of the Christian Church. In politics Judge Bigger was an ardent and warm supporter of the Whig party, and so continued until the banner of that noble party was furled and laid at rest. He then joined the Democratic party and has steadfastly supported the candidates and principles of that party ever since. When the Democratic party divided, in that ever memorable contest of 1860, and one wing nominated John C. Breckinridge, and the other Stephen A. Douglas for president, against the much lamented Abraham Lincoln, the nominee of the Republican party, Judge Bigger, although a Kentuckian "to the manner born," carried out his convictions of what he believed to be right, and gave his earnest support to that great statesman, Stephen A. Douglas, in opposition to that gifted and idolized Kentuckian, John C. Breckinridge. In 1846, in Fulton County, Ky., Judge Big-

ger was married to Miss Fannie, daughter of Richard Stephens of Fulton County.

JOHN W. BLOOMFIELD, lawyer and member of the Paducah bar, was born near Eaton, Preble Co., Ohio, November 16, 1836. His parents, Reuben Bloomfield, and Ann (Hopkins) Bloomfield, were natives of the State of Kentucky, the former a descendant of an English family, who immigrated to Rowan County, N. C., in the colonial period; another branch of the family remained in New Jersey. John W. received the elements of an English education in the common schools of his native county, and when sixteen years old became a student in Miami University. After leaving this institution, he engaged in teaching, occupying his leisure time in reading law. At the commencement of the late war he enlisted in the Federal Army as a private in the Eleventh Indiana Volunteer Infantry, with which he remained some two years, after which he was connected with the quartermaster's department and located in Paducah. Like all true soldiers of the war, whether wearing the blue or the gray, recognizing the honest convictions of both, he enjoys the respect of each, and extends that respect to each as freely. At the close of the war he completed his legal studies, and was regularly admitted to practice in 1865, since which time he has been an important factor in the Paducah bar, standing deservedly high in his profession, and having a leading practice. Mr. Bloomfield is a Democrat, and has been all his life, but is not a politician in the sense of seeking office, confining himself closely to his profession, his only public office being the judgeship of the city courts, which he occupied from 1874 to 1878. He is none the less prominent as a lawyer, and withal a kind and courteous gentleman, having the confidence and respect of the community around him. He was married in Chicago, Ill., in 1865, to Miss Linnie Unruh, daughter of Joseph Unruh, who died some years since in Texas. They are blessed with three children: Lloyd, Miss Joseph, and John W. Bloomfield, Jr. Mr. Bloomfield is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and a Past Master of the Paducah Lodge, and is, and for many years has been, the attorney of the First National Bank of Paducah, and one of its directors.

JAMES K. BONDURANT, son of Joseph and Sarah Bondurant, was born in Marshall County, Ky., in 1839. His parents, both of whom were native Virginians, came to Marshall County from middle Tennessee about 1835, where the mother is now living at an advanced age, and where the father died in 1851. James K. is the fourth child of a family of eight born to these parents, of whom but three are now living. He was reared in his native county to manhood, attended school there, and in Murray, Calloway County, and in early life began mercantile labor, first as a clerk in his father's store. In 1861 he espoused the cause of the Union, and enlisted in the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry. He was captured in 1862 at the battle of Spring Creek, taken to Belle Isle and there held as a prisoner of war for several months, after which he was exchanged, when by reason of the expiration of his term of enlistment, he returned home. In 1864 he engaged in mercantile trade in Paducah, and until 1870 was employed in merchandising and in farming. At the latter date he engaged in the wholesale grocery trade, associated with J. R. Smith, under the firm name of Smith & Bondurant, which partnership continued successfully for nine years, when Mr. Bondurant became the sole proprietor. He is now located at No 113 Broadway. Mr. Bondurant is a member of the Masonic order, K. of H., A. O. U. W., and in politics is a Republican. He was married in Marshall County, Ky., in 1861, to Miss Mary J. Brewer, which union is blessed with two living children, Joseph S. and Ida May Bondurant.

THOMAS E. BOSWELL was born in Lexington, Ky., July 19, 1853, and is the youngest child of Thomas E. and Harriett (Campfield) Boswell, natives respectively of Virginia and New Jersey. The father was engaged in the manufacture of hemp and bagging, etc., and dealt largely in real estate in Lexington. He served as a lieutenant-colonel in the war of 1812. Five of the eight children born to the parents are now living: Harriett E., Anna, Lloyd H., George and Thomas E. The last came to this county with his parents when young, and has since resided here. He has a farm of 400 acres devoted to farming in its various branches. The family are all members of the Episcopal Church.

RHEY BOYD, a lawyer of Paducah, is a son of Hon. Linn Boyd, well known in Kentucky politics, and was born in the city of Paducah, April 14, 1853. His father, Linn Boyd, was a native of Nashville, Tenn., born in 1800; moved to Kentucky in early manhood, and in 1827 was elected to the legislature from Calloway, Graves, Hickman and McCracken Counties; in 1828 and 1829, from Calloway; in 1831, from Trigg County; from 1835 to 1837, served in Congress from the First District; re-elected in 1839, and continued to serve by re-election until 1855,

the last four years of which time he was speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1859, he was elected lieutenant-governor of Kentucky on the Democratic ticket, but died before entering the office, at Paducah, December 17, 1859. Rhey Boyd was educated in the schools of Paducah until he was fifteen years of age, when he entered the university of Notre Dame, at South Bend, Ind., where he graduated in the classical course in 1871. He then entered the law office of Judge L. D. Husbands, as a student, and the following year was admitted to the bar. Mr. Boyd is a man of whom the Paducah bar feel justly proud, being regarded by his legal brethren as possessed of more than ordinary ability, and in consequence of his determination to adhere to his profession gives promise of a brilliant record. He wields a political influence which is enjoyed by the Democratic party. He was assistant district elector of his district in the convention of 1876, a member of the Democratic Electoral College of 1884. His mother, who is now a resident of Paducah, is a daughter of James Rhey, of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM H. BRADLEY, traveling salesman for the firm of Thompson, Wilson & Co,, of Paducah, is a native of Georgia, and was born in 1836. His father, Willard Bradley, was a native of Connecticut. His mother, Eliza A. (Rhea) Bradley, was born in Virginia, but reared in Chapel Hill, N. C. These parents moved from Georgia, in 1837, and settled in west Tennessee, where William H. spent his boyhood. When fourteen years old, he became employed as salesman in the dry goods house of William H. Thompson, in Paris, Tenn., and remained with him for eight years. He then went to Paducah and for a time served the wholesale grocery firm of J. W. Sheerer & Co. as book-keeper, but remained only a brief period, when he returned to Paris, where he effected a partnership with his former employer, W. H. Thompson. In 1858, he again went to Paducah, this time as traveling salesman for the house of J. W. Sheerer & Co. They were favored with his services until the fall of 1861, when the results of the war placed an embargo on all business enterprise and Mr. Bradley espoused the cause of the South and entered the Confederate Army, under Gen. Breckinridge, with the commission of captain. Soon after the battle of Shiloh, in which he participated, he was transferred to Forrest's command and shared in the victories and defeats of that daring leader. In 1866, Mr. Bradley married Miss Lucy C. West, of Paducah. Their children, four in number, are Geven W., Lizzie Y., William C. and Henry L. Bradley. As a business man, Mr. Bradley has rare qualifications, social qualities of a high order and enjoys unlimited confidence. He has traveled for the firm of Thompson, Wilson & Co., since the organization of that house.

ALBERT BRADSHAW was born in Christian County, Ky., March 1, 1809. His father, Edward Bradshaw, came from Henrico County, Va., when quite a young man, and was one of the early settlers and surveyors of Christian County. On May 30, 1832, Albert Bradshaw married Mariamne Rumsey, the youngest daughter of Dr. Edward Rumsey, who was one of the earliest physicians of that county. After his marriage he resided on his farm, about ten miles south of Hopkinsville; he was quite an energetic and pushing farmer, and was very successful in that calling. Together with his brothers and sisters he had inherited from his father a large body of the fertile land, for which that portion of Christian County is famous. During the year 1848, one of the numerous land-sharks and professional litigants of that day, and backed by one of the shrewdest land lawyers of the State, set up an adverse claim to a greater part of this land; it proved to be one of the most hotly contested cases ever known in Kentucky, though such land suits there were of frequent occurrence in the early settlement of the State, growing out of the many different modes of acquiring title and the conflicting and overlapping surveys, that part of the State east of the Tennessee River never having been sectionized. Mr. Bradshaw's case was named in the docket from 1848 to 1861; it passed through numerous trials and retrials; verdicts were set aside, and it went to the court of appeals six times. Mr. Bradshaw became so much enlisted in the defense of what he considered to be his rightful inheritance, that he became quite proficient in the complex land laws of Kentucky; a great portion of the time he managed the case alone and drew up a brief for the court of appeals, on the last appearance of the case in that court, that was considered a very able document, and had much to do with his gaining the case, just as the clouds of civil war were gathering over the country in 1861. In the meantime, in 1856, Mr. Bradshaw had moved to McCracken County, where he and his wife now reside, on his farm near the city of Paducah, both having attained a good old age. He had been all his life a decided Whig, and as much devoted to Henry Clay as were the soldiers of Napoleon to the Little Corporal, so that at the

present day, he finds it a little difficult to locate himself in politics; since the demise of the old Whig party, he sometimes votes the Republican and sometimes the Democratic ticket for president. At the breaking out of the war, he favored the preservation of the Union. This aged couple have only reared two children to maturity: E. R. Bradshaw, the elder, and W. F. Bradshaw; they lost several children in infancy. P. S.–Since the preparation of the above sketch, and on March 30, 1885, Mr. Bradshaw was drowned by accidentally falling into a well.

WILLIAM F. BRADSHAW was born in Christian County, Ky., in 1849. He is a son of Albert Bradshaw and Marianne Bradshaw, *nee* Rumsey, who removed, in 1856, to McCracken County, settling near the city of Paducah, where William F. was reared and where he received the elements of an English education. In 1868, he became a student in the University of Mississippi, where he remained, with the exception of one year, until 1872, when he graduated with the degree of B. S. He then decided upon the profession of law, doing his preparatory reading under Judge Q. Q. Quigley of Paducah, with which he combined teaching, and in 1873, he was principal of the Third District School of the city of Paducah. In 1874, he passed the required examination and was admitted to practice, and has since devoted his attention to the profession. In 1878, he was elected to the office of county attorney for McCracken County, serving four years. In February 1885, he was elected to the responsible position of county treasurer for McCracken County, to succeed Dr. A. B. Kinkead, first and only treasurer since 1871 up to his (subject's) election. The vacancy was caused by death of Mr. Kinkead; the office was created in 1871. Mr. Bradshaw was married to Miss Virginia E. Wheeler, of Christian County, Ky., in January, 1877. They have two sons: William F. and James W. Bradshaw.

WEST H. BRIAN, member of the mercantile firm of Hecht, Ezell & Brian, Paducah, Ky., is a son of Dr. James H., and Caroline (Prewitt) Brian, and was born in 1842, in Monroe County, Ky. In 1843 his father moved to Marshall County, Ky.; there he devoted himself to the practice of medicine, with which he combined farming. He died in January, 1863; his widow still survives him and is a resident of Paducah, making her home with subject, she was born in Monroe County, Ky. In 1861, West H. Brian entered the Confederate Army as a member of Company A (Capt. Alfred Johnston), Third Kentucky Regiment. He participated in several hard fought battles, including Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg, etc.; was made a prisoner in west Tennessee, and retained under parole, until the close of the war. In 1866, he located in Paducah, where, until 1874, he was employed as a salesman. In the year just named, he became a member of the firm indicated above, which is now one of the most prosperous firms in Paducah. They are located at No. 106 Broadway, and keep a stock of a general character. Mr. Brian is a member of the Christian Church, I. O. O. F., encampment, K. of H., and for eight years a member of the board of trustees of the city schools, and secretary of the board for the past five years. He was married in Marshall County, Ky., in 1869, to Miss Mary Locker, daughter of John P. Locker. Bertie Brian is their only child.

ROBERT BROADFOOT, a deceased pioneer of Paducah, Ky., and father of Broadfoot brothers, of that place, was born in 1810, in Winchelsea, England. He came to the United States in 1826, making his first permanent settlement in New York City; thence to Jersey City, N. J., where he remained until 1838, when he removed to Charleston, S. C. In 1832, in Trenton, N. J., he was married to Miss Eunice Nutt. In the year 1847, they emigrated to Kentucky, locating in Paducah, where Robert worked at the millwright trade, a pursuit to which he devoted his entire life, which terminated in September, 1856. His widow, who was born in 1814, is still a resident of Paducah, where she is surrounded by her appreciative and enterprising children. They reared a large family, of which six are now living, viz.: Sarah, Robert, William S., Geneva, George and N. Thomas Broadfoot. The above named sons are engaged in general mercantile business and also in the steamboat traffic; they own the tug, "John Orm," and have another in course of construction.

CAPT. STANLEY BROWNE, McCracken County, was born in Breckinridge County, this State, February 10, 1820, and is a son of Dr. G. R. A. and Caroline E. (Esmenard) Browne, the former a native of Virginia and the latter of Baltimore, Md. The father was a physician; he moved from Virginia to Breckinridge County in an early day, and was there engaged in the practice of his profession until his death, which occurred in 1834. He was a great lover of the racehorse, and found a passionate delight in the old-time barbecues, where horse-racing was an important feature of the programme. He was a son of Alexander Browne. The subject of these lines and G. R. A. Browne are the

only children living, of the six who grew to maturity, of the children of Dr. Browne. Capt. Stanley received his early schooling in his native county, and after attending college a few months he moved to Paducah, at seventeen years of age, and has since made his residence in McCracken and the adjoining county of Livingston. He first clerked in a dry goods store and was afterward connected with a flouring and saw-mill, but the best part of his life has been spent in steamboating on the principal western rivers. For twenty years he captained and owned many of the best boats that plied these waters; among them, the "Dover," "Federal Arch," "Emma Watts" and "Midas." During the war he purchased cotton in the South; soon afterward he gave up his river life, and, returning home, has since given his attention to farming pursuits, having a present farm of 300 acres. He married Miss Susan M. Calhoun, a daughter of Patrick Calhoun. Of this union six children are now living, Frances V. (married to Mr. F. W. Thomas, and mother of three children, Marion L., Stanley and James V.), Nellie E., James C., Edmoina C., Ezekiel E. and Kate C. Previous to the late war, Capt. Browne was engaged in the grocery business in Paducah. The story of his life is a romantic one, being made up of many interesting and thrilling occurrences. As a farmer and a resident of McCracken County, he is highly respected by its citizens.

JOHN D. BRUMMAL was born August 1, 1819, in Mecklenburgh County, Va. His father, Robert Brummal, a Virginian by birth, was of Scotch descent, being a son of John, whose father's name was also John, the latter emigrating direct from Scotland, and settling on a place seven miles from Richmond, Va. The wife of Robert Brummal, Mary A. (Bennett) Brummal, was also a native of Virginia. The parents had nine children, of whom three are living. Our subject was reared to farm work, and during his early years improved all the then limited school advantages. At nineteen years of age he began farming on his own account as a hired hand, and in the fall of 1840 came to Christian County, Ky., where he was employed as overseer, and given the management of various farms for thirteen years. Then, after farming one year in Christian County for himself, he moved to Ballard County, this State, and rented land until 1863, when he purchased farm property, which, three years later, he exchanged for his present place of 240 acres, on which he has since resided. He owns several other tracts of farm land, and also property in the town of Woodville, all of which is the result of his own personal industry and frugal management. Mr. Brummal is a member of the Lovelaceville Lodge, No. 157 A. F. & A. M., of which he is the present treasurer. He was initiated into the Masonic fraternity in 1847, at Hopkinsville, and has since risen to positions of the highest honor and distinction in that august body, having conferred upon him the rank of Royal Arch Mason, at Antioch, Ky., and that of Knight Templar at Paducah. December 31, 1850, he married Miss Catherine Cary, of Cumberland County, this State. Having no children of their own, Mr. and Mrs. Brummal have taken and reared several orphan children, three of whom are grown to age and now happily married, viz.: Sarah E. Cary, who married S. R. Culver; Elizabeth Snook, wife of Alonzo Miller; and Alice Uncil, now Mrs. Milton Edwards.

J. R. BUCHANAN was born in 1837 in Halifax County, Va., to John and Elizabeth (Rawlett) Buchanan. In 1857 the family, except the mother, who died in Virginia, moved to Kentucky, and settled in Trigg County, where, in 1861, J. R. Buchanan married Miss Elizabeth Jones, and where his father died in 1860. Mr. Buchanan had been engaged in the pursuits of the farm until 1881. In 1865 he purchased a farm in Graves County, on which he resided until recent years. In connection with his farming interests, he has, for several years, been engaged in the tobacco trade, and in 1881 removed to Paducah, where he is devoting his entire attention to this business. He is a member of the Baptist Church, Masonic fraternity, K. of H. and A. O. U. W. He has a family of five children: Ada M., wife of N. B. Stubblefield; Stannie C., Joseph Milton, John H. and Sarah F. Buchanan. The family residence is on Oak Street, between Adams and Clarke Streets.

JAMES M. BUCKNER was born in Davidson County, Tenn., August 20, 1840. His father, James Buckner, was a Virginian by birth, and his mother, Minerva Cook, was a native of Tennessee and a sister of Judge William Cook, of the supreme bench of Tennessee. James M. Buckner was the youngest of five children born to them, and was born after the death of his father, which occured in January, 1840, in Mississippi. James M. attended school at the Mount Juliet Academy in Tennessee, and when sixteen years old went to Cadiz, Trigg Co., Ky., and became a salesman in a dry goods house, where he remained until 1864, when he went to New York City and engaged in the tobacco busi-

ness. He soon after became a partner in the wholesale dry goods house of Miller, Gardner & Co., at Evansville, Ind., from whence he came to Paducah in 1867. Since the latter date he has been constantly in the tobacco trade, in which he is a pronounced leader, having handled in a single year tobacco to the value of $2,167,000. He has been associated with various other dealers in Paducah, and the style of the firm is now James M. Buckner & Co., of which he has the entire management. Mr. Buckner was first married to Miss Bettie Torian, of Christian County, Ky., who died in 1862, leaving one daughter, Julia, wife of Jacob Spears, now of Florida. His present wife, to whom he was married in 1872, Miss Bettie Murrell, a daughter of S. F. Murrell, of Paducah. This union has been blessed with the following children: Pearl, Murrell, James, Mary and Blanche Buckner. Mr. Buckner is a member of the Masonic fraternity, K. of H., and of the Christian Church.

WILLIAM G. BULLITT, lawyer, Paducah, is a son of Cuthbert Bullitt and grandson of Hon. Alexander Scott Bullitt, who emigrated from Virginia in 1784, first settling in Shelby County, but afterward making a permanent settlement in Jefferson County. He was born in Virginia in 1761, and died on his farm in Jefferson County in 1816. He was elected in 1792 to represent his county in the convention, which framed the first constitution of Kentucky, and, after the admission of the State, was elected to the State senate, presiding over that body until 1799, when he was again chosen as a delegate to the second constitutional convention, of which he was president. In 1800 he was elected lieutenant-governor of the State, serving four years, after which he served in the State legislature until 1808, when he retired to private life and to his farm. He was married to a daughter of Col. W. Christian. Thus it is seen that the subject of this sketch is well descended. His father was a lawyer in early life, and represented Shelby County in the legislature. He married a Miss Harriett Willett, daughter of Dr. John F. Willett, by whom he had nine children, including five sons, all of whom became professional men. Cuthbert Bullitt died about 1854 in Louisville, Ky. William G. is the youngest of his sons, was educated in Shelby College and the South-Hanover College of Indiana; studied law with his brother Willett Bullitt, of New Albany, Ind., and was admitted to practice in 1854. He began the practice of his profession in Calhoun, McLean Co., Ky., coming thence to Paducah in 1858, since which time he has been connected with the bar of the city. In 1861 he became a member of the Third Kentucky Regiment of Confederate troops. Before taking the field, however, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the First Kentucky Cavalry, serving with that command until the organization of the Sixth Kentucky Cavalry, when he became major of that regiment, and followed the fortunes of the same until his surrender in Ohio in 1863. For the nineteen months following he was held a prisoner of war, and retained variously in the Ohio State prisons, Johnson's Island and Fort Delaware, from which he was released at the close of the war. Immediately after the close of the war he resumed the practice of law in Paducah, where he is still engaged, having served as judge of the city courts, and as judge of the First Judicial District.

GEORGE W. BUMPOUS, McCracken County, was born in Robertson County, Tenn., January 8, 1834, and is a son of William Bumpous, who came from North Carolina and settled in Tennessee at an early day. He located in Montgomery County, Tenn., where he was engaged in farming and blacksmithing up to 1882, when he came to Kentucky to reside with his son at Massack, McCracken County. His wife, formerly Nancy Allen, was a native of Tennessee; she died in January, 1834, our subject being the only child. The father has been married four times and survives all of his wives. Our subject learned his father's trade in early life, and at sixteen years of age began working for himself as a journeyman. After his marriage, which occurred January 12, 1854, he worked for his father a short time until becoming of age, when he removed to McCracken County, and, after farming two years, took up his trade, at which he has since been engaged. He also carries on a store at Massack, and has a farm adjoining the town. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and is a thorough business man and highly esteemed citizen. His wife was formerly Miss Mary A. E. Price, of Tennessee. This union has been blessed with ten children, of whom six are now living: Martha A. (wife of Thomas Felts), Mary J. (now Mrs. W. S. Hines), Luella J. (now Mrs. J. W. Thompson), Sarah F., Lettie B., George W.

HENRY BURNETT, lawyer, at Paducah, and the son of the Hon. Henry C. Burnett, was born in Cadiz, Trigg Co., Ky., March 23, 1849. He there attended the public school through his boyhood days, and when fourteen years old, went South and became a student in the old Bingham School, one of

the oldest and ablest institutions of learning in the South. He was a student in this school for three years and in October, 1866, entered the academic department of the University of Virginia, and continued his studies there two years. Having decided upon the study of the law, he engaged in teaching as a means of support while preparing for this profession, meantime pursuing his legal studies under Prof. James P. Holcombe, author of some standard legal works. Mr. Burnett was licensed to practice in July, 1870, and in September of that year located in Paducah, where he soon acquired a good practice. He makes no pretensions to special pleading, yet is a fine advocate, a good judge of law, of quick perception and highly professional. He is in no sense a politician, but has been a member and the chairman of some important political conventions, affiliating with the Democratic party. Mr. Burnett was married January 17, 1882, in Henderson, Ky., to Miss Susanne H. Dallam, a daughter of L. C. Dallam, president of the National Bank of that city. Their children are Elizabeth D. and Marie Burnett. He is a Mason of high order, having filled the chair of presiding officer in both the Paducah Lodge and Commandery. The family residence is on Broadway and business office on Legal Row.

JAMES M. BURNLEY, McCraken County, was born in Smith County, Tenn., March 18, 1847. His father, William Burnley, was a native of Virginia and moved to Tennessee when a young man. He was a carpenter by trade, but farmed during his later years. He came to McCracken County, in 1854, locating where our subject now lives, and died in December, 1867. His widow, formerly Dolly Bradley, is yet living at the age of seventy years. They were the parents of eleven children. At twenty-one years of age, James M. Burnley began farming for himself and was thus engaged till 1874; at that date he went into the hotel business and later into the milling business and owned and operated the Woodville Mill. He then sold out and re-engaged in farming and dealt extensively in tobacco. His present farm consists of 350 acres adjoining the town of Woodville, in which place he also owns property. He was united in marriage December 18, 1877, to Miss Mattie Suttle, of McCracken County. This union has given three children: Jack, James and Mattie.

ENOCH F. BYNG, one of the most aggressive business men of the city of Paducah, was born in Worcestershire, England, on March 14, 1839. He came to the United States, with his parents, John and Elizabeth (Bird) Byng, in 1850. His father, who is still living and an honored citizen of Paducah, has spent the major part of his life in the lumber trade. He first located in Clinton County, Iowa, where, with the lumber business, he combined farming until about 1867. Enoch F. received a practical business education, and in 1862 championed the cause of the Union, entering the Twenty-sixth, Iowa Volunteer Infantry, the fortunes of which he shared until December, 1864, when in consequence of a wound received at the battle of Atlanta, Ga., he was granted a discharge. He then returned to Clinton, Iowa, and embarked in the lumber business, which he continued until 1874, when he removed to Butler County, Mo., from whence he came to Paducah, Ky., three years later. In November, 1879, he formed a partnership with J. W. McKnight, and their business was incorporated in the name of the Paducah Lumber Company. In 1881, Mr. McKnight sold his interest in the business to John Byng, who surrendered the entire management to his son, Enoch F. In their extensive business, including their saw and planing-mills, they give employment to 100 men. Mr. Byng was married in Iowa, in 1861, to Miss Emma Walls, daughter of Joseph and Charlotte Walls, all of whom are of English birth. Their marriage is blessed with five children: Alice (wife of C. Arnout), Helen, Louisa Ann, Benney and John Byng.

JAMES C. CALHOUN, the oldest representative now living, of pioneer days in Paducah, is the gentleman whose name introduces this sketch. He was born in Livingston County, Ky., on the 25th of July, 1811, where he was reared to early manhood, meantime receiving such advantages for education as were supplied in the pioneer schools of the country. His father died in Livingston County, and he with his widowed mother came to Paducah in 1828. James C. for a long time engaged as salesman in a mercantile house; later followed steamboating on the Ohio and Tennessee until 1836, when, having saved some money, he embarked in the dry goods trade in Paducah, but shared in the general wreck of business circles in 1837. In 1840 he was appointed to the office of sheriff of McCracken County, and served continuously for eight years. Pressed by the misfortunes growing out of the panic of 1837, he took the benefit of the bankrupt law in 1842 for about $8,000, and by the year 1847 he had paid to his creditors the entire amount on which he had bankrupted. In 1851 he was elected as the first sheriff under the new constitution, serving two years. In 1856 he

moved to Paducah, McCracken County, and engaged in the tobacco trade. In 1882, McCracken County sent him to the legislature as its representative, and in the following year, he made the race for register of the land office in the State of Kentucky, and was defeated for the nomination by only nine votes. The successful candidate, J. G. Cecil, then tendered him the first position under himself, which Mr. Corbett accepted, and which position he is now most efficiently filling, with his home temporarily at the capital, though recognizing Paducah as his home.

DR. FRANK T. DAVIS was born June 26, 1856, in Livingston County, Ky. He is a son of Thomas M. Davis, a deceased merchant of Smithland, Ky. Dr. Frank T. Davis was educated in the Transylvania University of Lexington, Ky., and in the Cecilian College, at Cecilian Junction, Ky. In 1875, he began the study of medicine, under Dr. Sweeney, of Lexington, Ky., and after the usual preparatory reading, attended two courses of lectures in the medical department of the Transylvania University. In 1877, he entered the Jefferson Medical College, of Philadelphia, from which he graduated the following year. He then went to Paducah, practiced one year in connection with Dr. R. Saunders, and soon established a reputation as a skillful physician. He is a member of the Paducah Medical Association, of the Jefferson Alumni Association, and is the president of the Medical Association of southwestern Kentucky. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity and K. of H. He was married in Paducah, in 1880, to Miss Millie Fowler, daughter of Capt. J. H. Fowler, and has one child—Mattie S. Davis.

ROBERT J. DUDLEY was born in October, 1825, in Logan County, Ky. When a mere boy, he was taken by his father, Robert B. Dudley, to Montgomery County, Tenn., where the latter died. Robert J. was reared to the labor of the farm, to which he has devoted most of his life. From Montgomery County, Tenn., he removed about 1854 to Trigg County, Ky., and thence, in 1858, to Ballard County. In Ballard County, he operated his farming interest until 1875, when he removed to the city of Paducah, to engage in the handling of leaf tobacco, which he has since followed. Mr. Dudley was married in Blandville, Ky., in 1859, to Miss Mary Corbett, daughter of Jacob Corbett. She is a native of Hickman County, but of Virginia parentage. Their union has been blessed with the birth of three children: Jacob C., Fannie B. and Emily M. Dudley. Mr. Dudley is a member of the Christian Church and of the A. F. & A. M. His residence is on Chestnut Street, between Jefferson and Monroe Streets, Paducah.

JAMES W. EDEN was born in Mayfield, Graves Co., Ky., May 2, 1851. His grandfather was an officer in the British navy, settled in North Carolina, from whence he removed to Kentucky, and settled in Muhlenburg County, where he died. In his family was a son, James G. Eden, who was born in North Carolina, and who in early life settled in Graves County, Ky., where he married Miss Mary Talbert, who was a Virginian by birth, but of English ancestry. They had seven children—James W., whose name heads this sketch, being the sixth. James G. Eden was a merchant, and later a farmer, and finally located in McCracken County, on a farm long known as Eden's Hill, where in 1871, he died, and where his widow died on May 27, 1884. James W. Eden was educated chiefly in Paducah, Ky., studied law under Judge Bigger of that city, and in 1878 entered the law department of the university of Ann Arbor, Mich., where he graduated in July, 1879. He then established an office in Paducah for the practice of his profession, but soon became associated with J. W. Bloomfield, with whom he practiced two years, terminating August, 1882, at which time Mr. Eden was elected to the office of county attorney for McCracken County. From 1876 to 1878, he served the county as commissioner of schools. He is a member of the K. of H.

LORENZO W. EMERY was born in Maine, February 5, 1837. He is a son of William Emery and Sabrina Emery, *nee* Drew. Mr. Emery was educated in his native State, remaining till he was about grown to manhood, when he came West, after which, for several years, he was engaged in the sale of agricultural implements, first in Chicago and then in Burlington, Iowa; then in the city of St. Louis, Mo. He remained at the latter city, until the commencement of the late war, when he closed up his business and removed to Evansville, Ind. In the latter place he did an extensive insurance business, until coming to Paducah, Ky., in 1865. His first business venture in Paducah was in the marble business, which he conducted successfully until 1876, at which time he was awarded the government contract for the central monument in the National Cemetery at Mound City, Ill., for which he received the sum of $25,000. In 1876, he formed a partnership with M. K. Scott, in the wholesale hardware business, which partnership

terminated in 1882, by the retirement of Mr. Emery. Since that date he has been employed in an extensive tobacco business, associated with H. H. Hobson and is now numbered among the wealthy men of Paducah. While he is strictly a business man he has nevertheless devoted some attention to enterprises of a public character, and especially deserves credit for his devotion to the public schools of the city of which he was for five years the superintendent, besides serving as a member of the board of education. He is a stockholder and director in the City National Bank. He is a member of the Masonic order, K. of H. and of the A. O. U. W. Mr. Emery was married in Albion, Ill., to Miss Margaret Ferryman, and has a family of three children: Charles, George and Lorenzo Melvin Emery.

JOHN. C. FARLEY, of Irish ancestry, was born in 1841, in Walworth County, Wis., and is a son of Michael Farley and Mary (Dolen) Farley, both of whom were born in Ireland. Mr. John C. Farley was reared on a farm in Wisconsin, to the age of nineteen, from which time until 1866, he was engaged as a sailor on the great lakes and in traveling. In 1866 he came to Kentucky, and in 1867 to the city of Paducah. In 1868 he opened a mercantile business, associated with his brother Edwin Farley, who is now, and has been for several years past, the revenue collector for the Second District of Kentucky. Their partnership terminated in 1872, and John C. Farley is now located at the east end of Island Creek Bridge, Paducah, where he does an extensive business, dealing in drugs and groceries. He is a member of the Masonic order, and A. O. U. W. He was married in Paducah, in 1869, to Miss Ella L. Scott, and has two children: Della and John C. Farley, Jr. Mr. Farley has served the county in the capacity of justice of the peace since 1869, and is secretary and treasurer of the Paducah Shipyard Company.

JOHN G. FISHER is one of the pioneers of the city of Paducah. He was born in Germany in the year 1816, and there attained his eighteenth year, coming to the United States in 1834. He first located in the city of Philadelphia, Penn., where he completed his trade, that of baker, having served an apprenticeship in his native country. He engaged at his trade in various places until 1838, when he removed to Paducah, which place has since been his home. In Paducah, Mr. Fisher engaged in the bakery business for several years, but in 1857 he established a brewery, which he conducted for some sixteen or more years. He is now the proprietor of a bakery and confectionery store on the corner of Court and Locust Streets. Mr. Fisher is a gentleman of good discriminative powers, of public spirit, and is one of the most worthy citizens of Paducah. His administrative ability was early utilized in the management of the public matters of this city, and his name is found among the first boards of trustees of the town of Paducah; later as a member of the city council for four years; then in 1863 he was elected to the office of mayor of this city, serving two terms and ending in 1867. In 1874 he was a third time honored with the mayoralty of Paducah, acquitting himself with credit in all his various public services, including the responsibility of the office of collector of the city tax. Mr. Fisher was married in McCracken County, in 1842, to Miss Mary F. Greif. Of the nine children born to them, five are living.

J. WM. FISHER, a native of the city of Paducah, and a member of the board of councilmen, representing the Third Ward, was born November 30, 1849. He is a son of J. G. Fisher, mention of whom is elsewhere made. He was educated in the schools of the city of Paducah, and in the Douglas University, of Chicago, Ill., and began a business career as traveling salesman, working in the employ of Louisville and Cincinnati firms for ten years. In 1875, in connection with W. F. Paxton, he engaged in the wholesale grocery business in Paducah, where they did a large business, until the dissolution of the firm in 1883. In 1884 Mr. Fisher established an extensive brick manufactory, which he is now operating. He is a member of Paducah Commandery No. 11, Knights Templar; he was married in Louisville, Ky., in 1875, to Miss Alice Hemmeller, and has four children, viz.: Harry, Charles, Allie and Irene Fisher.

JACOB FLEGLE was born in the State of Nausau, Prussia, Germany, January 1, 1830. and is a son of Jacob and Catharine (Flook) Flegle, who were parents of five children. Subject was reared on a farm and attended the common schools of his native place. He then served a three years apprenticeship to the cabinetmaker's trade, and worked some six months as a journeyman previous to his coming to America. He landed in New Orleans, after a passage of forty-nine days, and going thence to Louisville, Ky., was given employment in a chair factory. He afterward worked at his trade in Henry County and Ballard County, this State, and in 1870 came to this county and

engaged in the hotel business at Woodville. Returning to Ballard County, he engaged in farming for four years, when he came back, ran the hotel at Woodville for two more years, and then purchased his present mill property, in which he has since made many improvements. He has remodeled and refitted the mill, putting in many new machines, and placing it among the first mills of the State; he turns out the highest grade of flour, and is doing all kinds of milling work. Mr. Flegle has attained his financial standing through industry, good management and economy, and is recognized as one of the most enterprising and active spirits in the community. He was married January 24, 1856, to Mary E. Scott, who bore him six children. She died in 1881, and Mr. Flegle afterward married Nancy Lane. He is a member of the K. of H.

PETER O. FOREE was born in Shelby County, this State, September 6, 1838. His father, Joshua Foree, was a Virginian by birth and came when a boy with his father to Kentucky. He resided in Shelby County on a farm until 1846, when he removed to Ballard County, Ky., where he continued in agricultural pursuits till his death, February 16, 1880. His wife was a Miss Narcissa T. Ogden, a native of this State; she died October 20, 1877. There are but three of their children living, our subject being the youngest. By diligent home study and making the most of the limited school facilities the times afforded, he was able to acquire a fair literary and good business education. He remained at home managing the home farm until thirty-six years of age, when he came to Woodville and engaged in the dry goods business, in which he has since been interested, also carrying a full line of drugs and general stock, and commanding a liberal share of the public patronage. Mr. Foree is reputed a gentleman of unquestionable honor and integrity and is held in high esteem by the entire community. May 27, 1875, he married Martha A. Ragland, of this county. The union has given three children: Charles O., Narcissa A. and Mary M. During his residence in Ballard County, he served three years as sheriff. He is a man of public spirit, and has given liberally for church and other public purposes and lent his influence to building the temperance cause.

JUDGE WILEY P. FOWLER. [The publishers have been furnished with the following biographical sketch of Judge Wiley P. Fowler, by W. D. Greer, of the Paducah bar, a former law partner of Judge Fowler. —Ed.] "Judge Wiley P. Fowler, one of the most eminent lawyers of Kentucky, was born in Smith County, Tenn., September 2, 1799, and when a small boy moved with his father's family to Caldwell County, near Princeton, Ky. It was there that he received only such education as the schools of those primitive days, in that section, afforded. Full of the spirit of adventure, in 1817, when he was only eighteen years of age, he landed in a flat-boat at the mouth of Island Creek, at the upper end of the city of Paducah on his way to the distant wilds of Texas. Where Paducah now stands was then a vast unbroken forest; not a tree had been touched by the white man and it was a part of the Indian's vast hunting-grounds. In after years, when the judge would address the people in favor of some public enterprise, it was his delight to refer to the time when he had seen the Indian wigwams and campfires where this beautiful city now stands. He remained in Texas during a part of its wildest history, but after a year or two he became satisfied with the adventures and dangers of a frontier life, returned to Kentucky and located in Salem, in Livingston County, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He there married Miss Esther A. Given, sister of H. F. and D. A. Given, men of great prominence in the commercial world. His wife was a sister-in-law of Judge James Campbell, Sr. He afterward moved from Salem to Princeton, Ky., and rose rapidly in his profession and soon became one of the leading lawyers of southern Kentucky. He ranked along with George W. Barbour, Judge James Campbell, Sr., Mat Mayes, Bob Patterson, David McGoodwin and James B. Husbands, the great lawyers of this end of the State at that time. He was a superior land and criminal lawyer. He took a leading part in nearly all the great land and criminal trials of the day. He was a man of commanding presence, almost six feet high, of fine form, straight as an Indian, with dark, penetrating eyes, with a face and head indicative of a strong character and high order of intellect. His manners and style of oratory were pleasing and peculiarly his own. He was the very embodiment of dignity and courtesy and yet at times, especially when addressing the jury, full of wit, humor and sarcasm; but his great forte was to play upon the feelings and passions of his hearers. He could, by his matchless eloquence and pathos, bring tears to the eyes of his listeners, and could by a few artful, well-directed, apt words, accompanied by the merry twinkle of his eye and an inimitable smile, throw his adversary into disrepute and

ridicule, and convulse his audience with laughter. He was passionately fond of literary research, and was a pioneer in the field of thought, loved to read and investigate new subjects, and, regardless of orthodox creeds, his active mind rambled with freedom over the bright fields of a new, and by some a forbidden science. His language at all times was chaste and most beautiful. There was a vein of poetry in his conversation and in his speeches which was charming and very taptivating. These, accompanied by his dignified bearing, at all times elicited earnest attention from those who heard him, either in ordinary conversation, or on the rostrum. He was made judge of the circuit court about the year 1840, and held that position for years and until the change in the constitution, establishing the elective judiciary. When the State was re-districted, Caldwell County was left out of the jurisdiction of his old district. He then removed to Smithland, in Livingston County, and about 1860 was elected by the people judge of the circuit court, which office he held until 1865, and by his dignity and unbending iron will, upheld the civil power in his district, to a great extent, during those turbulent war times. It was during this period of his career, that his great character shone forth in its true brightness. While the country was occupied by armed soldiery and the booming of cannon, and the clank of arms were heard around him; when bad passions ruled the hour, and bands of robbers and cut-throats prowled through the country and law was being trodden down by lawless men, Judge Fowler held his courts, and with an unfaltering hand held the scales of justice, upheld the civil power and brought offenders to trial in the very teeth of the military of both Federals and Confederates. His course often brought him in conflict with them, and for this his life was imperiled and even threatened, and under the pretext that he refused to take the "iron-clad oath," he was arrested and imprisoned in Louisville, by the Federals. His private life was pure and blameless. He was generous and charitable. After leaving the bench, he lived a quiet life on his farm, three miles below Smithland, on the bank of the Ohio, amid the grandeur of the poetic scenes of that majestic river. There he lived in almost quiet seclusion, in the enjoyment of farm scenes and farm life, until the death of his second wife, Mrs. S. S. Fowler, whom he had married in 1848, and then came to Paducah and spent the sunset of his days with his sons, Gus Fowler and Joseph H. Fowler. He had been a member of the Methodist Church since early manhood and for fifty-five years a Mason. He died at the home of his son, Capt. Joseph H. Fowler, in Paducah, in the eighty-second year of his age, long after nearly all the friends of his early youth had passed from the stage of action. He died full of honors and beloved by all who knew him. But Judge Fowlers' character, good and noble deeds and principles he inculcated still live with the people of southern Kentucky and will endure long after the beautiful monument that marks his grave in the Smithland cemetery will crumble and fall beneath the stroke of time."

CAPT. JOSEPH H. FOWLER. The name of Fowler, to the people of western Kentucky, brings to memory recollections of one of the pioneers of that portion of the State. But few persons, now living in the Purchase, that have not known Judge W. P. Fowler, whose sketch appears above. Capt. Joe, as he is familiarly called is one of his three sons, and was born in 1833, in Salem, Livingston Co., Ky. In early life he enjoyed the instruction of a noted teacher, Prof. James Weller, and in 1848 became a student in the Cumberland College of Princeton, Ky., completing his studies in Smithland, Ky. Thus far his entire business energy has been in the wharf and steamboat interest; he began the former in 1849. In 1850 he became a clerk in the Paducah and Nashville packet, "Annie Linington," but after nine months became clerk on a wharf boat, on which he continued until 1857, when he was made master, and still holds a master's license, though he has of late retired from the line. He is now engaged in the wharf boat and boat store business in Paducah, and owns an interest in the Cairo packet "Gus Fowler." Mr. Fowler deserves special mention for his untiring efforts as a member of the Paducah school board, in establishing and maintaining the present efficient system of public schools. He has also shown his wisdom and administrative ability during a term of eight years as a member of the city council. In 1855, he contracted a marriage with Miss Mattie Leech, of Smithland, Ky., and has a family of six children: Given; Millie, wife of Dr. F. T. Davis, of Paducah; Mintie, wife of Cook Husbands, and Misses Mattie, Josephine and Rosebud Fowler.

DANIEL J. FRASER was born in Stewart County, Tenn., in 1834, and is the son of Benjamin F. Fraser, and Mary J. Fraser, daughter of Samuel Elam. His parents were Virginians, who in early life became residents of Stewart County, Tenn. Daniel J. was reared on his father's farm, in Tennessee,

and at the age of seventeen began his mercantile career as a salesman. In 1855, he formed a partnership with his brother, at Clarksville, Tenn., in the dry goods trade, which he continued for one year, when he became a resident of Ballard County, Ky. He engaged in agriculture in that and McCracken Counties, until 1862, when he entered the Confederate Army, and served till the close of the war, as lieutenant in the Seventh Kentucky Regiment. At the close of the war, he returned and located in Paducah, where he engaged as salesman for a dry goods house, until 1869, when he associated with George Rock, in the wholesale boot and shoe business. This firm existed twelve years, at which time Mr. Fraser retired from the firm. In 1881, he established his present boot and shoe house in connection with J. B. Jones, under the firm name of Fraser & Jones, which now constitutes one of the leading business houses of Paducah. Mr. Fraser is a consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; a member of the Masonic order, K. of H. and K. G. R. He was married, in 1857, in Robertson County, Tenn., to Miss Sallie A., daughter of Thomas J. Polk. Their family consists of four sons and four daughters.

AARON FUQUA, McCracken County, was born in Buckingham County, Va., May 12, 1819. His father was a farmer by occupation, though in early life he had worked at the stonemason's trade. He removed to Kentucky, in December, 1822, and resided in Logan County, until his death. His wife was Mary L. Ayres, of Virginia. Our subject lived at home till the death of his father in 1855, when he took charge of the home farm, which he operated until his mother's death, which occurred four years later. In 1860, he came to McCracken County and operated a dam on the river bottoms, and in 1867 removed to Woodville, and there resided till 1874 engaged in the drug and grocery business. At the latter date, he traded his town property for his present farm of 200 acres, on which he has since made many improvements, and in many ways beautified and adorned his home surroundings. For thirty years, Mr. Fuqua has been a member of the Masonic fraternity, and has held during the time all of the Lodge offices, and is now secretary of the Woodville Lodge, No. 300. He served the county as its deputy clerk from 1870–74, and was one of the magistrates for his district, No. 5, for a term of four years. He fills at the present time the office of county examiner. For many years he has acted as correspondent of the agricultural department of the State and General Governments, and has always been identified with important matters of public interest. August 1, 1844, he married Eliza G. Coghill, of this State; she died in December, 1853. His present wife was Mrs. Sarah A. Haddox.

JESSE H. GARDNER. Among the very early settlers in the Purchase District, Kentucky, was David Gardner, the father of the subject of this sketch. About 1822, David, with his wife, Hannah (Hampton) Gardner, and family of eight children, settled in Calloway County a short distance from the old county seat of Wadesboro. They came originally from Roane County, N. C., and first located in Clark County, Ky., when it was an unbroken wilderness; there Jesse H. was born in 1819. David Gardner remained in Calloway County, until 1828, when he again sought the frontier and settled in Missouri. He died in Texas, while visiting that region, in 1831. His wife, with her children returned to Calloway County, shortly after, and there died in 1834. Jesse H. was reared under pioneer influences, almost wholly deprived of educational advantages, but when nearly grown, he secured the instruction of a teacher for a short time, and in 1838, a rustic youth, but of determined character, he might have been seen plodding his way on foot to the infant town of Paducah. His object in coming hither, was not that he might begin a long and prosperous business career, but having in view the one idea of securing work, whereby he might obtain money to discharge a small obligation to his former teacher. He first engaged for $15 a month to work for a woodman; he worked three months and lost the wages of the entire time. Determined not to return home poorer than he had left he sought and obtained a position in a hotel, next as watchman on a wharf boat, and finally a clerkship in a boat store. To follow through the many changes of his fortune would make an interesting chapter, but space will not permit. In 1846, having saved some money, he embarked in mercantile life, and for ten years did a profitable business; meantime, in 1852, having been burned out, he erected the building known as St. Clair Hall, which he now owns. He has served the city for some years as mayor, and at the breaking out of the war, was made secretary, treasurer and general manager of the railroad from Paducah to Union City, and remained in charge until 1866. He has been frequently elected to the city council, and is now a member and treasurer of the board of education, and vice-presi-

dent of the First National Bank. Mr. Gardner was married in 1853, in Ballard County, to Miss Sarah M., daughter of Dr. Reese Bourland, and has reared a family of eight children, among whom are Dr. David Gardner, of the Indian Territory, and William Armour Gardner, a lawyer of Paducah. The latter was born in Paducah, June 25, 1858, and there received a good English education; he studied law under Judge J. M. Bigger and was admitted to practice in March, 1882. In the fall of the same year, he entered the senior class in the law department of the Michigan University, at Ann Arbor, where he graduated in the spring of 1883. Though young in the profession, he is an energetic student, and is fast acquiring a practice, though surrounded by an extensive bar, noted for able lawyers.

HON. JESSE C. GILBERT. In 1818, Joel Gilbert removed from North Carolina, his native State, to the State of Kentucky, settling near the present site of Benton, Marshall Co., Ky. He was married to Miss Tempa Grace, having a family of ten children as a result of their union. They were pioneers in the full sense of that term, and spent the remainder of their lives in the vicinity of their original settlement. Mrs. Gilbert died in 1834, and Joel Gilbert in 1852. The subject of these lines is the seventh of their family, and was born at their homestead, near Benton, in 1831. His boyhood and early manhood were spent on his father's farm, presenting no material contrast with the experiences of other boys of similar pioneer surroundings. Besides the common schools of that early day, he attended the Wadesboro Academy, after which he decided to become a lawyer. He accordingly entered the office of Philander Palmer, one of the best lawyers in the State, where he pursued his studies until his admission to practice, in 1855. At the age of twenty-two, he was elected clerk of the Marshall County courts; next became county attorney, and in 1861, was elected to represent that county in the lower house of the General Assembly. He served in this capacity with credit during the exciting sessions of 1861–62, and in the year 1871 his public service was again demanded, and he was elected to the State senate from the Second Senatorial District, serving as a worthy member of that body until 1875. As a member of the senate he introduced and secured the passage of a resolution requiring the governor and commissioners of the sinking fund to invest in United States six per cent bonds to be registered, the $1,500,000 belonging to the sinking fund which had been collected and deposited in the banks at Frankfort during a period of thirty years for the purpose of paying the State bonds, when they became due and interest on the school funds. Holders of the bonds had refused to accept payment before maturity, and this large sum had accumulated and had never been invested or loaned out. Most of it was invested as required by the resolution, yielding to the State annually upward of $40,000. He removed to Paducah in 1874, where he still lives, and with the exception of his public service, he has been in active practice since his admission to the bar. In 1858, in the town of Benton, Mr. Gilbert married Miss Azelia Barry, and has a family of seven children. He is a Democrat in politics, and a member in the Masonic fraternity.

DR. HENRY M. GILSON was born in Danville, Vt., in 1837; was there reared and educated until he was seventeen years old, when his parents, Lewis and Ann E. (Peck) Gilson, removed to Kentucky and settled in Ballard County. Mr. Gilson there studied medicine under Dr. Stovall and Dr. Joseph Thompson; took one course of lectures in Nashville, Tenn., and in 1863, entered the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, where he graduated in the early part of 1864. He took a second course however, in 1864–65. He began the practice of medicine in Ballard County, but removed to Paducah in 1866, where for two years he practiced in connection with Dr. J. Thompson. In 1868, he was compelled by loss of health to abandon the practice, and the following year he embarked in the drug business, in which he is still engaged and in which he has been attended with good success. Dr. Gilson is a man whose word is as good as his bond. He is an honored member of the Masonic fraternity, I. O. O. F., and for several years has been president of the German National Bank at Paducah. He was married in Paducah, in 1865, to Miss Eliza J. Hobbs, daughter of Jo Sam Hobbs, and has two children, Edward H. and Mary Lizzie Gilson.

EDWARD P. GILSON, son of Lewis and Ann E. (Peck) Gilson, was born in 1844, in Danville, Vt., and was ten years old when his parents emigrated to Kentucky. He returned however, to his native State, where he obtained a good English education. He began his business life in 1868, as a member of the firm of W. R. Leigh & Co., of Paducah, Ky., and has been a resident of that city ever since, with the exception of three years, which he spent in the tobacco market, in New York City, having previously engaged in

the manufacture of cigars and plug tobacco, in Paducah. Mr. Gilson is a man of good business qualifications, and is held in high esteem by a large circle of friends; for some years, he occupied the position of teller in the American German National Bank, of Paducah. Since 1879, he has been operating a paint store, located at No. 303 Broadway. He is an honored member of the Masonic fraternity. He was married in St. Louis, Mo., in 1882, to Miss Maggie A., daughter of Rev. F. Lack, of that city, and has one child, Jennie L. Gilson.

WELDON P. GRIFFIN, McCracken County, was born July 18, 1819, near the Virginia and North Carolina line. His parents were William G. and Phœbe (Glover) Griffin, natives respectively of Kentucky and North Carolina. The father was engaged in merchandising in North Carolina, and was there married. He was a son of William Griffin. W. P., the subject of these lines, is the only one living of the three children born to his parents. He was engaged, in early life, in clerking in his native State, and, after his marriage, gave his attention to farming pursuits. Leaving Virginia in 1843, he came to this county in 1867, after having resided several years in Christian and Ballard Counties, Ky. During the war he sold goods in the latter county. At present he has farming property both here and in Tennessee, and during his life has administered on several estates. He was first married to Miss Caroline Howerton, of Virginia, a daughter of Thomas Howerton, of Virginia. Five children are living of this union: James A., Cornelia E., Thomas M., Theodore W. and Ella C. His present wife, Sallie M., is a daughter of Joseph M. Fauntberry; a son, James A., is living of this marriage.

JOHN J. GUTHRIE, son of William P. and Eliza J. Guthrie, of Calloway County, Ky., was born in Virginia, but came with the family to Kentucky, when three years old. He grew to manhood on the farm, was educated primarily in the common schools of Calloway County, and later at Murray, and at Paris, Tenn. When twenty-one years old he began business as a dry goods merchant in Murray, where he remained until he moved to Paducah, in 1864. In 1865, he established a dry goods house in the latter place, and is now one of its most popular and well-known merchants. His present business locality is No. 214 Broadway. Mr. Guthrie was married in Paducah, in 1867, to Miss Mary J. Ratcliffe, daughter of Judge R. S. Ratcliffe, formerly president of the City National Bank of Paducah, which he organized and of which he was president up to the time of his death. They have one child: Mamie K. Guthrie. Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie are members of the First Baptist Church of Paducah.

CHARLES R. HALL was born in 1844, in Halifax County, Va. He is a son of William J. and Ann E. (Barnes) Hall, who removed from Virginia to Kentucky, in 1850, settling that year in the western part of McCracken County, where the father engaged in the pursuits of the farm until his death, which occurred about 1863; the mother is still a resident of the county. Charles R. Hall devoted himself to the industries of farm life until 1879, when he removed to Paducah to engage in the tobacco trade. Since that date, he has been actively engaged in the business, as a re handler and shipper. In 1875 he was married to Miss Mary E. Overstreet, daughter of Elisha Overstreet, of McCracken County, Ky. Mr. Hall is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the K. of H. and the K. of G. C.

CAPT. THOMAS HALLORAN, of Paducah, Ky., was born in 1819, in Galway, Ireland, and is a son of Charles and Ann (Hogan) Halloran, both of whom died in the old country. At the age of fifteen years, Mr. Halloran came to the United States, first locating at Louisville, Ky., from whence, after a brief residence, he removed to Union County, Ky. He there opened what was then known as the DeKovan & Curlew coal mines, and also built the lines of railroad connecting these mines with the Ohio River. Since 1856, Mr. Halloran has been a resident of the city of Paducah, Ky. His life business, thus far, has been railroad construction and other public work, and in this capacity has constructed thirty or forty miles of the roads entering Paducah, besides having the superintendency of the construction of all the principal streets of that city. At the breaking out of the war in 1861, he organized a company of soldiers for the Confederate Army and was attached to the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment, sharing in the fortunes of his company, of which he was captain, until the close of the war. He has been twice married, first in Louisville, Ky., in 1844, to Miss Catherine Ferry, and second in Paducah, Ky., in 1869, to Ann Clark. Both wives died in Paducah, the former in 1866, and the latter in January, 1878. Four children are now living as the result of his first marriage, viz.: Patrick, Charles, Frank M. and John Halloran. The three children of his second marriage are Kate, William and Mary Halloran. In positions of public trust, as a soldier and

as a private citizen, Mr. Hallorah has proven himself a true man, and among his large circle of acquaintances is highly respected for his many virtues. He is a member of the Catholic Church, and affiliates with the Democratic party. From 1878 to 1883 (five years) he spent in New Mexico, engaged in a mining investment.

HENRY W. HAND was born in Calloway County, Ky., in the year 1838. His father, Henry Hand, was one of the most extensivly and favorably known of all the citizens of the Purchase. He was a native of Smithland, Ky., and afterward removed to Marshall County, where he became the first clerk of the county and Circuit Courts, a position he occupied about sixteen years. He married Miss Felicia Bogard, who is now living and by whom he had four children, Henry W. being the eldest. The father died in August, 1883. Henry W. attended the common schools, early became a deputy under his father, and after acquiring a practical business education, he went to Paducah, Ky., and engaged as a salesman in the mercantile business. On the breaking out of the war, in 1861, he entered the Third Kentucky Regiment, under the Confederate general, Tilghman; he was wounded at the battle of Shiloh; then became clerk for Gen. Preston; next became adjutant, and when surrendered at the close of the war, was a member of Gen. Roane's staff. After the war, Mr. Hand returned to Paducah and engaged for Ashbrook, Ryan & Co., in the wholesale grocery business. In 1881, he formed a partnership with T. J. Atkins, in the wholesale grocery trade, which connection existed until May, 1884, when the present firm of Bogard & Hand succeeded the firm of Atkins & Hand. Mr. Hand is a member of the Masonic order, Knights of Honor, A. O. U. W., I. O. O. F., and of the Methodist Church. He was married in New Albany, Ind., in 1874, to Miss Hallie Carson.

HON. JOSIAH HARRIS, Jr., lawyer and statesman and at present member of the Kentucky State legislature from McCracken County, was born on November 14, 1839, in Columbia, Adair Co., Ky., to Josiah Harris, Sr., and Sallie W. Harris, *nee* King, the latter a sister of the late lieutenant-governor of Kentucky, Hon. John Q. A. King. In his boyhood days, Mr. Harris attended the Columbia College in his native town and later attended college at Danville, Ky. At the age of nineteen, he began the study of the law, which he prosecuted in the law school of Louisville, Ky., and was admitted to the practice in 1860. He first established a practice in the city of Louisville, where he remained however but a short time, coming thence to Paducah, where he at once acquired a handsome practice, and where he has constantly grown in public favor. He is a fine judge of law, of quick perception and an able and bold advocate, and stands deservedly in the front rank of criminal lawyers in his State, and an orator of high rank and place. In 1861, he was elected to the office of prosecuting attorney of the city courts of Paducah; was once a candidate for the State senate, and twice for the lower house of the legislature, to which office he was elected in August, 1883, and of which he is the present incumbent. During the last Assembly, Mr. Harris served in some of the most important committees, including the committee on State prisons, county and city courts, and the committee on criminal laws, of which he was chairman. He is prominent in legal, political and social circles in his State. He was married in 1861, in Paducah, to Miss Cora Enders, who died in 1877, leaving a daughter, Miss Hallie Harris. June 5, 1882, he contracted a second marriage, this time to Miss Mattie Dunn, of Smithland, Ky. Charitable and liberal in his views upon all public matters, Mr. Harris is connected with the Presbyterian denomination of Christians, and member of the A. F. & A. M.

FAYETTE HARRISON was born March 15, 1815, in Christian County, Ky. His father, Robert Harrison, a Virginian by birth, settled in Christian County, in 1811; he operated a saw mill in connection with his farm and was thus engaged until his death in 1852. His wife, Sallie Davis, was a native of this State. To them were born eight children, five of whom survive. Our subject worked on the farm and in his father's mill during his youth and was given a good education. He remained at home until his marriage, which occurred in October, 1838, after which he gave his attention to farming and milling; for two years was the postmaster at Pembroke, Ky., where he kept, in partnership with his brother, a general store. In 1856, he came to this county and purchased a farm of 250 acres, which he still owns. Mrs. Harrison died in 1876, and he was subsequently married to Mrs. Harriet L. Enders, a lady of large estate and reputed generosity. Mr. Harrison is a member of the A. F. & A. M. and I. O. O. F. and has served as magistrate for a period of two years.

GEORGE O. HART was born in Erie County, Penn., August 7, 1836. His parents, Edson Hart and Helen Elizabeth (Priestly) Hart, were married in New Brunswick, N. J., and settled in Erie County, Penn. Edson

Hart was a native of Connecticut, and was a Presbyterian minister. Mrs. Helen E. Hart was born in New Jersey. In 1840, they removed and settled in Union County, Ky., and there remained five years, when they became residents of New Albany, Ind., where George O. Hart was chiefly educated, and where his business career began. He engaged in the drug business in 1856, which he conducted for about six years, and then became associated with E. R. Hart and J. B. Archer in the steamboat trade, on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, between Louisville, Ky., and Memphis, Tenn.; this he continued until the close of the war, and in 1867 located in Paducah and established a wholesale and retail hardware business, which he is now still successfully operating, under the firm name of George O. Hart & Son. It is perhaps true that Mr. Hart is doing the most extensive hardware business of any dealer in western Kentucky, his annual sales reaching $150,000. Mr. Hart married Miss Addie H. Stout, daughter of Dr. J. B. Stout, of New Albany, Ind.; she died in Paducah, Ky., in 1875, leaving four children: George B., a member of the firm; Addie H., Anna and Lena H. Hart. His present wife, to whom he was married in 1876, is a daughter of Capt. John F. Harriss; she is the mother of one son, Edson Hart. Mr. Hart is a deacon in the Presbyterian Church of Paducah.

CHARLES HAWTHORNE was born in Ballard County, Ky., September 15, 1858, and is the son of Mastison O. and Eva (Bodkins) Hawthorne. The father was a native of Kentucky, was a physician, and died in 1871. Our subject is the eldest of six children born to his parents, and of whom there are three living. He was reared on a farm and attained a good education. At the age of fifteen he went to live with an uncle and remained with him until he became of age. He then rented a farm near Woodville, McCracken County, and has since given most of his attention to agricultural pursuits. Having learned the carpenter's trade in Ballard County, he established here in January, 1883, his present wagon works, which he has since operated. His success in life has been due to his own efforts. He now owns two residences with several acres of land adjoining in Woodville, aside from his business and other town property. December 25, 1878, he married Miss Lucy A. Hudson, of Woodville. This union has given one child, Minnie.

SAMUEL G. HINES, McCracken County, is a native of Logan County, this State, was born December 8, 1838, and is a son of John Hines, who was originally from Virginia, but came to Kentucky with his parents when a young man, locating in Logan County, where he resided most of his life on a farm. A few years preceding his death, he went to live with his son in Ballard County, this State, and there departed this life at the age of eighty-two years. His wife, formerly a Miss Ann Duncan, died a short time before her husband. They had eleven children. Our subject's early life was devoted to farming, and improving the meager school facilities of the day to secure an education. At twenty-one years of age he started in business for himself, in a small place in Logan County, but after a year and one-half returned to farming, his father having given him some farm property in the meantime. Here he labored until 1870, at which date he disposed of the farm and bought similar property in Ballard County, where he remained twelve years, when he came to his present farm of 114 acres in McCracken County, retaining the Ballard farm of 135 acres. Mr. Hines is a member of the Christian Church, is a man of public spirit and enterprise and supports the temperance cause. He has been twice married, his first wife having formerly been a Miss Frances Miller, of Logan County. The union was blessed with three children, one of whom, Joseph, is now living. His second wife was Miss Alice Bacon, of McCracken County. They have three children: Cordelia, George and Samuel G.

JOSEPH W. HOBBS was born March 3, 1849, on his present farm. His father, Benjamin Hobbs, was a native of Fleming County, Ky., and a son of Col. Hobbs, who settled on the place now belonging to our subject at an early date. Benjamin Hobbs kept at his house the first postoffice in the vicinity. It was called the Bayou postoffice, His wife was Elizabeth Hopper, of Christian County. There were three children in the family. Our subject spent his early days on the farm, and obtained a common school education. He has always resided on the old homestead, now containing 260 acres, and has devoted his life to the prosecution of his farm interests. He is the youngest child in his parent's family and is the only one now living. November 23, 1882, he married Miss Jennie Cunningham, of this county. They have one child, Charles F. Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs are members of the Baptist Church.

HENRY H. HOBSON was born July 8, 1839, in Trigg County, Ky., where he was reared on his father's farm, meantime receiving a good common school education. His parents, who are now living and members of his family, are Benjamin Hobson and Susan

(Richardson) Hobson; the former born in Virginia in 1807, and the latter born in 1812, in the same State. About 1857 the family removed to Graves County, Ky., the parents remaining but a few years, when they returned to Trigg County. Henry H., however, remained in Graves County, engaged as salesman in a mercantile house, until 1860, when he removed to the city of Paducah, which has since been his home. In 1861, he entered the Confederate Army, served the first two years of the war, and then returned to Paducah. After a short career in the dry goods business, he embarked in the tobacco trade, at Mayfield, Ky., as a member of the firm of Hobson & West, and in 1870 returned to Paducah, where he did an extensive brokerage business until 1875, when he established his present large warehouse business. As a business man, Mr. Hobson has but few superiors in Paducah. His kind, genial disposition is manifest in his intercourse with his friends as in the bosom of his family. As a member of the city council, he has proven his attachment to the general good, and is regarded by all as a most worthy citizen. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, K. of H., and of the K. G. C. Mr. Hobson was married at Mayfield, Ky., in 1864, to Miss Martha J. Aker, daughter of John Aker, one of the pioneers of the Jackson Purchase. Their children are: John B., Minnie B., Joe. F., Lillie and Emery Hobson.

ZACH. P. HOLLAND, McCracken County, was born January 13, 1858, upon the place where he at present resides. His father, Zachariah P. Holland, was born in Warren County, Ky., April 13, 1812. When he became of age he moved to Christian County, where he married Margaret, daughter of Duncan and Nannie Galbreath, August 1, 1842. In the autumn of 1849 he came to McCracken County, and here departed this life September 12, 1880. He was the father of four children, of whom three are living. Our subject was reared on a farm and attended the schools of the vicinity, which limited education was supplemented by a course of study at Woodville, and at Elkton, Todd Co., Ky. He then lived with an uncle three years. Before his father's death, the home place had been given to him and his brother, Anderson, whose interest he afterward purchased. He has since given his attention to farm pursuits, and is now one of the most enterprising young men of the county.

WILLIAM H. HOOK was born on January 6, 1829, in Breckinridge County, Ky. His father, John Hook, was a native of Ohio, came to Breckinridge County in early life, and there married Miss Lucretia Wood, a native of Kentucky. William H. was reared on his father's farm and compelled to depend on an irregular attendance in the county schools for his early education. After he had arrived at manhood, however, he went to Hillsboro, Ohio, and attended school, thus qualifying himself for the profession of teaching, and also devoted himself to the study of surveying Having taught for a time, he went to the State of Missouri, and while there was employed in government surveying. From Missouri, he removed to Kentucky, and settled in Hawesville, Hancock County, where for several years he was employed in teaching and serving the county as surveyor. He removed to Paducah in 1869, where, after teaching one year, he opened an insurance office, in which business he has been employed since. In 1882 he was elected to the office of justice of the peace of McCracken County, and now occupies that position. In Louisville, in 1864, he married Miss Hannah M. Henry, daughter of William H. Henry, of that city. His children are: Mary A., Lizzie and Mattie Hook. Mr. Hook is a member of the Masonic order and of the I. O. O. F.

HENRY H. HOUSTON, son of Eli and Sarah (Best) Houston, is a native of the city of Paducah, and was born November 15, 1836. He obtained a good English education in Paducah and Memphis, Tenn. From the former place his father, with his family, removed to California, returning to Paducah a few years subsequently. Henry H. then commenced the study of law with the firm of King & King, and was admitted to the practice of the profession in 1858, since which time he has been connected with the Paducah bar. In 1860 he was elected city attorney of Paducah. His practice was soon interrupted by the breaking out of the civil war, and in 1861 he joined Company B, of the Third Kentucky Regiment, and entered the Confederate Army. He followed the fortunes of this regiment until November, 1862, when he was promoted from the ranks to the commission of Adjutant of the Twentieth Mississippi Regiment, Infantry, in which he served until after the battle of Atlanta, in 1864, where he was severely wounded in left wrist and hip, after which he resigned and returned to Paducah. He participated in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Baton Rouge, Jackson, the engagements around Vicksburg and the Atlanta campaign. After returning to Paducah, he resumed the practice of law, which he has followed suc-

cessfully, though not without interruption. In 1872 he became the Republican candidate for congress from this district, receiving a flattering vote but sustaining defeat. In 1876 he was candidate for the same office, sustained another defeat but polled the largest Republican vote ever cast in the district. In 1882 he made a third race for congress with similar results. In March, 1883, he was elected to the office of city clerk, and unanimously re-elected in 1884. Mr. Houston is a member of the Masonic order and of the K. of H. He was married in the city of St. Louis, in 1874, to Miss Mary V. Ware, daughter of E. Ware, of Paducah. She died in Paducah in 1875, leaving one child, Mary Pauline Houston.

SAMUEL HOUSTON was born in the city of Paducah, November 25, 1838, to Eli and Sarah (Best) Houston. His parents, who were natives of the State of Ohio, came to Kentucky and settled in Paducah, about December, 1834. His father, Eli Houston, was a contractor and builder and a fine mechanic; he removed from Paducah to Memphis, Tenn., in 1845; was for a considerable time superintendent of public works in the United States Navy Yard at Memphis; thence to Sacramento City, Cal., from whence he returned to Paducah in 1854, but again returned to the Pacific States, and died in Nevada, in 1860. His wife, Sarah (Best) Houston, died in Paducah in 1863. Samuel Houston began the study of law soon after returning from California, in 1857, in the law office of King & King; was regularly admitted to the practice in 1859, and opened an office at Paducah for the practice of his profession. In 1862 he was elected to the office of city attorney, a position he occupied through six consecutive terms of office for ten years. He was formerly associated with his brother, H. H. Houston, in the practice; the latter withdrew and is now clerk of the city council, since which time the subject of this sketch has practiced alone.

ALBIN N. HOLT is a native of Montgomery County, Tenn. He was born September 13, 1820, and is a son of Peter Holt, also a Tennessean by birth, and whose parents were from North Carolina. The father was a farmer by occupation. About 1818 he made a trip to New Orleans on a flatboat, and upon his return located in Montgomery County, Tenn., where he married Miss Sarah Jett, of that county. He then went to Marion County, Tenn., and came, in 1839, to McCracken County, locating ten miles from Paducah, and farmed till his death. He left five children, all living; the youngest is fifty-six years of age. Our subject was the eldest of the family; was reared on a farm, and coming to Kentucky when nineteen years of age, with his father, worked with the latter until his marriage, which occurred October 7, 1841. He wedded Miss Malvina Rhew, of this county, and began farming for himself. At starting in life he was extremely poor, having to make his own household furniture, and, despite all efforts, for the first two years was unsuccessful in acquiring property, but in later years has been eminently prosperous. He now owns a large farm, besides having given a large tract of land to his children: Penina E., now Mrs. H. K. Trice; James P. and Melvira, the deceased wife of E. C. Rudolph. Mr. Holt is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and has been for twenty years a member of the Masonic fraternity. He has filled the office of police judge of Lovelaceville, and many other minor offices in the gift of the people.

JAMES P. HOLT, McCracken County, was born in McCracken County, March 28, 1846, and is a son of Albin N. Holt. At twenty-one years of age, he began life for himself by farming on land belonging to his father, which was afterward given him, but which, by industry and good management, has been increased to 300 acres, devoted to stock-raising and general farming. October 5, 1869, he was married to Miss Ellen Rudolph, of McCracken County, and the union has been blessed with one child, Nina M., who was born December 21, 1870, and is well accomplished in music. Mr. Holt is a member in high standing in the Masonic and Odd Fellows orders, and with his family, is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, in which he has served many years as deacon. He is an enterprising citizen, and at present justice of the peace, it being his second term. Also filled for several years the position of deputy county court clerk of his district.

WILLIAM H. HUDSON was born in this county, April 30, 1845. His father, Felix G. Hudson, was born in Alabama and came to McCracken County with his parents when a boy. He has been engaged principally as a farmer and trader, and for the last ten years has been in the mercantile business, in Woodville. He has been eminently successful in his undertakings and has acquired a large property. His wife was Vincy Stokes, a native of Tennessee. There are ten children in the family, all living. Our subject spent his youth upon the farm, and improved every opportunity whereby he could make progress in an education. At twenty-

two years of age he left home, and for about nine years was engaged in farming, near Woodville. He then came to the town and purchased a business house, opened out in the dry goods trade and now carries a general stock. He has also dealt largely in tobacco. March 13, 1871, he married Miss Fannie Holbert, of Tennessee. They are the parents of four children: Arthur T., Louis G., Onie L., Robert W. Mr. and Mrs. Hudson are members of the Methodist Church. He is also a member of the K. of H.

CHARLES M. HUMPHREYS, McCracken County, was born November 20, 1833, in Montgomery County, Tenn., and is a son of Charles M. and Nancy (Parker) Humphreys. The father was a native of the same county, and was a son of George Humphreys, a wealthy farmer from Virginia. He was accidentally killed by a falling tree, when our subject was three years old, and the latter was reared by his mother. At eight years our subject went to work to assist in the support of the family, which consisted of his mother and one sister, Charlotte, and was thus engaged, hiring out by the year, and doing overseeing work, until 1862, in which year both his mother and sister died. He sold the little home place of an acre, and in 1863, rented a farm and made a good paying crop of corn. He sold the same and his stock and went to Clarksville, where he engaged in the liquor business for nearly two years. He was then appointed inspector and storekeeper at Port Royal, Tenn., under the General Government. After his marriage, which occurred with Miss Malissa Thomas, of Clarksville, September 10, 1867, he re-engaged in farming, in Montgomery County, and after two years sold out and removed to Marshall County, Ky., where he farmed ten years. Then, in 1880, came to McCracken County, and located on his present farm, which now consists of 350 acres. He is one of the substantial men of the county. His wife is a Cumberland Presbyterian and he is a Methodist. He has taken a deep interest in educational matters and his influence has been used in building up the neighboring school.

COL. JAMES BRYSON HUSBANDS was born in 1805, in Rowan County, N. C., soon after which his parents, Harman and Sarah Husbands, emigrated to Kentucky and settled in Christian County. Until he was seventeen years old he received his literary education from his father, after which he became a pupil of William P. Nichols, one of the earliest teachers of Christian County. After one year as a student he began to teach, and taught not only his former schoolmates, but also his former teacher, Mr. Nichols. He continued to teach until he was twenty-three years old, when having decided on the profession of law, he went to Princeton, Ky., and did the usual preparatory reading in the office of William Lander. In 1828 he received his license, and in the fall of that year removed to Wadesboro, Calloway County, since which time the name of Col. J. B. Husbands has been familiar to every resident of the Purchase District. During the years of his active practice he was contemporary with Judges Fowler, Campbell, Shackelford, Richard Mayes, Matthew Mayes and others, who have all gone to make their final plea at the bar of Eternal Justice. The legal career of Col. Husbands clearly proves that he is no ordinary man, and it may be truthfully said that he has brought more suits in law than any man in western Kentucky, if not in the State. He is now in his seventy-ninth year, confined mostly to his room, but with a mind still vigorous and unimpaired, and with four of his children, is living in Paducah, calmly awaiting the summons to a higher court. Col. Husbands was never an aspirant for political honors; the only office he ever accepted was that of commonwealth's attorney. He was married in 1832 to Miss Maria S. Martin, of McCracken County; she died in November, 1876, the mother of ten children, of whom seven are still living. In 1840 subject became a member of the Masonic fraternity, and two years later of the Methodist Church, of both of which he has ever proven a valuable defender.

LORENZO DOW HUSBANDS, lawyer, was born December 18, 1823, in Christian County, Ky., where the family settled in 1805. When two years old his parents removed to Crittenden County, where his father followed farming, and where L. D. received his early education. In 1847 he commenced the study of law in the office of his brother, J. P. Husbands, of Paducah, and in 1849 was regularly admitted to practice, which he began as a partner with Judge Morrow. In 1855 he was elected to the office of commonwealth's attorney, which he filled with ability for one year. He was elected in 1859 to the lower house of the State legislature, in which he served one term. Mr. Husbands is not a politician in the accepted sense of the term, but wields a potent influence in public matters, which is enjoyed by the Democratic party. He is a man of splendid appearance, tall and straight, and his face, upon which age sits lightly, impresses one that he is a man possessed of more than ordinary talent, an im-

pression which is strengthened by continual acquaintance. Concerning his legal record, we quote the opinion of a brother practitioner: "Col. L. D. Husbands is a lawyer of ability, ranking number one in the State, and is withal a gentleman of integrity, true to his clients and urbane to all. He is considered one of the best citizens of Kentucky." Among his associates on the circuit, he is acknowledged to be one of the foremost and soundest lawyers in his section of the State. He possesses a logical mind, treats his opponents with due respect, seeking always to convince by sound demonstration, rather than by witticisms or sharp practice. As a chancery lawyer he perhaps has no equal in the commonwealth. Mr. Husbands has been deservedly successful in his profession. Commencing a poor boy, he has, by his ability and fairness as a lawyer, acquired a very handsome fortune. He is very charitable, lending a liberal assistance to all worthy enterprises, and is consequently greatly respected and loved in the community in which he has lived so long. He was married in 1851 to Miss Hannah Singleton, and in 1859 contracted a second marriage, this time to Mrs. Bullock, daughter of J. W. Cook, of Caldwell County, Ky.

EVERARD P. JACOB was born in Caldwell County, Ky., May 7, 1811. His parents, Arnold and Cynthia (Spriggs) Jacob, were natives of Maryland and Virginia respectively. Of their eight children, four are now living: Mrs. Elvira Patterson, Everard P., Mrs. Adelia J. Enders and Thaddeus. E. P., the subject of this sketch, was reared a farmer boy, and during his residence in Caldwell and Lyon Counties, his attention was devoted to farming pursuits, which have also been his occupation since coming to McCracken County, in 1856. He has at present farm property to the extent of 346 acres, and gives special attention to short-horn cattle and thoroughbred horses of the Norman breed. He married Miss Emma White, a daughter of George White, an old and respected farmer of Caldwell County. Of this union three children are now living: Mrs. Cynthia A. Randle, Orlando E. and Richard W.

WILLIAM B. JOHNSTON. This gentleman is the fifth of a family of six children born to Robert Johnston and Mary Johnston, *nee* Beadles. These parents, who by birth were Virginians, settled in Rutherford County, Tenn., about 1817, and there in November, 1820, William B. Johnston was born. He was educated in Murfreesboro, Tenn., where in early life he became a salesman, thus beginning a mercantile career of twenty years' duration. Mr. Johnston came to Paducah in 1864, and three years later established a plow manufactory, which for some years had a profitable existence. He is now the owner of extensive real estate in Kentucky and Tennessee, has retired from active business and is still a resident of Paducah. In 1852, in Tennessee, he married Mary Ellis, who died in 1860, leaving a daughter, Ella Johnston, who died subsequently. His present wife, to whom he was married in 1867, was Medora Small, daughter of Braxton Small, a well-known and early settler of McCracken County, Ky. As the result of this union he has one child named Philip Braxton Johnston. Mr. Johnston is a worthy member of the Baptist Church, and a man universally honored for his many virtues.

JOSEPH H. JOHNSON, senior member of the firm of Johnson & Sons, proprietors of the Phœnix Foundry and Machine Works, Paducah, was born in Pittsburgh, Penn., in the year 1829. He remained in his native city until twenty years old, meantime acquiring a practical idea of the business connected with his father's foundry and machine shops. In 1849 he went to St. Louis, Mo., where he engaged in foundry work, until removing to Paducah in 1855. That year he started his present extensive business in Paducah under the title of the Plain City Iron Works, and soon became well established in a remunerative trade. His prosperity, however, was materially checked in 1868, when his entire shops were destroyed by fire. His enterprise was nevertheless equal to his emergency, and in consequence of the speedy rebuilding of the works, they received the appropriate name which they now bear. In 1851, in St. Louis, Mr. Johnson married Miss Elizabeth A. Yandell, a native of Tennessee. They have reared a family of four children, viz.: Charles S., Mendal W., Joseph Y., and Chloe Neal, wife of J. P. Wilson—the latter two residents of St. Louis, and the elder two members of the business firm of Paducah, Ky. Mr. Johnson is a member of the Christian Church, K. of H., A. O. U. W., and is a Knight Templar.

J. BERTRAND JONES, junior member of the firm of Fraser & Jones, is well descended from an old Vermont family, of English origin. His great-grandfather, Nathaniel Jones, Sr., fought as an American soldier in the war of the Revolution, going from Massachusetts. After the war he settled in Vermont, married and reared a family of eight children, the eldest of whom was Nathaniel

Jones, Jr., the grandfather of our subject. He, in early life, removed from Orange County to Lamoille County, Vt. He had a family of eight children, the second of whom, Alger, is the father of J. B. Jones. Nathaniel Jones, Jr., was a man of rare ability, and served for thirteen consecutive years in the Vermont State Legislature. Alger Jones also attained distinction in his State, and served as a member of the legislature for four years. He married Mary M. Bliss, a lady of high family connections, and daughter of Sylvester Bliss. She died in 1860, leaving four children, of whom the subject of this sketch is the eldest. His father is still living, at the age of seventy-three, in Orleans County, Vt. J. B. Jones was born in Lamoille County, Vt., August 22, 1847. He there received an academic education, and began life as a salesman, first in his native State, later in Boston, and in 1870 removed to Golconda, Ill., where he engaged in business about three years. From 1873 to 1878 he was a salesman for a wholesale boot and shoe house, of Evansville, Ind. In 1878 he assisted in organizing and became a member of the firm of Rice & Jones, in an extensive hat manufactory, of which he had the entire management. In 1881 he severed his connection with that institution to take a partnership with D. J. Fraser, of Paducah. Mr. Jones was married, in Evansville, Ind., in 1879, to Miss Elise C. Disch, daughter of Col. Victor Disch, a prominent lawyer of that city. They are both members of the Presbyterian Church, and have one child, a daughter, Ov Jones.

FREDERICK KAMLEITER, of the city of Paducah, Ky., was born in Bavaria, Germany, in the year 1840, and came thence to the United States in 1856. In that year he located in the town of Cairo, Ill., where he was variously employed until the breaking out of the civil war, in 1861. He then enlisted in the Federal Army, as a member of Company M, sharpshooters, in the Fourth Missouri Infantry, in the three months' service. At the expiration of his term of enlistment he joined the Second Illinois Artillery, Battery C, from which he was mustered out at Springfield, Ill., at the close of the war. Among the various battles in which he took part were those of Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, Corinth, Miss., and Springfield, Mo. Since January, 1866, Mr. Kamleiter has been a resident of Paducah, where for a few years he was employed as salesman in a mercantile house. About 1868 he established himself in business, which has grown from a limited trade, on a small capital, to one of the first houses in the city. He is located on the corner of Locust and Adams Streets, Nos. 110, 112 and 114, and deals in groceries, provisions and feed. Mr. Kamleiter is now serving his second term as a member of the city council, representing the Fourth Ward. He is a member of the German Lutheran Church, A. F. & A. M., I. O. O. F, A. O. U. W. and K. of H. He was married in Paducah, in 1868, to Miss Margaret, daughter of Tobias Beyer, a native of Germany. Their children are Katie, Louisa and Henry.

DR. JOHN H. KENNY, dental surgeon, of Paducah, Ky., was born July 15, 1842, in the city of Brooklyn, N. Y., where he was chiefly educated. He is a son of Michael and Mary (Harvey) Kenny, both of whom were of Irish birth. In 1854, being then twelve years old, John H. was brought to Kentucky by his father, his mother having died. The father located in the city of Louisville, where John H. attained his majority, studying his profession under Dr. John Leatherman, of that city. He began his practice in Hardinsburg, Ky., where he remained until removing to the city of Paducah, in 1871. Being skillful in his profession, and a true gentleman, he soon secured a large practice, and became one of the substantial elements in the professional arena at Paducah. Dr. Kenny was married in 1871, in Cloverport, Breckinridge Co., Ky., to Miss Mary Bassett, daughter of James Bassett, a prominent citizen of that county. Dr. Kenny and wife are members of the Catholic Church.

JOHN A. KIMMEL, of the popular grocery firm of Kimmel & Rudolph, of Paducah, was born in Ballard County, Ky., in 1851. He is the youngest and only surviving child of Israel Kimmel and America M. Kimmel, *nee* Ashley. His father was born within the present limits of Ballard County, where he spent many years in merchandising, and where he died in 1878, at the age of fifty-two years. His mother, America M. Kimmel, is still living and a resident of Ballard County. John A. received a practical business training in his father's store, in Ballard County, where he continued business until removing to Paducah, in May, 1884. He here associated with F. G. Rudolph, in the grocery and provision business, succeeding the firm of Nichols & Rudolph, and is located at No. 26 Market Street. Mr. Kimmel was married in 1870, to Miss Alice Rutherford, who died in 1873. His present wife, to whom he was married in Charlestown, Mo., was Miss Annie Brown. They are members of the Baptist Church, of Paducah, and have one child, Travis A. Kimmel.

REV. WILLIAM HENRY LEIGH was born in east Tennessee, December 29, 1824, where his father, James Walker Leigh, *en route* from Albemarle County, Va., to west Kentucky, stopped for a short time. In the spring succeeding, Mr. Leigh moved to this State and settled in the little town of Eddyville, on the banks of the Cumberland. There the subject of this sketch passed the days of his boyhood. At the age of nine years, he lost both his parents by the terrible scourge of Asiatic cholera, which at that time swept over our land. After the death of his father, he lived awhile with his grandfather in the community, but early in life was left to fight life's battle alone. Being thus early left an orphan, his educational advantages were limited; in fact, when he became old enough to realize his need and to thirst for knowledge, his education was confined to the very first rudiments. With this groundwork, unaided, he acquired a fair practical education and some knowledge of the classics. In his twentieth year he was licensed as a preacher in the Methodist Church, and in the fall of 1845, entered regularly into the work of an itinerant minister in the Memphis annual conference. The first ten years of his ministerial life were spent in the Kentucky Purchase. He filled every pastoral charge except two in this part of the State, including the city of Paducah, and was two years presiding elder of the Paducah District, and in this capacity exercised a supervision over the work of his denomination in the entire Kentucky Purchase. He was married, in 1852, to Miss Mary C. Brooks, of Henry County, Tenn., and followed the career of an itinerant minister throughout west Tennessee and north Mississippi, until 1878, when he returned to the Purchase as presiding elder of the Paducah District. He is at this writing (1884) pastor of the Locust Street Methodist Church, Paducah, in the erection of which he was the prime mover. No one is more beloved by his people, and no one can exercise a greater influence over them than he. Rev. Mr. Leigh is the father of six children, five sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Robert W. Leigh, is the editor of the Morrilton (Arkansas) *Headlight*. The firm of Leigh Bros., Charles Q. C., Edward O., Oliver P. and Clinton B. Leigh, editors and publishers of the Paducah daily and weekly *Standard*, was established in March, 1881, by two of the present firm as a job printing office. Their place of business was located in a third-story room on Broadway and was a very small affair. Their business grew, until now they are located in a house built especially for them in the business center of the city. They are young men of energy, industry and perseverance. The *Standard*, established in April, 1884, ranks as one of the leading papers of the district.

GEORGE D. LINNING of the well-known firm of Linning & Jackson, Paducah, was born in South Carolina, in 1837, to Dr. Thomas and Sarah B. Linning. George D. received a liberal education in the "Frank Minor School," of Albemarle County, Va., and at an early age went to Philadelphia, Penn., and there served an apprenticeship to the trade of machinist in the locomotive works of Richard Norris & Son. After completing his trade he became an engineer in the United States naval service, where he served from 1858 to 1861. He then espoused the cause of the Southern Confederacy, and entered at once upon a term of service in the Confederate Navy. He remained in this service until the close of the civil war, after which he accepted the position of master mechanic of the machine shops of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad. He remained in this position for three years, soon after the termination of which he removed to Paducah, Ky., and became a leading factor in the establishing of the Paducah Industrial Iron Works, now owned and operated by himself and J. S. Jackson. Mr. Linning is a thorough business man; a cultured gentleman of that kind, whose citizenship adds materially to the benefit of the business as well as the social status of any community. He is a worthy member of the Episcopal Church, K. of H. and A. O. U. W. His estimable wife, to whom he was married in Mobile, Ala., in 1873, was a Miss Kate Austill.

ENOCH E. LYNN is a son of Joseph and Marinda (Foley) Lynn, natives respectively of Tennessee and Kentucky. The father was a farmer in early life. He served in the Mexican and also in the late civil war. During the latter service, he was a member of the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry (Federal). He is at present a mail agent on the Ohio River. Four of the nine children born to the parents of our subject are now living: Martha, Angie, Missouri, and Enoch E. The last named was born in Massac County, Ill., April 15, 1849. He came to this county some six years ago, and has given his time principally to farming and general trading. He married Miss Fannie Stephens, a daughter of Dr. Thomas Stephens. Five children have blessed this union, four of whom survive: Leata M., Edna E., Nellie B. and Florence.

JUDGE CHARLES S. MARSHALL, son

of Thomas A. Marshall, and grandson of Humphrey Marshall, the author of "An Early History of Kentucky," was born in Paris, Ky., January 19, 1821. To those familiar with the eminent families of Kentucky, no words are necessary to show that this gentleman is well descended. When he was fifteen years old his father, an eminent lawyer, removed to Lexington, Ky., where our subject enjoyed the benefits of a thorough course of study in the old Transylvania University, thus acquiring a fine English education. He read law under his father and in 1840 entered the law department of the Transylvania University, from which he graduated in the spring of 1842. He then established a practice in Ballard County, where he remained until removing to Paducah in 1868, and where he became a recognized leader as an equity and criminal lawyer and an able jurist. In 1856 he was elected to the office of attorney general, of Ballard County, there became county judge and in 1862 was made circuit judge of the First Judicial District of Kentucky, filling this responsible position until 1867, when he resigned to accept the office of registrar in bankruptcy, for the First Congressional District of Kentucky. Judge Marshall came to Paducah, in 1868, since which time he has occupied the front rank in the bar of that city. Judge Marshall's political preferences are with the Republican party; he is a member of the Masonic fraternity and an Ancient Odd Fellow. He was married in 1848, in Ballard County, to Miss Emily V., daughter of Jacob Corbett, and has a family of two sons and four daughters: Thomas C., now a lawyer in Montana; Jacob Marshall, an officer in the United States internal revenue department; Mrs. Mary E., wife of Hon. G. W. Reeves; Lucy, wife of Dr. W. W. Richmond, of Clinton, Ky.; Alice, widow of A. P. Hall, and Miss Kate Marshall, of Paducah. The family are members of the Paducah Christian Church.

BENJAMIN T. MARSHALL, Jr., physician, was born in Montgomery County, Tenn., September 27, 1842. His father, Benjamin T., Sr., is a native of the same county, and has always been engaged in farming. He came to McCracken County, in 1853, locating where he at present resides, four miles southeast of Woodville. His wife, Eliza (Isbell) Marshall, died November 11, 1870, leaving two children: Sarah A. (now the wife of Aaron Fuqua, a prominent farmer of this county), and Benjamin T., the subject of these lines. The latter was reared to farm work and acquired a good literary education at the Louisville Academy. At nineteen years of age he came to Woodville, and began the study of medicine under Dr. C. E. Haddox, now deceased, and after remaining with him two years, placed himself under the tuition of Dr. C. G. Rayster. He then attended the St. Louis Medical College, from which he was graduated March 4, 1865; a few years later he took an additional course of lectures at Nashville, Tenn. He occupies a high standing among the members of his profession, and has always enjoyed a large and constantly increasing practice among the people. He is a member of the K. of H. and the Masonic fraternity, and is devoted to the cause of temperance. He was united in marriage, January 28, 1879, to Miss Anna W. Dawson, of Logan County, Ky. This union has been blessed with four children: Thomas H., Mary E., Elizabeth and Lillie.

DR. DAVID A. MAXWELL was born in Caldwell County, Ky., November 30, 1825. His parents dying, he at an early age (in opposition to the wishes of his friends) for a short time worked at the cabinet trade, but soon abandoned it and entered Princeton College, after which he decided to study law and wrote for two years in the clerk's office of Trigg County, Ky., while there pursuing his legal studies. Having attained his majority, he turned his attention to the study of medicine, doing his preparatory reading in the office of Dr. Isaac Burnett, of Trigg County. In 1847 he removed to Paducah, where he continued his studies under Dr. H. L. Jones. He entered the University of Louisville in 1849, and graduated from that institution in 1851. He immediately began practice in Paducah, where he has since been engaged in an extensive and lucrative practice with the exception of four years of the civil war. In 1861 he entered the service of the Southern Confederacy, on the staff of General Tilghman, at Hopkinsville, Ky. The general being assigned to duty at Forts Donelson and Henry, Dr. Maxwell accompanied him and became chief surgeon of these posts until their surrender, when he was assigned to temporary duty at Corinth, Miss., remaining until after the battle of Shiloh. He was then transferred to post duty at Atlanta, Ga., continuing in the service until the close of the war, when he again resumed practice in Paducah in 1866. Since that date he has been in active practice, taking rank among the eminent physicians of the State. Dr. Maxwell is a member of the State Medical Society of Kentucky, was one of the origina-

tors and the first president of the Southwestern Medical Association and of the Paducah Medical Society.

MORRIS MAXON, McCracken County, was born in Pittsburgh, Penn., April 15, 1831. His father, Jesse Maxon, a Pennsylvanian by birth, was a son of one of the original settlers on the Red Stone Creek. He was the owner of a grist-mill in Pittsburgh, prior to which he had operated a woolen mill at Wellsburg, W. Va. In 1850, he moved to Metropolis, Ill., where he farmed until his death, which occurred four years after coming West. His wife was Jane Nangle, of Washington County, Penn. When a boy, subject worked in his father's mills, attended school, securing a good business education. He then worked as a jouneyman two years in Pittsburgh mills, when he came West and was similarly engaged in Evansville and Booneville, Ind., for several years. He next came to Paducah, and after remaining there three years moved to Metropolis, Ill., where, under the firm name of Brown & Maxon, the "Metropolitan Mills" were erected and operated by them four years. Mr. Maxon then came to McCracken County and built his present mill, known as Maxon's Mill. It is located on a tract of 300 acres of land, besides which Mr. Maxon has a farm of 326 acres of fine improved land, but a few miles from Paducah. The mill does an extensive business, requiring, in common with his other business interests, the investments of a large amount of capital. Mr. Maxon married, in 1864, Miss Sallie Kennedy, of Massac County, Ill. The union has given four children: Orville, Stephen Wayne (deceased), Jesse and Daisy. Mr. Maxon is a member of the K. T., of Paducah, and various other secret and benevolent associations and is active in his support of the cause of temperance.

VOLNEY A. McCUTCHEN descends from Scotch-Irish ancestors, and is a son of William and Esther McCutchen, *nee* Kennedy. The father was born in Tennessee, though of Virginia parentage. He settled in Logan County, Ky., in the latter part of the last century, when a mere boy. There he married, lived to a ripe old age, and there died, near the town of South Union, about 1874. His wife, Esther Kennedy, a native of North Carolina, died several years prior. They had a family of six children, Volney A. being the third; two died in early life. Volney A. was born in Logan County, December 9, 1826, and there grew to years of maturity, meantime receiving a common English education at Bowling Green, after which he graduated at the Danville College. He devoted his attention to the pursuits of agriculture, first in Christian County, removing thence to Ballard County. In 1864 he enlisted in the Confederate Army under the command of Gen. Forrest, and July, 1864, lost his left arm in the battle of Harrisburg. On his return home he engaged in mercantile pursuits, first in Hickman, Ky., removing thence to Paducah in 1870, where, soon after, he established a tobacco stemmery and has since operated extensively in the tobacco market. Mr. McCutchen was married in 1850, in Todd County, Ky., to Miss Elizabeth H. Mason. Their children are: William T., Bell (wife of C. F. Sugg, of Alabama), Mallie and Lee. Subject is a member of the Baptist Church and a Knight Templar in the Masonic fraternity.

W. M'FADDEN, Paducah, merchant tailor, No. 16 Broadway.

JAMES H. MILES was born in Montgomery County, Tenn., January 8, 1836. His father, Samuel A. Miles, is yet living in this county at the advanced age of eighty-four years. He is a Virginian by birth, but was removed to Tennessee in his youth, locating in Montgomery County. He has always been a farmer. He removed to Christian County, this State, and about 1850, to this county, locating on the place upon which he now resides. His wife, formerly Rebecca Cathran, is a native of Tennessee. Our subject was the eldest of eight children, was reared on a farm, and afterward worked his father's farm on shares. After his marriage, which occurred October 1, 1855, he purchased a farm in Ballard County, Ky., on which he resided for sixteen years. His wife, formerly Miss Louisa E. Quishenberry, is a native of this county. In 1871 Mr. Miles removed to his present farm of 140 acres in this county, on which he erected a pleasant residence, and made many substantial improvements. His success in life has been due to his own efforts, which, though interfered with by service in the army, and by many other embarrassments, have been sufficient to gain him a home and comfortable surroundings in life. During his war service he was a member of Company E, Seventh Kentucky Cavalry (Confederate), in which he enlisted in 1863. In September of that year he was taken prisoner at Swallow Bluff, on the Tennessee River, and was held at Fort Delaware for eighteen months, when he was paroled and returned home. Mr. and Mrs. Miles are parents of seven children: Jennie T. (wife of L. B. Holt), Henry L., Samuel L., Albert F., Mary E., Ettie and Ava.

WILLIAM H. MOORE, tobacconist at

No. 126 Broadway, Paducah, was born in 1859, in Nashville, Tenn. He is the sixth child of a family of seven born to J. G. and Mary Moore, *nee* Hiter, both of whom are deceased. His father was born in Ireland and his mother was a native of Tennessee. William H. was reared in his native city, where he learned the business of tobacconist, and he followed it until 1882, when he came to Paducah and established a cigar manufactory, associated with Mr. Rogers. They do an extensive wholesale and retail business and are among the substantial business men of the city, and employ several skilled workmen in their factory.

HON. THOMAS E. MOSS, lawyer and statesman, Paducah, Ky., was born in Greensburg, Green Co., Ky., on the 14th day of March, 1840. He was reared principally in Hickman County, received his preparatory education in the Columbia College, and completed it in a private school in Hickman County. Having decided on the profession of law he, in 1857, entered the office of Bigger & Thompson at Paducah, where he pursued his studies until the early part of 1859, when he entered the law department of the University at Louisville, Ky., from which he graduated in the same year. He then located at Paducah for practice, but soon after became a member of the Second Kentucky Regiment, Confederate States Army, and as a private took the field. Soon after, at Camp Boone, he was made sergeant-major of his regiment, a position he filled until promoted to the office of adjutant, which promotion was granted in recognition of his gallantry in the battle at Fort Donelson. In this battle he was made a prisoner of war, and held as such until the general exchange, six months later. At the battle of Murfreesboro, while leading his command, Gen. Moss was severely wounded and again made a prisoner, and after being held for short periods in minor prisons was conveyed to Fort Delaware; later while being transferred from this to a place of greater security, he made a bold and daring escape, though at the time unable to walk without the aid of his crutches. He afterward rejoined his command, and at Hartsville, Tenn., received the surrender of Col. Moore. At the close of the war he returned to Paducah to engage in the practice of his profession and to find that his choice law library had, while in transit to the home of his mother, been intercepted at Cairo, and disposed of as best suited the unscrupulous hands into which it had fallen. He first associated with J. M. Bigger, and at once secured a handsome practice. He continued a member of the firm of Bigger & Moss, until 1873, when he withdrew to make the canvass for the office of attorney general of Kentucky, to which he was elected in 1875, filling this position with credit for four years. In 1869, he was elected to the lower house of the legislature, serving the two following sessions. He is now devoting himself closely to the practice of his profession, and stands in the front rank of the Kentucky bar. Mr. Moss is a Past Eminent Commander of the Paducah Commandery, No. 11, K. T. He was married in Covington, Ky., February 28, 1871, to Miss Margaret, daughter of Jesse D. Bright. Their children are: Mary Josephine, born in Covington; Jesse Bright, born in Paducah; Thomas E., born in Frankfort; and Maggie S., who was also born in Frankfort and died in infancy.

BENNETT V. MOSS is a native of Weakley County, Tenn., and was born in December, 1827. His father, Bennett Moss, was of North Carolina birth, and located in Tennessee in 1826. He was a farmer and was the first man that made a hogshead of tobacco in Weakley County; he died in that county in 1864. He married a Miss Nancy Vaughn, an excellent lady, and a devoted member of the Methodist Church. Our subject was reared to farm work and has followed that pursuit. He farmed with his father several years in Tennessee, and afterward did overseeing for seven years. He went to Missouri, but returned to Tennessee in six months, when a season of sickness absorbed all the earnings he had been able to save. He finally purchased more land on credit, but after clearing it lost it all by being unable to make the final payment. He removed to the upper Tennessee, and for six years was engaged in farming in Montgomery County, after which he went to Christian County, Ky,, residing there a similar period of time. He next moved to Ballard County, and after three years came to his present place of 214 acres in 1879. He is an industrious, successful farmer, and made his property by days' work. In 1856, he married Elizabeth Williams of Weakley County, Tenn.; nine children are living of this union. Early in life Mr. Moss was addicted to drink, but is now a radical temperance advocate.

MONROE NANCE, undertaker at No. 304 Broadway, Paducah, was born in 1835, in Georgia. His parents, Clement and Malvina (Ledbetter) Nance, removed to Kentucky, in 1849, settling in Marshall County. Monroe there attained his manhood, and in 1857 went to Logan County, Ky., where he labored as a house carpenter. In 1859 in

Franklin, Simpson Co., Ky., he married Miss Clio Grubb, a native of Kentucky. They have been blessed with ten children. They came to Paducah in 1868, and since 1875 Mr. Nance has been in the undertaking business; now doing a business second to none of the kind in western Kentucky. Mr. Nance is the present coroner of McCracken County, is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Paducah Commandery, K. of T., I. O. O. F., A. O. U. W. and K. of H.

ALEXANDER A. NELSON was born in 1818, in Virginia, and in 1827, with his parents, Thomas and Elizabeth Nelson, removed to Kentucky. His parents then settled near Maysville, where they remained about ten years, removing thence to McCracken County, in 1837. They engaged in farming near Old Wilmington, where the family remained until 1855, and where Mrs. Elizabeth Nelson died in 1854. The family then located in Marshall County, where it has been long and favorably known, and where Thomas Nelson died in 1863. Alexander A. Nelson is the eldest of a family of six children, but two of whom are now living. He was first married in 1840, in Litchfield, Ky., to Miss Elizabeth Goldsberry, who died in 1854, in McCracken County, leaving two children: Elizabeth and Martin V., the latter now of Louisville, Ky. After the death of his wife, Mr. Nelson removed to Marshall County, where for many years he was intimately identified with the public interests of that county. He served the people of the county for ten years as jailer; six years as sheriff, and three years as master commissioner, resigning the latter office after he removed to Paducah, in 1882. He was twice married in Marshall County, first to Miss Minerva Warner, who bore him six children, viz.: Mary, Thomas, David, Minerva, Nelson and an infant that died unnamed. His present wife, to whom he was married in 1863, was Lucinda N. Cutchens. Their union has resulted in the birth of six children, as follows: Sallie, Irene, Minnie, Jack, Leroy and an unnamed infant. Mr. Nelson is now one of the substantial business men of Paducah, located on the corner of Locust and Clark Streets, and doing an extensive business in groceries and provisions, besides keeping a wagon-yard and feed stable.

WILLIAM P. NICHOLS was born in Caldwell County, Ky., on the 6th day of March, 1829. He is a son of Jesse and Elizabeth Nichols, and was reared on his father's farm, in his native county, where he had only the advantages of a common school education. At the age of twenty-one, he came to McCracken County, and engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, which he followed until 1878. He was elected to the office of county surveyor, in 1868, filling this office acceptably for ten years, and until elected to the clerkship of McCracken County, in 1878, to which office he was re-elected in 1882. Mr. Nichols is a kind, attentive officer of the county, a gentleman of refined sensibilities, and enjoys the confidence of a large circle of acquaintances. He has been twice married first in 1854, to Miss Sarah Rice, who died in 1870, and second to Mrs. Sallie Hall, widow of James M. Hall and daughter of J. Davis, of Livingston County, Ky. She died in October, 1881. There are two children result of the former marriage: Mary C., wife of Felix G. Rudolph, and William B. Nichols.

CHARLES NIEHAUS, cigar manufacturer and wholesale and retail tobacconist, at No. 26 Broadway, Paducah, was born in Evansville, Ind., in 1851. His parents, John H. and Catherine Niehaus, were born in Germany, but came in early life to the United States, and were married in Pittsburgh, Penn., where they resided for many years, and then removed to Evansville, Ind. John H. Niehaus died in Evansville, in 1880, and his widow is still a resident of that city. Charles there learned the trade of house carpenter, which however he abandoned for more congenial pursuits. In 1878, he removed from California to Paducah, Ky., where he engaged with his brother, John Niehaus, in the manufacture of cigars. After the death of his brother in October, 1880, Charles became his successor, and is the proprietor, employing a large force of efficient workmen. Mr. Niehaus is a member of the Paducah Commandery, No. 11, K. T., I. O. O. F., and K. of H. He was married in 1882, to Mrs. Emma Niehaus, in Paducah.

COL. JOHN C. NOBLE is the son of Elijah Noble, who was of Celtic descent, and is a lineal descendant of that Col. Noble, who was one of the officers of Cromwell's "Ironsides Regiment," and one of the commission who sat in judgment upon Charles I., and voted for his death. In early life Elijah Noble was a prominent merchant of Lexington, Ky., and owned some half dozen stores at one time in central Kentucky. He was seriously crippled financially by the second war with Great Britain, from which shock he never recovered. John C. Noble was born in Lexington, December 2, 1815, and was educated in the schools of his native county, Fayette, and native city, Lexington. He acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of Latin and the

higher branches of education from Charles O'Hara, a teacher in the grammar school of Transylvania University. Having served an apprenticeship at the printing business, he resumed his literary studies, and became a practically posted literary man and a vigorous writer. He subsequently studied law under Chancellor Caleb Logan, of Louisville, but never practiced his profession. His ardent zeal for Democracy led him into political life as an editor, in which calling he has exerted a marked influence on Kentucky politics, having been connected with papers in various parts of the State. Twice he was a candidate for office; once for the legislature, from Louisville, in which race he reduced the large Whig majority to 200. During the war he was a candidate for the Confederate congress from the First District, but was defeated by the Hon. W. B. Machen. In 1861 he joined the Confederate service as a private; was appointed regimental quartermaster with the rank of captain, but was subsequently placed upon the staff of Gen. Abe Buford, with the rank of major. He is not a member of any church, but his family belong to the Episcopal Church. He rejoices in being a Jeffersonian Democrat, of the school of '98; is supposed to be one of the oldest editors of the State, a "Nestor of the Press," and is a man of strong impulses. His family residence is "Villa Calhoun," three miles south of Paducah.

JOHN O'BRIEN was born in the year 1831, in Ireland, and in childhood was brought by his parents, Patrick and Kate O'Brien, to the United States. The family settled in the State of Indiana, where John grew to maturity, and where his parents died. He came from Indiana to Paducah, where he still resides, in the year 1856. For several years he engaged as rectifier of spirits, later as street contractor, and is now numbered among the old settlers as well as one of the most honored citizens of Paducah. He is at present engaged in an extensive coal trade, with yards on Locust Street, between Broadway and Jefferson Streets. Mr. O'Brien was married in Paducah, in 1860, to Miss Kate Connor, of that city, their union being blessed with three sons and three daughters. The family are members of the Catholic Church, Mr. O'Brien being also a member of the Catholic Knights of America.

ANDREW J. OGILVIE was born in Graves County, this State, March 11, 1832, and is a son of Lemuel H. Ogilvie. Our subject was reared on the farm and, the educational advantages of that day being very meager, was able to secure but little schooling until twenty-four years of age, when he attended a good district school for sixteen months. He has devoted his life principally to farm pursuits, his present farm property, consisting of 136 acres, having been brought to its present high state of cultivation and improved condition by arduous toil. Mr. Ogilvie is one of the oldest members of the Masonic fraternity, in the country and has represented his lodge in the grand lodge several times. He is a member of the K. of H. and also of the U. W. In August, 1874, he was elected sheriff and served in that capacity four years, having been re-elected. During his term of office he took 130 convicts to State prison, and throughout his service was one of the most prompt and efficient officers in the people's employ. He was married February 16, 1858, to Jeanette F. C. Young of this county. They have eleven children living.

JOHN W. OGILVIE, McCracken County, was born in Williamson County, Tenn., eleven miles south of Nashville, December 28, 1825. His parents, Lemuel H. and Martha (Winstead) Ogilvie, were natives respectively of North Carolina and Tennessee. His father was a farmer; came to the Purchase in 1830, and four years later to McCracken County, and died March 12, 1857. His mother had been first married to Mr. Abram Moses, by whom she had two children, one of whom, Benjamin F., is now living. Her marriage with Mr. Ogilvie gave nine children, all of whom survive: James B., John W., Martha H., Samuel, Andrew J., Maria L., Napoleon J., William H. and Elijah W. Napoleon J. served in the Confederate Army one year. The grandfather of our subject, Kimbrow T. Ogilvie, was a Revolutionary soldier. He was from North Carolina, and was descended from old Scotch-Irish stock. John W., the subject of this notice, came to this country with his parents when he was but a few years old. His father's circumstances denied the youth the benefits of an early schooling, and at nineteen years of age he could hardly read or spell. He hired out to a farmer, Dr. Robert Fletcher, for seventeen months, at $5 a month. Dr. Fletcher, taking a liking to the boy, bought him a spelling book and sent him to school, and there he learned the rudiments of a practical education. After this Mr. Ogilvie hired out as a fireman on a steamboat, running from Cincinnati to New Orleans. At the age of twenty-three he married Miss Margaret A. Griffeth, a daughter of John Griffeth, and a niece of Dr. Boland, noted as the man who captured the great murderer, Pennington, in Texas. This union gave six children, three of whom are living:

William H., Lemuel B. and John W. After his marriage Mr. Ogilvie was repeatedly elected to various county offices, serving in those of magistrate and deputy sheriff. In 1865, he was elected to the State legislature over two competitors, and during his term introduced and was the author of various important measures. He was re-elected in 1867, and again in 1871, to the same position, the last time with no opposition. At the expiration of his service, he returned home and devoted his time to farming, and for four years was the inspector of tobacco at Paducah. In 1879 he was defeated for the State senate by a few votes, but in 1883 carried the three counties composing his senatorial district, by over 700 majority. During his long official service he has been chairman of many important legislative committees, and has wielded a great influence in behalf of all measures having in view the good of the general masses. Mr. Ogilvie came to his present residence about seven years ago. His farm consists of 200 acres. He has property, also, elsewhere in the county and in Tennessee. His present wife was Miss Carrie Bell, a daughter of David Bell, and a cousin of John Bell, the famous statesman of Tennessee. This union has been blessed with two children: David B. and Alpheus H. Mr. Ogilvie has been a member of the Masonic fraternity since 1855, and also belongs to the K. of H. He and his wife are members of the Methodist Church South.

STOKELY T. PAYNE, physician, was born March 20, 1818, in Culpepper County, Va. His father, William Payne, was a native of North Carolina, and was removed to Virginia by his parents in his youth. His wife, formerly Ava Garnett, was of Virginia birth. After their marriage, they removed to Culpeper County, Va., where their family of twelve children was born, only three of whom are living. They then moved to Orange County, Va., and after a residence there of ten years moved in 1830, to Williamson County, Tenn., where the father engaged in farm pursuits and there died, his wife surviving him until January, 1844. Previous to his death, he had made a trip to Kentucky, and had purchased 1,000 acres of land in Hickman County, on which he had intended to move, but his death occurred shortly afterward. The subject of these lines was reared by his father to farm work, and came with him to Tennessee, when twelve years old, but with an elder brother went shortly after to Washington County, Mo., where he remained four years. He returned to Tennessee and managed the home farm for his mother and attended, and later taught a school. At twenty years of age, he went to Williamson County, and worked eighteen months at the tanner's trade, when he removed to Mississippi, and served as deputy circuit clerk in Choctaw County one year. Returning to Williamson County, Tenn., he read medicine eighteen months under the instruction of Dr. W. Webb, after which he attended lectures at Louisville, Ky. After a practice of three years in Tennessee and Indiana, he attended the Louisville University, graduating from the same in 1849. He thereafter practiced in Tennessee and seven years in Christian County, this State, and in 1858 came to McCracken County and located upon a tract of timber land upon which his present fine residence is located. The doctor is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and is devoting much time to writing and lecturing in favor of prohibition measures. In his professional and social relations he occupies an enviable position, and his influence for good in the community is manifest. He has been married three times; his first two wives, Catherine F. and Sallie N., were daughters of the Rev. James H. Overstreet, of Louisville. His last wife was formerly a Miss Lizzie C. Ratcliffe, of this county. By his first wife there are five children now living: Minnie, wife of Henry C. Fortson; William L.; James B., physician, now residing in Lovelaceville, this county; Stokely and Ava L.

LORENZO A. PHELPS was born in Natchez, Miss., June 11, 1840. His father, Clark L. Phelps, now a resident of Cairo, Ill., was born in 1816, in Hartford, Conn., where he was reared. He removed to Natchez, Miss., in early manhood, and there married Miss Pascalena Paul. He was for thirty years the captain and owner of a steamboat, plying on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries. The maternal grandfather of L. A. Phelps, was Paul Pascalile, who in early life was a Corsican soldier; he served as a member of Napoleon's body guard, and was a blood relation of that noted military leader. When Napoleon was finally subdued, Paul Pascalile found it necessary to flee from his native country, France, and he accordingly came to the United States, settling in Natchez, where he dropped the name of Pascalile and assumed the name of Paul, by which the family is still known. He married a lady of Irish ancestry. Pascalena, the mother of our subject, was born in Natchez, in 1819; L. A. Phelps is the eldest of a family of seven children, and was chiefly reared in Muscatine, Iowa, where the

family resided for many years, and where his mother died in 1880. Several years of his earlier manhood were spent on the river, as pilot of his father's steamboat and other vessels, but in 1871 he began his present business in Muscatine, Iowa, from whence he moved to Cairo, Ill., thence to Paducah, Ky., in 1883. Though his residence in the last named place has been brief, he has established an enviable reputation as a skillful artist and an amiable gentleman. His photographic establishments are becoming some of the attractions of the city. He was married in Muscatine, Iowa, in 1874, to Miss Lillian S. Perkins, daughter of Capt. T. P. Perkins, who was a well-known steamboat owner. She was born in St. Louis, in 1855, and is related to both Gen. William T. Sherman and the Confederate general, Robert E. Lee. Mr. and Mrs. Phelps have a family of four children, viz.: Lillian A., Frederick L., Ada P. and Frank S. Phelps.

DR. WILLIAM H. PITCHER, dental surgeon of Paducah, was born in Trenton, N. J., in 1852. He is the second of a family of eight children, of William F. Pitcher and Jemima Paulison, now of Springfield, Mo. William H. was reared in his native city, and there graduated from the model school; removed with his family to Cairo, Ill., in 1869, which place he made his home until he entered on his profession. In 1877 he entered the Missouri Dental College, graduating with the degree of D. D. S., in February 1878. Dr. Pitcher has had several years' practical experience in his profession, in which he has proven his ability. He removed from Nashville, Ill., to Paducah, Ky., in 1882, and is now engaged in a successful practice in the latter city. He was married in 1876 to Miss Octavia P. Reese, daughter of Hon. W. Reese, late mayor of Selma, Ala., and ex-member of the Alabama legislature. Their union has been blessed with one child, Ethel Pitcher.

CHARLES M. PLEASANTS, dealer in leaf tobacco, Paducah, is a native of Powhatan County, Va., and was born in 1844. His parents, Thomas N. Pleasants and Matilda A. Hughes, were both natives of Virginia. The father died when Charles M. was a mere boy; the mother is now a resident of Paducah. Charles M. grew to manhood in his native county, and in 1861 espoused the cause of the South, and became a member of the First Virginia battalion, of the Powhatan artillery, sharing the active service of that command through the entire war, participating in many of the most fiercely contested battles of the war, including Fredericksburg, Wilderness, Gettysburg, Winchester and the Seven Pines. At the close of the war he engaged in farming and dealing in tobacco, in his native county, for a few years, after which he gave up the farm and turned his attention exclusively to the tobacco market. He came to Paducah from Virginia in 1874.

JOHN L. POWELL was born July 7, 1832, in Shelby County, Ky. His parents, John and Dorcas (Marshall) Powell, were natives of Kentucky and followed the pursuits of agriculture. John L. was thus reared under the influences of farm life, meantime receiving a common English education. When eighteen years old he found that his health disqualified him for farm life, and set about obtaining a more complete and practical education; he therefore took an academic course, making a specialty of book-keeping. After teaching school a short time, he became a salesman in a mercantile house in his native county, and thus laid the foundation of his business career. He stepped from the position of salesman in a Louisville queensware house, to the proprietorship of a small business in Henry County, Ky., doing a fair amount of business for two years; but desiring a location for a more extensive trade, he removed to Smithland, Ky., about 1857. He remained in the latter place until 1864, when he located in Paducah. He there engaged in the dry goods trade for two years; dealing also in cotton, and in 1869 established his present business. He does a wholesale and retail business in books, stationery and musical instruments, and has the most extensive house of the kind in the city. Mr. Powell is a member of the Methodist Church, a member of the K. of H., being Past Grand Dictator of the State of Kentucky, and has done valuable service in his part of the State as an instituting officer. He is also a member of the order of the United Order Golden Cross and I. O. O. F. Mr. Powell was married in 1852, in Shelby County, Ky., to Miss Naomi N., daughter of Fielding Neal. They have two daughters: Mattie E. and Mamie A. Powell.

JOHN R. PURYEAR. This gentleman, who is a prominent representative of a numerous family in Kentucky, is a son of Thomas J. Puryear, and was born October 21, 1837, in Graves County, Ky. His father was a native of Virginia, and married Miss Perlina M. Bressie, a native of Tennessee; they settled in Graves County in 1836. Thomas J. Puryear was a merchant, farmer and trader or dealer in tobacco, and died in Graves County September 13, 1873; his wife is still living and a resident of Arlington,

Ballard Co., Ky. John R. Puryear is the eldest of a family of ten children. He was reared on his father's farm, educated in the common schools and the Mayfield Academy, and in 1859 taught school in Graves County. During the year 1860 he was similarly employed in Texas, and on returning was appointed a postal clerk on the Chesapeake, Ohio & Southwestern Railroad, which position he held two years. In 1863 Mr. Puryear became associated in the wholesale drug business as a member of the firm of Kidd, Bradshaw & Co., which firm was dissolved by the death of Dr. W. H. Kidd, in October 1864. Mr. Puryear continued the business with other parties until burned out in 1865. He then turned his attention to completing his law study, which he had begun in early life. He studied under Judge C. S. Marshall, was admitted to the practice in 1868, and is now a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. On January 13, 1869, he was appointed to the office of clerk of the United States circuit court, Sixth Circuit, and district of Kentucky, and clerk of the United States district court for the district of Kentucky, which duties he is still discharging with credit to himself and acceptance to the people. In 1873, in connection with E. W. Bagby, he established a weekly Republican newspaper entitled the *Paducah Journal*, which had an existence of eighteen months, when, though ably edited, it was discontinued. Mr. Puryear is one of a few Republicans of Paducah who wields more than a local influence. In 1876 he was a delegate from the First Congressional District of Kentucky to the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1880 he represented the same district as a delegate to the National Convention at Chicago, and was there elected one of the assistant secretaries of that body. At the Republican State Convention held at Lexington, Ky., in 1883, his friends presented his name as a candidate for the office of state auditor, but he was defeated by a small majority in favor of Leroy W. Hawthorn. He is a member of the A. O. U. W., and of the K. of. H., and for several years has been a deacon in the Baptist Church. He was married in Paducah in 1868, to Miss Eliza M. Kidd, daughter of Dr. W. H. Kidd. Their children are Courtie, Letha, Odie, Roscoe, Kidd and Carl Puryear.

QUINTUS Q. QUIGLEY is a lawyer of decided ability, and stands at the head, not only of the Paducah bar, but also of the bar of western Kentucky. Mr. Quigley was born in 1828, in Paris, Tenn., and is a son of James B. Quigley and Martha (Ogburn) Quigley. The father was a native of Pennsylvania, and the mother of Virginia. These parents settled in early life in Tennessee, but after a brief residence, removed to Hickman County, Ky., in 1828. James B. Quigley was of Irish parentage and in his boyhood days was deprived of the benefits of an education, having attended school but six weeks. He was reared, however, to habits of honest industry, and in early life learned the trade of tinner, at which he worked for some years, but later in life became a farmer, trader and general merchant. He was reared in the Catholic faith, but in mature life joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he proved a true light and in the faith of which he trustfully died in 1861. He was characterized for his strong will power, untiring business energy, and large benevolence, all of which were systematically directed. His death was felt by a large circle of friends, and especially by his church and the Masonic order, to both of which he was ardently attached. His wife, a remarkable adaptation to him, survived him until January, 1884. They had a family of eight children, Quintus Q. being the second. He was educated at the Cumberland College, and began the study of law at the age of nineteen, under Judge J. W. Crockett. He was regularly admitted to practice in 1851, and at once opened an office in Paducah, where he is now one of the oldest and ablest lawyers. Mr. Quigley was married in Paducah, in 1853, to Miss Mary E. Husbands, daughter of Col. James B. Husbands, who is now, perhaps, the oldest pioneer of the Purchase. They have a family of five children, his second son, Isaac M. Quigley, being a member of the law firm of Quigley & Quigley. Mr. Quigley is an ardent admirer of the beauties of nature, and that he may gratify this commendable trait, he has for several years lived in his quiet country home, near Paducah, with his family, to whom he is devotedly attached. He is a member of the Episcopal Church, and of the Masonic order; he is a Democrat, but has avoided public life.

JAMES M. RAGSDALE is a native of Pittsylvania County, Va. He was born August 15, 1839, and is a son of the Rev. Thomas M. Ragsdale, a Methodist preacher. The father was born in North Carolina, where he was reared, educated and there married to Miss Nancy W. Baldwin, a native of the same State. After residing in Virginia and later years in North Carolina, he came to Calloway County, Ky., in 1843, and being licensed to preach, had charge of a local

congregation until 1849, when he removed to Henry County, Tenn., remaining there about six years, during which time he gained a wide spread reputation as a powerful and effective speaker. He possessed a remarkably strong voice, which it is said has been heard a distance of two miles while engaged in prayer. He was an excellent singer, and was noted for his great zeal and consistent Christian course in life. For thirty years he labored in this State, Illinois and Tennessee, having charge at different times of many and various circuits. In 1861, he was elected chaplain of the Seventh Kentucky Infantry (Confederate), but after the engagement at Shiloh resigned and returned home. He died January 24, 1882, after an illness of six days, brought on by a chill contracted while conducting service. He was three times married, his first wife having died in 1863. She bore him fourteen children, eight of whom are living. There were seven children by his second wife, Sarah Harper. She died in 1879. His third wife, Sophia M. Ross, is yet living in the county. At eighteen years of age, our subject began the management of the home farm, being allowed a share of the crops, to enable him to attend school. In 1861, at the breaking out of the war, he entered the Seventh Kentucky Infantry, Company F, and served with the same until the spring of 1864. He participated in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg, Nashville, etc., and after the latter battle returned to McCracken County. He hired out to farm work, and with the money earned continued his school studies, and in 1865 taught in the public schools for several months. November 24, 1866, he was married to Miss Georgia A. Jones, of this county. After his marriage he engaged in farming and in teaching, and has since devoted his time to these occupations. He has two farms of 124 and 151 acres respectively, under a good state of cultivation. Mr. Ragsdale is a member of the Masonic order, and of the Methodist Church South. Mr. and Mrs. Ragsdale have four children: Oney, Minnie, Sallie I. and Deany A.

LAWRENCE P. RASOR, dealer in fruits and confectionery, at No. 211 Broadway, Paducah, is a native of that city, and was born March 26, 1840. His father, George F. Rasor, was a native of Kentucky, and was married in Russellville, Logan Co., Ky., to Miss Julia A. Graven, who was born in Culpeper County, Va. They removed to Paducah in 1836, where they spent the remainder of their lives, she dying in 1864, and he in March, 1884. Lawrence P. is the fourth of seven children of these parents. He has been a resident of Paducah since childhood. In early life he learned engineering, and for about seventeen years followed the river as a steamboat engineer, and also served the city of Paducah for three years as an engineer of the fire department. In 1876, in the city of Paducah, he was married to Miss Cornelia Davis, a native of Memphis, Tenn. Their children are Lawrence and Florence Rasor. Mr. Rasor is a worthy member of the Knights of Honor.

RAYBURN FAMILY. The first representative of this family in the United States, so far as is known, was John Rayburn, Sr., who married a Miss MacNatt, and resided in the State of Maryland. They had but one child when John Rayburn died. The child, a son, was also named John, and in his early life became a Baptist minister; he married in what is now Stewart County, Tenn., from which he removed to Calloway County, Ky., about 1827. That county was then almost wholly uninhabited, and Rev. John Rayburn was doubtless the first minister to locate within its borders. He lived but two years after settling there, and his remains are there buried. He had four children, named Levi, Harrison, Nancy Ann and Eliza. Levi, the eldest of these, was born February 22, 1819, in what is now Trigg County, Ky., and married a Miss Nancy Walden, who died in Calloway County, having borne him three children, viz.: John, Alfred and Lafayette Rayburn, the latter being a resident of Paducah and the only one now living. Alfred, the second one, was a member of Company D, of the Fifty-seventh Illinois Volunteer Infantry; was captured at the battle of Guntown, Miss., and was shot by a Confederate soldier while a prisoner. After the death of his wife, Levi Rayburn removed to Tennessee, and there married Elizabeth, widow of Nathan Skinner, which union resulted in the birth of five children, viz.: Augusta, wife of W. Bass; Samuel, Louie, Nathan S. and Eliza Rayburn. Levi Rayburn died in Tennessee in 1873 and his family are now residents of Paducah, Ky.

HON. CHARLES REED, mayor of Paducah, and a native of that city, was born November 4, 1842. He is a son of W. H. Reed, formerly a contractor, and a well-known and highly respected citizen of Paducah. Charles Reed, in early life, had the advantages of the city schools of Paducah, but at the age of twelve years was compelled to quit school and labor for his sustenance. He became an apprentice to the tobacco trade, at which he occupied his time until

the beginning of the civil war, when, though only a boy, he entered the Confederate Army, serving in many of the greater battles of that struggle, including the battles of Shiloh, Corinth and Harrisburg. He was first under the command of Gen. Lloyd Tilghman, as a member of the Third Kentucky Regiment, Breckinridge's division, but later was with Gen. Forrest in all of his noted raids through Kentucky and Tennessee. The close of the war found Mr. Reed without financial means, but his native energy, then, as now, predominated over circumstances and he soon became associated with John Segenfelter, in the hotel business, with whom he opened the European Hotel of Paducah. This effort was successful, and in 1876 he purchased a half interest in the Richmond House, and is now proprietor of that well-known institution. Prior to his connection with this house and in 1872, he became connected with Messrs. Hobbs and Morton, in the management of an extensive woolen manufactory, the firm being known as Hobbs, Morton & Reed. Mr. Reed remained a member of this firm for three years, when he retired. In political preferences, Mr. Reed is a Democrat, and has been frequently elected to a seat in the city council. In March, 1881, he was elected to the office of mayor of the city of Paducah, and his popularity as an executive was manifested in his re-election to the same office in March 1883, and elected to third term March, 1885. Mr. Reed is a gentleman of prepossessing appearance, kind and agreeable to all and noted for his public spirit in matters pertaining to the general good.

JUDGE WILLIAM RANDOLPH REID was born April 14, 1848, in Davidson County, N. C. He is the second son of the late John B. Reid who removed to Kentucky in 1853, and opened Reidland farm in McCracken County, six miles southeast of Paducah, where he resided a respected and honored citizen until his death in 1860, leaving five children: Joseph L., who died in Graves County, in 1883; William Randolph, the subject of this sketch; Thomas J., John Milton and Charlotte H., wife of James P. Brooks, the last three continuing to reside at Reidland. Early in life Randolph began to develop great fondness for books of substantial character, which resulted in his acquiring a liberal and classical education. Having thoroughly mastered the common school branches, he entered the college at Mayfield, Ky., in 1866, and Andrew College at Trenton, Tenn., in 1869, completing the course of study in 1872. While a college student he stood at the head of his classes, carrying a double course of Greek and Latin, and mastered the mathematical course without ever asking assistance from any one. In January, 1872, he became a law student in the office of Gen. John B. Huston, of Lexington, Ky., and soon thereafter entered the law department of Kentucky University, where he again distinguished himself by hard study doubling the law course and graduating with high honors in February, 1873. His health being greatly impaired and his patrimonial estate exhausted by six years of college life, he returned home to prosecute his legal studies, and having his name enrolled as a member of the Paducah bar April 11, 1873, he began the practice of his chosen profession with an energy and industry characteristic of his former life. In July, 1873, he accepted the office of common school commissioner of McCracken County, a position he filled acceptably for three years, and in 1877, after the death of Judge Morrow, he was commissioned by Gov. McCreary to the office of county judge, which he held until his successor was elected and qualified. With these exceptions Judge Reid has never been an applicant for office, but has devoted himself exclusively to his profession and his own private affairs. In 1875 he entered into a law co-partnership with Judge J. M. Bigger, which connection still exists, forming one of the ablest law firms in western Kentucky. Although Judge Reid is yet a young man he is regarded by the profession as one of the ablest members of the Paducah bar, commanding the respect of the bench and bar He is dignified in person, firm in character, chaste in language, courteous to all, possesses an ample fortune and is a consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

WILLIAM HARRISON REEVES stands pre-eminent among the energetic citizens of Paducah. His parents removed from Halifax County, Va., and settled near Richmond, in Madison County, Ky., in the early part of the present century, and there William H. was born, in 1814. George Reeves, his father, was a soldier under Gen. Harrison in the war of 1812, and in consequence of his admiration for his veteran commander, gave the name to his son. William H. was left an orphan when a mere lad, and also dependent on his own efforts for sustenance, which prevented his obtaining even a common school education. His first effort at self-support was a position on a keel-boat on the Green River. When eighteen years old he came to the Purchase and located in what is now

Ballard County. Having an elder brother in that vicinity, he made his home with him until the brother's death, which occurred a few years later. Here William H. engaged in the lumber traffic for a time, then operated a wood-yard for a period of six years, and then opened a small general store in the interior of Ballard County. After four years he sold this business, and in 1840 was made county constable, from which time he was for many years engaged in the official business of the county, either in the office of constable or sheriff. Though beginning life without means, he soon accumulated a handsome fortune, and gradually developed into one of the most substantial farmers and traders of western Kentucky. Mr. Reeves has ever been noted for his stern and unflinching integrity and fidelity to any public or private trust, and while he has been largely connected with the public weal of his section, he has been also intrusted with the adjustment of many private estates and with the guardianship of orphaned children. For many years he has been a member of the Masonic order and of the I. O. O. F. He was first married in Ballard County, in 1843, to Miss Penelope White, daughter of Rev. Willis White, now of Clinton, Ky. She died in February, 1879, leaving a family of seven children: Mary A., wife of Dr. Charles Hinkle, of Ballard County; George W., now of Montana; Susan J., wife of Hon. William J. Pucket; W. T. Reeves, a lawyer of Blandville; Martha, wife of W. W. Morris; Fannie B., wife of William O. Coffin, of Illinois, and Robert L. Reeves, of Paducah. Mr. Reeves was married to his present wife, Mrs. Fannie Marrs, of Paris, Tenn., in 1881. In 1880 Mr. Reeves retired from his farm to Paducah, and there effected a business connection with T. F. Terrell, under the firm name of Terrell & Reeves, and as such they are doing an extensive business in the tobacco trade.

ERNEST REHKOPF was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1838, and when fourteen years old came with his widowed mother (Louisa Rehkopf) and a brother and sister to the United States. They first located for a few months in Memphis, Tenn., removed thence to Iowa, where Ernest served his apprenticeship to the trade of saddler and harness maker. After completing his trade he worked as journeyman for some time, and in 1859 removed to Paducah, Ky. In 1861, having saved a few dollars, he made his first attempt at a business for himself, and opened a shop on a limited scale. His success was sure and rapid, and though but a score of years in business he is now numbered among the wealthy men of Paducah. He now operates an extensive manufactory of saddles, collars and harness, besides a tanyard, giving employment to about 100 workmen. In January, 1880, he met with severe loss, resulting from the burning of his establishment, but immediately rebuilt, completing his double three-story building in 1881. Mr. Rehkopf does a wholesale business, amounting annually to $150,000. He is a member of the Masonic order. He was married, in 1861, to Miss Annie Sick, and has a family of six children: Henry, Albert, Louisa, Annie, Dora and John Rehkopf.

WILLIAM H. RIEKE, dry goods merchant, of Paducah, Ky., is a native of Hanover, Germany, and was born in 1838. When he was about six years old his parents, Philip H. and Clara W. Rieke, immigrated to the United States, settling first in Cincinnati, Ohio, where they made a temporary residence, and then removed to Louisville, Ky. In the latter city William H. was reared and educated, and he there began the mercantile business, which he has prosecuted successfully ever since. In the winter of 1861–62 he came to the city of Paducah, and here, in connection with others, established a wholesale dry goods house. In 1867 he severed his connection as a member of this firm to enter the exclusively retail business in which he is now engaged and in which he is the pronounced leader. Mr. R. is a gentleman of rare business ability and social culture, and a citizen of whom the city of Paducah may justly feel proud. He is a member of the Paducah Commandery No. 11, K. T., K. of H. and an exemplary member of the Presbyterian Church. In 1866 Mr. Rieke married Miss Monima Smedley, a native of Kentucky. Their children are Frank H., William H., Jr., Monima, Carrie L. and Clara Rieke.

DR. THOMAS RIVERS was born in Christian County, Ky., in 1830, from whence his parents removed to Hickman County, while he was yet a child, and where his father, who was a physician, died in 1838. His mother then removed to Montgomery County, Tenn., and there Thomas grew to manhood. He studied medicine with Dr. Dabney, and in 1850 entered the medical department of the University of Louisville, Ky.; later he became a student in the medical department of the University of New York, from which he graduated in 1853, and the same year opened an office and established a practice in Hickman, Fulton Co., Ky. In 1858 he removed to Arkansas, and

there followed his profession until the war began. In 1862, he entered the Confederate Army as surgeon of the Thirty-first Tennessee Regiment, which position he retained through the entire war. Prior, however, to his connection with the Thirty-first Tennessee, he, in 1861, became assistant surgeon in a command of Missouri State Guards, under Col. Waugh. After the final surrender, Dr. Rivers located in Ballard County, and practiced medicine with success till March, 1882, when he removed to Paducah. He is a member of the Masonic order, of the Southwestern Medical Society and of the Paducah Medical Club. Dr. Rivers was married in Ballard County, Ky., in 1868, to Miss Sue Terrell, daughter of Horace Terrell. Their children are Horace T., Thomas, Edwin A., Jane D., Robert J. and John F. Rivers.

GEORGE W. ROBERTSON is a son of George W., Sr., and Martha Robertson. His father was a native of the State of Kentucky. His mother, though reared in Kentucky, was a native of North Carolina. These parents were among the pioneer settlers of Livingston County, Ky., where George W. Robertson, Jr., was born in 1836. He was reared on his father's farm until he attained the age of sixteen, when he began his mercantile life, first as a salesman in Smithland. Having a desire to visit the Western frontier, he went to California in 1853, where he spent two years. On his return he located in New Orleans, where he learned the art of photographing, which engaged his attention until 1876, the last eleven years of which time he operated in Paducah. In 1877, having abandoned the art, he formed a business connection with T. J. Atkins in the grocery trade. In 1882 he purchased the interest of Mr. Atkins, and is now devoting himself strictly to mercantile business. Mr. Robertson was marrried in Livingston County, Ky., in 1859, to Miss Anna M. Stonebreaker, and has a family of six children, viz.: Jefferson B., George H., Charles, Ida, Lulu and Mittie Robertson. The family residence is on Broadway, and the business house at No. 22 Market Street. Mr. Robertson is a member of the I. O. O. F. and K. of H.

GEORGE ROCK, a native of Hesse Darmstadt, Germany, removed to Paducah, Ky., in 1858. Mr. Rock was born in 1835, and is the second of three children born to John and Barbara Rock. His father died in the old country, in 1848, and the following year his mother, with the three children, Elizabeth, George and John, immigrated to the United States and located in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, where all, except the subject of this sketch, now live. In that city Mr. Rock served three years as an apprentice to the trade of shoemaking, to which he has since devoted his life with marked success. Until 1857 he labored as a journeyman in Louisville, Ky. He then opened a shop in the village of Lafayette, Christian County, where he remained until his removal to Paducah. As an honorable business man Mr. Rock has few superiors. From being the proprietor of a small custom shop, he has gradually developed into one of the wealthiest men in the business circles of Paducah. He does an extensive business, both wholesale and retail, and has a manufacturing department of no small magnitude and located at Nos. 210 and 212 Broadway. Mr. Rock is also a member of the Paducah Furniture Manufacturing Company, and has been a director of the German American National Bank since the organization of that institution. He is a member of the German Evangelical Church, Masonic order and Knights of Honor. He was married in Louisville, Ky., in 1856, to Miss Catherine Seigel, which union has been blessed with eight children.

JOHN ROGERS, general manager and part owner of the Paducah Stave Factory, was born in 1853, in Wakefield, Mass. His parents were Peter and Ellen Rogers, both of whom were of Irish birth. The family removed to Paducah in the fall of 1866, where Peter Rogers died, and where his widow is still living. John Rogers first learned the trade of cooper, which he followed until he became connected with E. Farley in the manufacture of cut staves, in which they give employment to a large number of men. He was married in Paducah in February, 1878, to Miss Mary B. Nunn. They have two children, Wilford and Philip Rogers. Mrs. Rogers is the daughter of Philip and Lucena Nunn, who are now living in Paducah, and among the pioneers of that city. They are both of German birth, and have lived in Paducah since 1846.

PROF. JOHN T. ROSS was born in 1834, in the State of Maryland, and is descended from Scotch and German ancestors. His father, Robert Ross, was a native of Alleghany County, Md., and his mother, Elizabeth Klipstein, was born in Winchester, Va. The family was first represented in the United States by Robert Ross, Sr., who, in the colonial period, settled on the east shore of Virginia, from whence he removed to the western part of Maryland, where Robert Ross, Jr., was born, reared and married. His wife, Miss Elizabeth Klipstein, was the

daughter of a Dr. Louis Klipstein, who served as a surgeon in the war of the Revolution. Prof. John T. Ross is the fourth of a family of six children born to these parents. He was educated in his native State, and early in life devoted himself to the profession of teaching, from which he has never departed. Prof. Ross is not only one of the oldest teachers in the State, but a man of pronounced efficiency, as is evidenced by the fact that he has been retained in the city schools of Paducah for the past twelve years, and for the past fourteen years has been a member of the board of education for McCracken County. His experience in the schoolroom covers a period of thirty-one years, twenty-three years in the State of Kentucky. Prof. Ross was twice married, first in 1862, to Miss Louisa Richardson, of Ballard County, who died in 1863, leaving one son, Lewis F. Ross, now of Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1864 he contracted a second marriage, this time to Miss Mary L. Polk, a native of Springfield, Tenn., and second cousin to President James K. Polk; she was born in 1838, and is the mother of two sons, viz.: Clarence Ross and Polk Ross. Prof. Ross is a member of the A. F. & A. M., I. O. O. F., K. of H., and both he and wife are members of the Christian Church at Paducah.

ABRAHAM W. ROSSINGTON was born April 22, 1842, in Queenstown, Ireland, and is a son of William W. and Sarah (Trevers) Rossington, both of whom were natives of Ireland. The father was a professor of music, and coming to the United States in 1844, was connected for some time as a professor in a New York College. He removed to St. Louis, Mo., where he continued his professional labors. His wife and family followed him to this country in 1846, and with them he went to Hopkinsville, Ky., having accepted a professorship in both the female colleges of that place. There he remained most of his life, his death occurring after a short residence in Paducah. His widow still survives him and resides with her son, Robert B. Rossington, cashier of the Franklin Bank, at Clarksville, Tenn. The parents had five children, of whom our subject was the eldest. He was about four years old when he was brought to this country, and was reared till ten years of age in Hopkinsville, Ky., when he returned to Ireland in company with a friend of the family, and was sent to Frazier's College, Taunton, England, at which institution he remained eight years, graduating from the same in 1860. The following year he returned to America, and for four years was engaged in farming pursuits near Hopkinsville; in 1866, he removed to this county, and to his present place of residence, which now consists of 500 acres, most of which is in a high state of cultivation, and on which many fine improvements have been made. While attending school, Mr. Rossington prepared himself for the naval service, and, upon training vessels made two trips to Australia, and has also crossed the ocean many times. December 2, 1869, he married Miss Nannie Holland, of this county, a daughter of Z. P. and Margaret (Galbraith) Holland. Mr. and Mrs. Rossington are the parents of five children: Louis G., William Z., Sarah M., Thomas A. and Walter A. Mr. Rossington is a member of the Episcopal Church.

FELIX G. RUDOLPH, of the firm of Kimmel & Rudolph, Paducah, was born in 1852, in McCracken County, Ky. He is the seventh of a family of ten children, born to Wiley and Mary Jane (Lynn) Rudolph, the former of whom is still living, and a resident of Ballard County, and the latter of whom died in 1857. Felix G. Rudolph removed to the city of Paducah in 1882, and became a member of the firm of Harrison & Rudolph. This firm was succeeded by Nichols & Rudolph, which was changed May 1, 1884, to Kimmel & Rudolph. In 1873, Mr. Rudolph was married to Miss Kate Nichols, daughter of W. P. Nichols. Mr. Rudolph is a worthy member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and of the Masonic order.

EMMETT C. RUDOLPH was born in Montgomery County, Tenn., January 15, 1844. His father, John E. Rudolph, was a native of the same county. He removed to McCracken County in 1852, locating where our subject at present resides. The farm was but partly opened at the time, but a number of improvements were at once undertaken and consummated, which add comfort and greatly enhance the value of the farm. The father continued farm pursuits until his death, which occurred February 15, 1873. He was twice married. His first wife was Susan E. Herring, of Montgomery County, Tenn.; she died July 31, 1851, the mother of four children. His second wife, formerly Lucy A. Hargis, also of Montgomery County, Tenn., still survives him; there was one child by this union. Our subject was the eldest of the family of children, and his assistance was required on the home farm until he became of age. The following year he started out for himself as a farm laborer, working by the month, and was thus engaged until his marriage, which occurred January 14, 1869, after which he moved on his pres-

ent farm, which consists of 115 acres. He has also two other farms in the county, in a good state of cultivation. His wife, formerly Miss Malvira V. Holt, died March, 28, 1873, leaving three children: Claude L., Leslie B. and Mollie E. Mr. Rudolph is a man of great industry and enterprise, public-spirited and energetic; he has rendered much assistance to public enterprises and is regarded with high esteem by his fellow-citizens. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and is active in his encouragement of the temperance movement. He at present fills the position of justice of the peace, in which he has served many times.

GEORGE L. SAFFARRANS was born in Memphis, Tenn., in December, 1842. His parents (both of whom are deceased) were John and Matilda Saffarrans. George L. spent his boyhood days in his native city, where he received his preparatory education. In 1857 he entered the Wesleyan University, at Florence, Ala., where he completed his studies. In the spring of 1861 he espoused the cause of the Southern Confederacy, and served in that army through the entire war, participating in many of the hotly contested engagements of the struggle. At the close of the war he became a clerk and salesman in the mercantile business. In 1869 he established himself in the grocery business at Memphis, Tenn. In 1878 he removed to Caruthersville, Mo., and engaged in business, but becoming dissatisfied with the location, he removed to Paducah, Ky., in the fall of 1881. Since 1883 he has been engaged in the produce commission business, and in the sale of agricultural implements and seeds. He is also a member of the City Flouring Mills Company of Paducah. Mr. Saffarrans was married in the city of Memphis, Tenn., in 1867, to Miss Annie Coolidge, a native of Lexington, Ky., and daughter of Charles Coolidge. To them have been born two children: George and Carrie Saffarans. Mr. Saffarans is a worthy member of the I. O. O. F.

DR. REUBEN SAUNDERS, one of the oldest as well as most prominent physicians of Kentucky, was born near Frankfort, Ky., in 1808. He was principally reared to manhood in Frankfort, where he was, in early life, apprenticed to a book-binder. His early education consisted of what he learned in leisure moments from literary productions passing through his hands. In 1832 he went to Wetumpka, Ala., and while in the South studied medicine; attended one course of lectures at Charleston, S. C., after which he entered the Jefferson Medical College, at Philadelphia, Penn., from which he graduated in 1836. He then returned to Alabama, and for six years he had an extensive practice. In 1844 he removed to McCracken County, Ky., locating for a few years in the country. In 1847 he removed to Paducah, where he still engaged in his profession. To Dr. Saunders the medical fraternity of the United States accords the honor of having first discovered the efficacy of belladonna as an agency in the treatment of cholera, the practice being by hypodermic injection of atropia. This discovery was made by Dr. Saunders in 1873, and is now endorsed by eminent medical authority, and has thus revolutionized the practice in the treatment of that dreaded disease. Dr. Saunders retains far more of his youthful vigor than is common for one of his age, and although a practitioner for nearly fifty years, is still in the profession. He is a member of the I. O. O. F. He has been twice married: first, in 1838, in Knoxville, Tenn., to Adaline Roberts, who died in Paducah, leaving six children, one of whom, John B., attained eminence as a physician, and of whom four are residents of the city of Paducah. His second wife, to whom he was married in 1858, was Rebecca Lockett, of Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. SAUNER was born in Nashville, Tenn., March 31, 1823, and came to Paducah, Ky., with his parents, John and Eliza Sauner, in 1836, and is consequently among the very few men who have been in Paducah thus long. John Sauner was a carpenter by trade, and as a result, John W. adopted the same pursuit, which he followed several years of his early life, and until 1854, since which date he has been constantly in county or city offices. His official record includes a service of seven years as deputy sheriff, of McCracken County; three years as sheriff, four years as city marshal of Paducah, eight years as mayor of Paducah, and in 1882 was elected to the office of jailer of the county. It is but just to say that in all this long public career, covering a period of over thirty years, Mr. Sauner has always proven himself a faithful and efficient officer. He was married in McCracken County, April 20, 1843, to Miss Phoebe E. Forrest, and has one daughter, Nellie G. (wife of John T. Zelner, of Paducah). Mr. Sauner is a member of the I. O. O. F., and K. of H.

M. K. SCOTT, wholesale hardware merchant, was born August 7, 1832, near Louisville, Ky. His father, John Scott, was of Irish ancestry, though a native of Ohio, and his mother, whose name was Martha Broudas, was born in Virginia. M. K. Scott was reared in the city of Louisville, Ky., where,

early in life, he learned the tinner's trade. He removed to Paducah in 1858, and for five years was foreman in the business house of E. R. Hart. In 1865 he opened a small tin business on a capital of $150, which he gradually expanded until, in 1876, in connection with L. W. Emery, he opened a wholesale hardware and tin business, which has proven one of the standard enterprises of Paducah. In 1882, the firm of Scott, Stephens & Co., succeeded that of Scott & Emery, and are now doing a prosperous business. In 1852 Mr. Scott joined the Cuban Army at New Orleans, under General Lopez, and soon after reaching the seat of war, on the island of Cuba, was made a prisoner by the Spanish forces, and sentenced to ten years' labor in the quicksilver mines of Africa, but on reaching Spain, his sentence was commuted and he was turned over to the American consul, by whom he was returned to the United States. Mr. Scott is a Democrat, politically, and is a member of the K. of H. He was married, in 1858, in Louisville, to Miss Lizzie Applegate, daughter of James Applegate, of that city. Their union has been blessed with eight children, the eldest of whom, Frank L., is a member of the firm of Scott, Stephens & Co.

GEORGE A. SCOTT, of the wholesale firm of Jones, Scott & Co., Paducah, was born in Jefferson County, Ky., in 1828. His boyhood days and early manhood were passed in his native county, and when of sufficient age, he adopted the trade of a tinner, serving his apprenticeship in the city of Louisville, Ky. His early experiences were similar to those of most tradesmen; he followed his trade as journeyman, until he found himself able to assume the management of the business, which he did in Louisville, in 1851. He there continued in business, with much success, for about twenty-six years, when, in 1876, he removed to Paducah, where he became a member of the firm of Emery & Scott, which business relation terminated after an existence of a year and a half. He next formed a partnership with Thomas T. Jones, under the firm name of Jones & Scott, which has recently changed to G. A. Scott, Jones & Husbands. They do a wholesale business in hardware, stoves and iron, and employ two traveling salesmen. Mr. Scott was married in Louisville, Ky., in 1850, to Miss Julia Attwell, daughter of Samuel Attwell, a pioneer of Jefferson County, Ky. Their union has resulted in the birth of five children, viz.: Leonard, Lewis, George E., Lorena and Shirley Scott. Mr. Scott is a member of the K. of H., and both he and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

GEORGE W. SHIVELL, physician and merchant, Woodville, was born in Henry County, Ky., February 22, 1832, and is the sixth of twelve children born to George and Nancy (Scott) Shivell. The father was born in Lexington, Ky., and about 1832 settled in Henry County. He was by trade a carpenter, but up to within a few years of his death, which occurred in 1862, he owned and operated a flouring-mill, in Henry County. Our subject assisted his father in the mill during his youth, and in the meantime attended a good country school. At sixteen years of age, he went to New Castle, Ky., where he was employed in a tobacco factory, and with the means thus obtained was able to take private lessons, and spent his evenings in the prosecution of his studies. At the age of eighteen, he went to Louisville, Ky., and spent three years in learning the drug business. He afterward taught school in various counties of the State and was thus enabled to attend the Cincinnati Eclectic Medical College, which institution graduated him in 1857, after an attendance of three terms. After remaining nine months in the city hospital, he went to Eminence, Ky., where he opened a drug store, but sold out and came two years later to Woodville, and opened a grocery and general store. After a residence here of twelve years, he removed to Paducah, Ky., where he remained eight years, engaged in the tobacco and grain business. He returned to Woodville, after doing business two years in Ballard County, and now carries a large stock of general goods. October 26, 1858, he married Miss Mattie A. Holland, of Henry County, Ky.; she passed away September 2, 1879, leaving one son, James D. The doctor subsequently married Miss Nannie R. Fortson, of Ballard County, Ky. This union has given one child, Mary. The doctor is a member of the Masonic order and K. of H. Inheriting his mother's literary talents, he has contributed many able articles to the columns of various newspapers, and the influence of his pen has been felt in the discussion of many of the leading issues of the day.

WESLEY H. SLACK is one of the most esteemed, as well as one of the most modest and unassuming citizens of Paducah. He was born in New Jersey, and there grew to manhood. He removed to Paducah in the days of its infancy, and has been a resident of the city ever since. He has been engaged in various mercantile and manufacturing en-

terprises; served a number of years as a member of the city council and school board, and was postmaster of Paducah under the administration of President Johnson. In New Jersey, he married Miss Anna Langstaff, a sister of George Langstaff, one of Paducah's most worthy men. Mr. Slack is an honored member of the A. F. & A. M.

J. R. SMITH, one of the most enterprising and public-spirited citizens of Paducah, was born March 26, 1837, in Wadesboro, Ky. He commenced life in a business capacity, poor, but, full of energy and integrity, he succeeded in every enterprise that he engaged in. His career, up to this time, has been as brilliant and successful as that of any man who ever embarked in business in this country. He is now one of the most substantial and wealthy citizens of the city of Paducah. He moved to Paducah in 1870, and embarked in the wholesale grocery business, and still has a large and lucrative trade, which he made by his own business enterprise and industry. He is a nervous and impulsive man, and as is sometimes said of him, he is independent on all subjects and silent on none that are of interest to the community in which he lives. He is as generous as any man living; no one ever appealed to him in distress that went away without some substantial proof of his liberality and generosity. He has been elected time and again to the city council of Paducah, and has always been a busy factor in the city politics, opposing with all his ardent nature everything he believed to be injurious to the public welfare; and the people of his ward are always eager to endorse his manly and outspoken opposition to every species of legislation, that he believes to be opposed to the best interest of the city. He commenced his business life in 1852, with his brother, Joseph Smith, in Murray, Ky., and there he learned his business habits and traits of character, which have culminated in his making a fortune for himself and family. J. R. Smith is the fifth of a family of seven children, and his father and mother, Andrew and Eliza Smith, were old and respected citizens of Calloway County. His mother's maiden name was Eliza Curd; she was the daughter of one of the old pioneers of that county. Mrs. Mary E. Smith, his wife, is a native of Louisiana, Pointe Coupee Parish, and her maiden name was Mary E. Orr. She moved to Calloway, Ky., and there married J. R. Smith, the subject of this sketch, and by their marriage have two sons: James P. and Joseph H. Mr. and Mrs. Smith are both members of the Presbyterian Church and are always ready to do their whole duty as good and devout Christians. Mrs. Smith's charity is proverbial and she is always to be found wherever there is suffering and distress. Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Smith will be found elsewhere in the volume.

NELSON SOULE was born in 1834, in Warren County, Ohio. He is a grandson of the late Bishop Joshua Soule, who died a few years since in Nashville, Tenn. His father's name was also Joshua Soule, and his mother was Miss Anna Best. When Nelson was but a small child, his parents removed to Indianapolis, Ind., where the father died about 1852. At the age of eight years, Nelson Soule was taken to Sangamon County, Ill., where he remained with a farmer until fifteen years old, during which time his education was wholly neglected, with the exception perhaps of a very few months at school. In the year 1849 he came to Paducah, Ky., and there became an apprentice to the drug business, to which he has since devoted his time, except a few years spent in travelling and in the mines of California. He remained in the capacity of a druggist clerk until 1860, when he embarked in the business on his own account, and is still in the trade, located at No. 204, Broadway, Paducah. Mr. Soul is an unassuming gentleman, of high character, and a thorough business man, and while his modesty would prompt him to decline public mention, he has, nevertheless, by honest business energy, placed before the youths of this day an example worthy of emulation. He is a member of the Masonic order and K. of H. He was married in Paducah, in September, 1860, to Miss Lucyette McCabe, daughter of Anthony McCabe. They have been blessed with two sons: Nelson Lee, who died in November, 1881, in early manhood; and Leslie Soule, a graduate in pharmacy and assistant in his father's business.

WILLIAM W. SPENCE was born January 7, 1832, in Madison County, Tenn. His father, Levi Spence was born and reared in North Carolina, and in 1831 removed with his wife and family to Tennessee, when he engaged in farming, which was his principal occupation in life. In 1840 he came to McCracken County, locating eight miles from Paducah, and here died three years later; his widow survived him many years, her death occuring November 28, 1883. They were both members of the Methodist Church. Our subject spent his earlier years at farm work, and obtained a fair education, principally by home study. At twenty years he began farming on shares, but previous to this

had hired out at $4 per month, to enable him to assist his mother in the support of the family; his first crop netted him $120 and he continued farming three years longer, when he went to Texas, but soon returned and re-engaged in farming. He finally purchased 183 acres of land in his present neighborhood, which he improved and worked eight years, when he sold out for $22 per acre, the land having cost him but $7. He removed to a farm near Paducah, renting the same for two years. He then purchased his present farm property, located two miles north of Woodville and consisting of 261 acres, which was formerly woodland, but which has been cleared, a residence erected and orchard set out, and many other lasting improvements made to the place. Mr. Spence has been very active and untiring in his efforts to rid the country of whisky and its terrible effects, giving his means and influence at all times in favor of temperance and strict prohibition. He framed a bill, and secured the passage of the same through the State legislature, which excludes the sale of intoxicating liquor in this community. He is the recognized leader in Woodville and vicinity of a strong temperance element, who consider this question of paramount importance to all others of a political nature. He is a member of the Masonic order and of the Methodist Church South. In October, 1859, he married Miss Mary A. Moore of McCracken County. They are the parents of two children: John W. and Thomas D., both grown.

NEEDHAM STANLEY, deceased, was a native of North Carolina and was born in 1812. In 1832, being then just grown to manhood, he removed to Kentucky and located in McCracken County, where in after years he became an important farmer. Mr. Stanley was a man of more than ordinary ability, both mentally and physically; was thoroughly read in both common law and medicine, but devoted his time exclusively to the industries of the farm. He succeeded far beyond the average farmer, which was due to his physical energy and remarkable will-power. In common with the mass of southern planters, he lost heavily by the results of the civil war, yet at his decease left an estate of several hundred acres of land, together with other extensive possessions. He was for many years a deacon in the Baptist Church, in the faith of which he died in April, 1870. His wife, to whom he was married in McCracken County, Ky., and who is still a resident of that county, was a Miss Margaret Ratcliffe. She is a native of Virginia and a sister of George Ratcliffe, the present sheriff of McCracken County. Mr. Stanley reared a family of twelve children, all living except one, and noted for their strong physical development and sterling qualities. Their names are as follows: Lucy, wife of A. Williams; Robert, William; Ann, (deceased) wife of E. Futrell; Rebecca, wife of Exum Futrell; Richard P., deputy sheriff of McCracken County; Jennie, wife of George W. Lee; Ellen, wife of Robert A. Burgess; Fannie, George and Charles Stanley.

WILLIAM L. SULLIVAN. Among the early settlers of Paducah were Abel Sullivan and his wife, Nancy (McDaniel) Sullivan. The former was a native of North Carolina, though of Irish ancestry. He came in boyhood to Kentucky and settled in Muhlenburg County, and there, in 1825, he married Miss McDaniel, a lady of Scotch descent, and in 1831 they removed to Paducah. Abel Sullivan spent many years in Paducah merchandising. He died in Massac County, Ill., 1871, in his eighty-ninth year; his wife survived him until 1872, when she died in Grayville, Ill., at the age of seventy-one years. These parents had three children, of whom William L. is the eldest. He was born on May 6, 1823, in Paducah, and is now the oldest native male resident of the city. With the exception of a very few years, Mr. Sullivan has always been a resident of Paducah, and at the age of fourteen years began his mercantile career, as a salesman in a grocery house. He is now one of the oldest of the Paducah merchants and is the proprietor of a flourishing grocery business. In 1856, in Paducah, he married Miss Mattie Brown. She died of cholera in 1873, leaving one child, Harry Sullivan, now of St. Louis. His present wife, to whom he was married June 17, 1875, was Miss Birdie Ellithorpe. Their union has resulted in the birth of seven children, of whom Maggie, Mattie and Frank are living. Mr. Sullivan is a Knight Templar, in the Masonic order; a member of the A. O. U. W., K. of H. and of the I. O. O. F., and has served the city of Paducah as marshal and tax collector.

VALENTINE O. SWEATMAN was born in 1838, in the then village of Paducah, and is a son of Luke and Parmelia (Owen) Sweatman. His mother died when the subject of this sketch was but an infant, and, as a consequence, he was reared by his uncle on a farm, in Union County, Ky. Soon after attaining his majority, he went to the city of Paducah, and accepted a position in the drug store of Alexander B. Kinkead, and remained with him, and his successor, until December, 1862, when he formed a partnership with Dr. Kinkead, his former employer, in the same

line of business. The firm of Kinkead & Sweatman was succeeded, in 1866, by the firm of A. B. & M. Kinkead. Mr. Sweatman then established another store, and has been constantly in the trade since. He married, in 1866, Miss Cynthia A., daughter of R. C. Campbell, of Paducah. Their two children are: Angie May and Lloyd Sweatman. Mr. Sweatman, wife and both children are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Paducah.

JOHN J. THOMAS was born August 8, 1813, in Albemarle County, Va. His father, Lewis Thomas, and his mother, Margaret Lewis, were natives of Virginia. The maternal grandmother was a cousin of Thomas Jefferson. Both parents died when subject was but an infant. When thirteen years old he was brought to Christian County, Ky., where he remained two years. Returning to Virginia, he entered the University of Virginia. There he graduated in mathematics, modern and ancient languages. He came to the Purchase soon after finishing his studies as an assistant to Chiles Terrell. father of T. F. Terrell, and assisted in the survey of portions of the Purchase District. In 1837 he married Miss Lucy M. Quarels, of Christian County, afterward settled in that county, and engaged in general farming until 1844, when he received an appointment under President Polk to a clerkship in the postoffice department at Washington, serving through the remainder of Polk's administration. In 1851 he was elected to the Kentucky State Legislature, in which he served two years, when he again turned his attention to agriculture in Christian County, continued the same until 1861, when he was elected to the provisional congress of the Southern Confederacy. He remained in that body until the organization of the permanent congress in February, 1862. He then entered the Confederate Army as aide to Gen. Williams, and served under him to the close of the war, when he again returned to private life, embarking in the tobacco-commission business in Clarksvllle, Tenn. In 1873 he became a tobacco inspector at New York City, where he was employed for about five years, and then settled in Paducah, where he has since been dealing in tobacco. Maj. Thomas is a man of fine mental ability, well-read in the current literature of the day, and impresses even the stranger that he is a gentleman of broad culture. His wife died in 1846, leaving two children: Lewis M., who was killed at the battle of Shiloh, and Dr. John Q. Thomas, of Christian County. Mr. Thomas was next married in Frankfort, Ky., to Miss Kate Pendleton, who died in 1882, leaving three children: Annie (wife of John Quigley), Miss Kate Thomas and Pendleton Thomas.

CHARLES H. THOMAS, McCracken County. Among the first families to settle in the Purchase District was that of Frank Thomas, among whose descendants are numbered several of the most useful citizens of western Kentucky. Frank Thomas was born in the Isle of Man, of Scotch-Irish ancestors, but came to the United States in early life. In 1830 he moved from Henry County, Ky., to a farm near Milburn, Hickman County (now Ballard County), where he spent the remainder of a useful life, and where he died in 1874 at the advanced age of ninety years. Frank Thomas was a man who was fearless in his defense of right; a man of strong will-power; open and frank in his views, but charitable and kind in his treatment to all. He was an old time Whig, and during the existence of that party was a pronounced leader, and was also a consistent member of the Masonic order. He reared a family of eight children, of whom William, the father of the subject of this sketch, was the third. William was married after his removal to Ballard County to Miss Catherine, a daughter of Richard Valandingham, of Owen County, Ky. William Thomas was a man of more than ordinary intelligence and influence. He, too, was a Whig in his political preferences, and by that party was elected to the lower house of the Kentucky Legislature. He held the position of colonel of Kentucky militia, and, though devoted to the pursuits of agriculture, was a man of no ordinary information, and possessed of broad views. He had a family of eight children, viz.: Richard, Mary, Elizabeth, Fannie, George, Charles H., Norborn and Susan Thomas. He died in 1866, as did also his wife. Charles H. Thomas was born in Ballard County, Ky., in 1847, and received his preparatory education in the Milburn and Lovelaceville Academies, and afterward entered the Kentucky University, where he completed his studies. After leaving school he read law in the office of Thomas H. Corbett and in 1869 was admitted to practice. Though a young man, Charles H. Thomas has already established a fair reputation as an able lawyer. While a resident of Ballard County he was appointed by the governor to the office of police judge of Blandville. In 1874 he was elected to the office of county attorney for Ballard, and in 1880 was elected to the very responsible position of common wealth's

attorney for the eight counties included in the First Judicial District of Kentucky. This office he now holds, the duties of which he is discharging with marked success, and to the satisfaction of the district. He is a faithful member of the Christian Church, of the Masonic order and I. O. O. F. Mr. Thomas was married in 1876 in Louisville, Ky., to Miss Bettie R. Taylor. Their children are Angie Lee, Charles Hugh and Catharine Elner Thomas.

DR. JOSEPH W. THOMPSON, a veteran physician and surgeon of Paducah, was born in Graves County, Ky., June 27, 1838. He descends from one of the early families of the Purchase District, his grandfather, Moses Thompson, having settled in Graves County in 1824 or 1825, and having been one of the first associate judges appointed to preside over the courts of that district. He was a farmer by occupation, but a man of more than ordinary mental ability for his day. He died in Ballard County, Ky., at the home of his son, Augustus Thompson, in 1844. He was the father of twelve children, including eleven sons, who inherited not only the mental strength of their father, but the native energy of their mother, who is said to have been a remarkable woman, for the day in which she lived. She was one of the founders of Campbellism in western Kentucky, and was noted for possessing a degree of refinement and lady-like culture rarely seen among the people of the new country. Of their sons, Augustus was born in Butler County in January, 1815, and removed with the family to Graves County, where, in early life, he began the practice of medicine, having studied his profession in the Cincinnati Medical College. He married, in 1837, Miss Susan M. Grundy; reared three sons, of whom the subject of this sketch is the eldest. He died in the prime of life of cholera in the latter part of June, 1849. His wife, who was born in 1817, died in Ballard County, in February, 1869. Dr. J. W. Thompson was principally reared in Ballard County, where he received the benefits of the common schools, which, with eight months in the schools of Paducah, constituted his entire educational privileges. At the age of eighteen he began the study of medicine under Dr. G. Stovall, of Ballard County, and in 1857 entered the Medical School of Nashville, Tenn., whence, in 1858, he went to the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated from that institution in March, 1859. He located in Ballard County, where he practiced successfully until 1861, when he entered the Confederate Army as surgeon of the Third Kentucky Regiment, in which capacity he served for two years, and was afterward placed in charge of Forrest's Hospital, at Lauderdale Springs, Miss., there remaining two years and until the close of the war. Immediately after the close of the war he located in Paducah, where he has since practiced, ranking among the most celebrated physicians of the State. He is a member of the American Surgical and Medical Association, the Kentucky State Medical Society, the Southwestern Kentucky Medical Society, and the Medical and Surgical Society of Paducah. He is also a member of the Masonic fraternity and the A. O. U. W. Dr. Thompson was married in Todd County, Ky., February 17, 1867, to Miss Victoria H. O'Brien, a native of North Carolina and of Irish ancestors. They have two children, Augustus and Ada.

GEORGE C. THOMPSON, banker of Paducah, Ky., was born in the town of Blandville, Ballard Co., Ky., February 7, 1849. He is the youngest son of Dr. Augustus Thompson, who was a highly respected citizen and physician of Ballard County, and who died when George C. was but a few months old. The latter was reared to the age of fifteen years in his native county, then was placed at school in the Christian Brothers College, St. Louis, Mo. After remaining in that institution two years he returned to Kentucky, located in Paducah and began reading law. When eighteen years old he began teaching, the first year as assistant, the second and third as principal of the city schools of Paducah, meantime pursuing his professional studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1870. In 1871 he formed a co-partnership with Judge Q. Q. Quigley, of Paducah, for the practice of his profession, which connection existed until the latter part of 1873, when Mr. Thompson was elected to the responsible position of cashier of the American German National Bank, which he still occupies, being at the time of his election the youngest cashier in the State. In this corporation he is also a stockholder and director. In 1880 he became a member of the firm of Thompson, Wilson & Co., and that year established the wholesale liquor house, still conducted under that name. This institution, in 1883, was incorporated as a joint stock company, with Mr. Thompson as its president. He is a member of the Masonic order and I. O. O. F. He was married in November, 1883, to Miss Mamie B., daughter of E. G. Taylor, of Eureka Springs, Ark.

EDWARD S. THORNTON is a native of Johnson County, Mo. He was born May 9, 1822, to John and Elizabeth (Wayland) Thornton, both of whom were Virginians by birth. The father devoted his early life to mechanical pursuits, but moved to M ssouri after his marriage, located in Johnson County and engaged in farming. There he served the people as judge of the county. He had been a soldier in the war of 1812. His father, George Thornton, lived to be over one hundred years old. To the parents of our subject were born eight children: Angelina, Eliza. Julia, Sarah J., Adoniram J., Edward S., Elizabeth and Lucy. Edward S. remained in his native county engaged in farming until eighteen years of age, when he went to California, and resided there five years. At the outbreak of the late war, he enlisted in the Confederate Army, under Gen. Price, of Missouri, and served a period of four years. He was a member of the Second Missouri Infantry, commanded by Burbridge and Cockrill. After the war Mr. Thornton came to this county, and has since devoted his energies to farming. He has a present place of 100 acres. He married Miss Susan E. Boysseau, a daughter of Benjamin F. Boysseau, of Johnson County, Mo. This union has given six children, five of whom are living: Sarah E., Mattie D., Emma P., John A. and Richard C. Mr. Thornton is one of the present magistrates for the district, and is a farmer and citizen of substantial worth.

RICHARD G. TERRELL, wholesale merchant and son of Thomas F. Terrell, was born in Ballard County, Ky., April 14, 1849. He received a good English education in Paducah, and completed his studies in the Washington Lee University, of Virginia. In 1868, in connection with W. H. Bradley, he opened a produce and seed business in Paducah, at first on a limited scale, but which, under the business management of Mr. Terrell, has assumed proportions of no mean order. In 1872 he succeeded to the ownership of the entire business, which is now owned and conducted by him. His specialties are agricultural implements, seeds and salt. He does an extensive wholesale business, annually aggregating the sum of $70,000. Mr. R. G. Terrell was married in Paducah, October 28, 1873, to Miss Mildred, daughter of Col. Thomas J. Pickett. Their union has been blessed with four children: Thomas F., Mary Louisa, Mildred and Hattie Terrell.

THOMAS F. TERRELL. But few men are now living who emigrated to the Purchase as early as did the subject of this sketch. His father, Chiles Terrell, was a practical surveyor, and came from Virginia to McCracken County, Ky., as early as 1826, with his son, J. H. Terrell, then eleven years old, and surveyed a large portion of the land in said county. At that early day no stage lines even connected this with the more civilized portions of the country. Their journey to this place and return to Virginia, was consequently made on horse-back, and attended by perils of various kinds, as well as requiring about one month for the trip each way. Chiles Terrell was by no means an ordinary man; he was reared in the faith of the Friends or Quakers, and received a thorough education; was particularly proficient in mathematics, and occupied the position of professor of that science in the old Rumford Academy, of Virginia. In the year 1827 he moved to Louisville, Ky., and in the year 1828 was professor of mathematics in the Jefferson Seminary, the oldest institution of learning in the city of Louisville, Ky. He moved to the Purchase in 1839, settled in McCracken County, and there, in October, 1851, he died, in his seventy-second year. He had married Mary C. Upshaw, who died in 1836, in Jefferson County, Ky. Thomas F. Terrell was born to these parents January 13, 1820, in the city of Richmond, Va., and was consequently mostly reared under the influence of pioneer life, farming in Jefferson County, Ky., and in the Purchase. When twenty-two years old he went to New Orleans and for two years engaged in the mercantile pursuit; returning thence to Kentucky he was appointed sheriff of Ballard County in 1843, serving as such until 1849, when he was put in nomination by the Whig party for representative. As such he was elected to the lower house, although the district, then as now, was intensely Democratic, and voted for Henry Clay for United States senator, in January, 1849. The last time he was returned to said body, he died before his term expired. In 1851, under the new constitution, he was again made the sheriff of Ballard County, serving two terms. In December, 1856, he removed to Paducah, since which time he has exerted a potent influence in the business interests of the city. He has been principally engaged in the tobacco warehouse business. He occupies a prominent position in the trade, and is respected for his integrity and fair dealing, and now is a member of the firm of Terrell, Reeves & Co. Mr. Terrell is a man of sound, practical judgment, kind in his disposition and full of charity for his fellow-men; a friend to the cause of education and for several years an active member of the board of education in Paducah; is retained from

year to year as a member of the city council, and conservative in his views for all improvements as fast as the financial condition of the city will admit; opposed to heavy taxation, and a friend to the mechanic and laboring classes. He is a member of the Masonic order; was married in 1844 to Miss Mary Fletcher, a native of Virginia. Seven of a family of eight sons born to them are now living, and are honorable business men.

JOHN H. VAN CULIN, Sr., was born in 1821, in the town of Salem, Salem Co., N. J. His parents were John Van Culin, of German descent, and Sarah (Ware) Van Culin. John H. was but a small boy when his farther died, and his subsequent boyhood's days were fraught with a remarkably checkered experience. At the age of sixteen years, he decided to go west, and after reaching Pittsburgh, Penn., he found his limited means exhausted. He succeeded in securing a position as clerk in a dry goods store, and after three years of such employment, he obtained a clerkship on a steamboat. About 1841, he went to Hopkinsville, Ky., and obtained a position as book-keeper for Gant & Kinkead, but at the end of one year was elected to a clerkship in the branch Bank of Kentucky, next to cashier of that institution, in which he continued until July, 1854. He then went to New Orleans, and there engaged in a general commission business, which he conducted with marked success, accumulating a handsome fortune, which was mostly swept away by the results of the civil war. In 1869, Mr. Van Culin removed from New Orleans to Paducah, Ky., and engaged in mercantile business. In 1876, he established his present book business, and is now located at No. 107 Broadway. In 1858, he married Miss R. E. White, a native of Tennessee. They have a family of three sons, viz.: John H. Jr., a traveling salesman; Nolan W., assistant cashier in the Bank of Madison, at Jackson, Tenn., and David L. Van Culin, of Paducah.

EDWARD W. VAUGHAN was born in Montgomery County, Tenn., in 1833, and is a son of Grandison Vaughan and Elizabeth W. Vaughan, *nee* Nevill. His father was a native of Virginia, removed in early life to Tennessee, married Miss E. W. Nevill, and located permanently in Montgomery County, near Clarksville. He there engaged in the pursuits of agriculture until 1858, at which time he removed to Kentucky, settling in Ballard County. He there established and built a tobacco stemmery and did an extensive business, until 1866, when, with his sons, he removed to Louisville, Ky., and there engaged in the same business until his death, which occurred in 1879; his wife died in Ballard County, about 1866. Edward W. is one of a family of ten children born to these parents, six of whom are now living. Mr. Vaughan was reared under the wholesome influence of farm life; received a fair English education, and in 1856 began his experience in the tobacco trade, in Clarksville, Tenn. He removed with his family to Ballard County, Ky., in 1858, thence to Louisville, in 1866; and to Paducah, in 1869, and that year erected his stemmery, which is the largest in western Kentucky, exporting each year large quantities of tobacco for the foreign market. Mr. Vaughan is a member of the Christian Church, of the Masonic fraternity, and is a gentleman of rare social and business qualities. He was married in 1859, in Russellville, Logan Co., Ky, to Miss Mildred McCuddy, who died in 1869, leaving two children: Annie L. and Lucy Vaughan. His second marriage took place in 1871, to Miss Cordelia M. Terrell, daughter of J. H. Terrell. Their union has resulted in the birth of four children: Horace G., Mildred, Edward W. and one unnamed.

SOLOMON C. VAUGHAN, son of Grandison Vaughan and Elizabeth (Nevill) Vaughan, was born near Clarksville, Montgomery Co., Tenn., in 1838, and grew to maturity on his father's farm. When sixteen years old, he went to Springfield, Mo., where he began and pursued the study of law; was admitted to practice in 1858, and until the breaking out of the war, engaged in his profession associated with Peter S. Wilkes, of Springfield, Mo. During the first year of the war, he was a member of the Missouri State Guards, under Gen. Price, after which he engaged in tobacco and general commission business in St. Louis, remaining there about one year. In 1863, he began merchandising in Ballard County; soon after located at Woodville, McCracken County, where he sold goods, until 1869, when he removed to Paducah, where he has since been actively engaged in the tobacco business. Mr. Vaughan is a Democrat in politics. He represents his ward in the city council, and is an active member of the Masonic fraternity, K. of H. and the A. O. U. W. He was married in Springfield, Mo., in 1858, to Miss Julia Dade, daughter of Judge John Dade, of that city. They are blessed with three children: Bessie, wife of Frank L. Scott; Mattie and Bertie Vaughan. Both Mr. and Mrs. Vaughan are acceptable members of the Christian Church of Paducah.

RUFUS E. WADE was born in 1847, in

Henry County, Tenn. His parents, who are still living and highly respected citizens of Marshall County, Ky., are Robert A. Wade and Mary Wade, *nee* Hardy; the former a native of North Carolina, and the latter of Kentucky. They settled in the county, in which they now live, in 1854, and reared two children: Rufus E. and Mary, the wife of S. A. Wade, of Marshall County. Rufus E., in his boyhood, worked upon his father's farm, and meantime attended the schools of the country, completing his studies in the high school of Murray, Calloway Co., Ky. His first occupation was that of a school-teacher, first in Marshall and Livingston Counties, and later in Texas. Returning from Texas, he went to Paris, Tenn., and learned the art of photographing, which occupied his attention from 1870 to 1876, principally in Paducah. In 1877 he embarked in his present business, that of tobacco rehandler. Mr. Wade is a man of pleasing address, and of fine business qualifications; as a tobacco trader he does a very extensive business. As an artist he was attended with marked success, which is so rarely attained by men of that profession; while as a teacher he proved himself particularly efficient. He is an ardent advocate of popular education, and for seven years has been a member of the Paducah board of education, and is now president of that body. In 1871 Mr. Wade contracted a marriage with Miss Mary Johnson, daughter of Col. Alfred Johnson, who was lieutenant-colonel of the Third Kentucky Regiment, Confederate Army. Mr. Wade is a member of the Masonic order and of the Baptist Church. His children are Mary Lela and Frederick Wade.

JULIUS F. WAHL was born in 1821, in the kingdom of Wurtemburg, Germany, and there attained the age of sixteen, when with his parents, Jacob F. and Margaret Wahl, he came to the United States. The family first settled in Pennsylvania, but after a short residence removed further west. In early life Mr. Wahl developed a very decided talent and taste for music, and began teaching the science when he was a resident of New Albany, Ind., whence he removed to Bowling Green, Ky., where he taught one year; thence to Hopkinsville, where he remained eight years, when he became the professor in the musical department in a college at Elkton, Todd Co., Ky. He remained in that school four years, when loss of health compelled him to seek different employment, and consequently, in 1857, he removed with his family to Paducah, which has since been his home. Mr. Wahl possesses those sterling business qualifications, so characteristic of his nationality, and has met with deserved success in his mercantile life in Paducah, though not without sustaining severe loss, not the least of which was the destruction of his property by the military forces, which infested the city in the time of the civil war. Mr. Wahl is now engaged in mercantile pursuits, having a large furniture business at 202 Broadway. In 1850, in New Albany, Ind., he was married to Miss Wilhelmina Schaaf, a native of Hanover, Germany. Of the eight children born to them five are living, viz.: Amelia (wife of H. Nagel), James L., Frank, Ella and Albert. Both Mr. and Mrs. Wahl are esteemed members of the German Evangelical Church of Paducah.

PHILIP H. WALLACE, McCracken County, is a native of Christian County, Ky. He was born February 15, 1832, and is a son of Dr. James B. and Sarah (Clayton) Wallace, both of whom were Virginians by birth. Philip H. lived in his native county till about twenty-three years of age, when he moved to Paducah, and after the war came to his present beautiful place of 100 acres. He studied law in Hopkinsville, and at the opening of the war was county clerk of McCracken County. In 1861 he enlisted, and was given a position on the staff of Gen. Pat Claybourne, with whom he served three years, serving during the last year of the war with Col. B. D. Lee, who commanded an independent regiment. Since the war Mr. Wallace has given his attention more to farming. He was united in marriage with Miss Fannie Woolfork, a daughter of Col. George Woolfork, who laid off Paducah, and Catherine (Gwathmey) Woolfork, a niece of Gen. George Rodgers Clark, to whom the land was granted on which Paducah stands. Mr. and Mrs. Wallace have one child, George C.

JOSEPH M. WALTMON, physician, McCracken County, was born in McCracken County, July 12, 1853. His father, David, was a native of Louisiana, a farmer by occupation. He came to Trigg County, this State, about 1844, and after a short residence there went to McCracken County, locating about twelve miles north of Paducah. He died February 19, 1883. His widow, formerly Miss Sarah Wallace, is a native of Trigg County and is yet living. They were parents of twelve children, Joseph M. being the second youngest. When a child, he was afflicted with physical infirmities, which incapacitated him for manual labor. He gave his attention to the study of medicine, and at twenty-one years of age, placed him-

self under the instruction of Dr. G. Stovall, of Lovelaceville, remaining with him one year. Immediately prior to this, however, he attended one course of medical lectures at Louisville, and shortly after again attended the same institution, and was graduated therefrom in 1876. Returning to McCracken County, he began the practice of medicine at his present location, and has established himself in an extensive and lucrative practice, which his thorough training and skill merits. He is a member of the Masonic order. August 7, 1879, he married Nannie Johnson, of Tennessee; she died on May 10, 1880, leaving one child, Joseph E.

THOMAS E. WARE, merchant and postmaster at Maxon's Mill, Ky., was born in Todd County, Ky., September 22, 1839. His father was a Virginian by birth and came to Kentucky in 1833, locating first in Christian County. He was a farmer by occupation, and died in Todd County in 1868. His wife, Martha (Sanders) Ware, bore him eleven children, of whom our subject was the fourth. The latter remained on the farm until he was sixteen years of age, and was well educated. He accepted a position as salesman with Lyne & Brother, merchants at Fairview, Ky., remaining with them four years. He went to Mississippi in 1859, but returned a year later and shortly after came to McCracken County, and farmed here five years; then farmed in Todd County six years, when he returned to this county and settled where he now resides—a place of eighty acres, which he has cleared from the timber and improved. In 1876, he opened a general store and has since done a good business at this point. He is now serving his second term as magistrate of the Fifth District. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M. and Knights of Golden Rule. November 8, 1860, he married Miss Sarah E. Layne, of this county. She died March 29, 1881, leaving ten children.

ROBERT O. WASH, of the firm of Wash & Boyd, Paducah, was born in what is now Trigg County, Ky., in the year 1846. His parents were William O. and Frances (Goodlett) Wash, one of the old and highly respected families of that part of the State. William O. Wash, who by birth was a Virginian, settled in Kentucky in 1812. He married Miss Goodlett, a native of Kentucky, and of Scotch ancestors; he was reared a mechanic, with which he combined general farming, and spent a long and useful life in Trigg County. He there died in 1882, at the age of sixty-nine years. Robert O. Wash was reared on his father's farm, which he conducted for some years after attaining his manhood. After abandoning the farm, however, he went to Hopkinsville, Ky., and engaged in the hotel business, until his removal to Paducah in 1876. In connection with Mr. M. Boyd, he opened a restaurant and saloon at No. 10 North Market Street. Mr. Wash is a member of the K. of H. and I. O. O. F., and is a most amiable gentleman.

CHARLES KENNEDY WHEELER was born on April 18, 1861, and is now the youngest member of the legal profession connected with the Paducah bar. He is a son of Dr. James Wheeler, a physician and extensive farmer of Christian County, Ky., where he has resided for the past forty years. Charles K. spent his boyhood on his father's farm, and at the age of thirteen he was placed at the Stewart College, at Clarksville, Tenn., and there graduated at the age of seventeen. He then took up the study of law, reading under no particular instructor, but in the fall of 1879 he entered the senior class in the law department of the Cumberland University, at Lebanon, Tenn., and graduated in the spring of 1880. He then opened an office in the city of Paducah, Ky., where he now is practicing with prospects of a brilliant future.

WILLIAM WHEELIS was born in Murray County, Tenn., in 1832, and in boyhood came with his parents, Elijah and Mary (Jackson) Wheelis, to the State of Kentucky. They settled in Graves County, where they engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, and where the parents died—the father in 1844, and the mother two years later. After the death of his parents, William came to the city of Paducah, where he has since lived, and where he is held in esteem as one of the most worthy citizens. In 1857 he was placed upon the city police force, doing efficient service as a member of that body until 1869. In 1871 he was elected to the position of street inspector for Paducah, and now holds that office. Mr. Wheelis is an honored member of the K. of H., but is not affiliating with any religious denomination.

DR. AUGUSTUS WHITE was born February 9, 1823, in Warren County, N. C. His parents, Peter D. and Permelia (Andrews) White, were also natives of the same county. The father was a farmer; he moved to Georgia when our subject was small, and died after making a subsequent move to Alabama. His father (grandfather of the doctor), with his wife's father, also, and several of the latter's brothers, served in the Revolutionary war. The parents of our subject had five children, of whom three are now living: Drury A., Elizabeth and Augustus. The

last received his early schooling in Georgia, and there commenced the study of medicine and soon graduated from the Augusta Medical College. He came to Kentucky in 1849, and to McCracken County a few years later, and continued his practice up to within a few years past. He has since devoted his time to agriculture, having a farm of 300 acres. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Methodist Church; in the latter he has served as local preacher for several years. He married Miss Adeline Watkins, a daughter of Col. Tom Watkins, of Lyon County. This union has given two children: Thomas E. and Linn; the latter recently graduated in the civil engineering department of the Vanderbilt University. Dr. White is a man of worth and prominence, and is highly respected by his fellow-citizens. He practiced his profession here during the long years of the war, and was held in great respect even by the military authorities, who granted him free passes through the lines to attend to his long list of patients.

DR. THOMAS E. WHITE was born in McCracken County, September 21, 1856, and is a son of Dr. Augustus White. He commenced the study of medicine under his father's instruction, and afterward graduated from the Missouri Medical College, at St. Louis. Returning to McCracken County, he has since been engaged in the practice of his profession, having the respect and confidence of the community. He has a farm of 109 acres, and gives some attention also to farming pursuits. He married Mrs. Alice (Wilson) Hough, by whom he has one child, Lucille. Mrs. White has one child, Hunter, born to her former husband.

JOHN E. WILLIAMSON, son of John P. and Jane Williamson, was born near Louisville, Jefferson Co., Ky., in 1830. He was reared without the benefit of more than a common school education, and in early life was attracted to the trade of stone-cutter, for which he seemed to possess a natural fitness. In 1857 he removed to Paducah and opened a shop, since which time he has been operating in marble work at that place, excepting, however, the time of his military service. In 1863 he espoused the cause of the Union, and in Paducah organized a company, of which he was chosen captain. He was first connected with the Sixteenth Kentucky Cavalry, which was later consolidated with the Twelfth Cavalry, the fortunes of which he shared until mustered out at the close of the war. For the past three generations some member of this family has participated in war. His grandfather, Elliott Williamson, came to the United States in 1765; he took part in the Revolution and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis' troops at Yorktown. He had a family of five sons, of whom John P. was the third, and he became a soldier in the war of 1812, participating in the closing scenes at New Orleans. He died in Paducah in 1871, in his eighty-second year. He also had five sons, of whom John E. is the third and the only one who participated in the late war. This coincidence is all the more striking when it is remembered that John E. also has a family of five sons. At the close of the war Mr. Williamson returned to Paducah to find both shop and dwelling burned by the soldiers who had infested the city. He at once set about to retrieve his fortunes. By his business sagacity he has succeeded well, and while associated with Mr. Emery drafted and executed the central monument for the National Soldiers' Cemetery, at Mound City, Ill., receiving therefor the sum of $25,000. Mr. Williamson is a member of the I. O. O. F. and Knights of Honor; in politics he acts with that party whose principles most nearly coincide with his own ideas of good government. He took an active part in city affairs, having been elected councilman by the people of his ward (the First) a number of times, and served on the most important committees during his long service. He was married in 1856, in Cincinnati, Ohio, to Miss Elizabeth Brownfield, which union has been blessed with the following named children: Charley, Harry, John, Kittie, Jennie, Frank and Fred Williamson.

H. C. WILLIAMS was born in Weakley County, Tenn., November 3, 1839, and is a son of Allen S. and Patience (Jordan) Williams, the latter of whom is still living, together with five of their eleven children. The father was from Virginia and came to Tennessee when eighteen years of age, and died in Weakley County, in 1860. He was a farmer, and with his wife was a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The subject of these lines was the fourth child of the family and was brought up on the home farm and given a fair education. He afterward attended the Winston Academy, Tennessee, and starting out for himself went to Humboldt, Tenn., and clerked two years for his brothers, with whom he went, in 1860, to Arkansas, where in partnership they sold goods for seven months. Returning to Tennessee, our subject enlisted under Capt. McCutchen in an independent company, and served five months, when he was taken prisoner, being afterward paroled at Paducah, in 1862. Coming to the vicinity of his present

residence, he gave his attention to farming, until 1877; afterward he clerked two years, when he opened out in mercantile trade, at Maxon's Mills, and has since conducted a growing business, carrying a well-selected stock of general goods. He was married January 5, 1865, to Miss Charlotte E. Grace, of Metropolis, Ill. They have two children: John A. and Robert E.

CHRISTIAN H. WIMAN is a native of Graves County, this State, born April 14, 1841, to Milton S. and Elizabeth (Thorpe) Wiman, both of whom were Kentuckians by birth. The father was one of the pioneer Baptist preachers of the Purchase, but gave some attention also to farming pursuits. He was a son of Adam Wiman, of this State, who served in the war of 1812, and whose ancestors were from Germany. The parents of our subject were blessed with fifteen children, of whom twelve survive: Charles A., William T., Milton S., Isaac N., Mary E., C. H., Sarah, Ann J., Hardeman P., James H., Thomas D. and Eliza J. C. H., the subject of this sketch, engaged in farming in his native county in early life, and during his residence in this county has followed farming pursuits and general trading in stock, etc. During two years of the late war, he sold goods in the Federal Army. In 1870 he removed to Illinois, and was the postmaster at Brooklyn eight years, and also a justice of the peace, afterward returning to McCracken County. He married Miss Angia Lynn, a daughter of Joseph Lynn. Five children of this union are now living: Eva (wife of Joseph Sheets), Maud, Harry H., E. Clarence and Gracie.

LEVI D. WREN was born near Bowling Green, Ky., November 16, 1820, and is a son of Joseph Wren, who was a native of North Carolina. The father came to Kentucky in 1815, and located near Bowling Green. His life was given to the prosecution of his farming interests. His wife, before marriage, was a Miss Jane Evans, a native of Fleming County, Ky. To them were born thirteen children, of whom our subject is the eldest. Levi remained with his father, who was in feeble health, till he was twenty-five years old, receiving in the meantime a good common school education. He then accepted a position as overseer and continued thus for eight years, when he came to this county and settled on his present farm of 160 acres, on which he has made many improvements. In 1855 he married Miss Agnes Foster. They have four children living: Ella (now Mrs. Clinton Knott), Everett, Levi and Joseph. Mr. and Mrs. Wren are members of the Baptist Church, in which he is a deacon. He has given largely for school and church purposes and is an ardent supporter of prohibition principles. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity, and always renders ready assistance to enterprises of public benefit.

JOHN M. WRAY is a son of John and Lucy (Thomas) Wray. He was born in Rutherford County, Tenn., March 23, 1828. His father was a tailor by trade but followed farming in later years. He died, as did his wife also, in 1849. Our subject spent his early life upon the farm, and secured what education was attainable in the old schools of the time. In his twenty-first year he began for himself by learning the saddler's trade, at which he has since worked for thirty-five years, having given some attention also to farming and mercantile pursuits in this and Ballard County. He purchased his present farm in 1883; it is centrally located and is under a state of high cultivation and improvement. Mr. W. intends opening a store and starting a village, to be known as West McCracken, near his residence. He was married May 23, 1849, to Miss Nancy Neal, of Williamson County, Tenn. She died in January, 1860, leaving six children, of whom five are living. Mr. Wray was subsequently married to Mary J. Farmer, of McCracken County. There are seven children of this union.

DAVID C. WRIGHT was born August 12, 1843, in Hopkins County, this State, and is a son of David and Ellen (West) Wright, natives of North and South Carolina, respectively. The father was a blacksmith by trade, as was also his father, George Wright, a Revolutionary soldier, with whom he removed to this State, locating in Hopkins County at an early date. He worked at his trade through life in connection with his farm interests; his death occurred in 1870; his wife having departed this life in 1864. They were parents of ten children. Our subject was reared on a farm in his native county and obtained what education the common schools and a course of home study could give. At the breaking out of the late war, and while yet only eighteen years of age, he enlisted in Company K, Eighth Kentucky Infantry, which was subsequently attached to Morgan's command, and participated in the famous Indiana and Ohio raids. At Pomeroy, on the Ohio River, he was made prisoner and taken to Camp Chase, where he was retained two months; then removed to Camp Douglas, where he was held for sixteen months; he was then paroled and subsequently exchanged. At the close of the war, he returned to Hop-

kins County and engaged in farming, but removed a year later to McCracken County and continued the same vocation. After the death of his father-in-law, in 1874, Mr. Wright purchased the place from the heirs; it now consists of 180 acres, on which he has many improvements. In 1883, having served several months as deputy sheriff, Mr. Wright was nominated and elected sheriff of the county, by a majority of 900 votes, but circumstances prevented his taking the office. Mr. Wright is one of the county's most respected and enterprising citizens. He was united in marriage July 20, 1868, to Miss Sallie J. Bryan, of this county. They have one child, Louie O.

PHILIP D. YEISER is a native of Lancaster, Garrard Co., Ky., and was born November 14, 1817. His early education, which was limited, was obtained in the village schoolhouse of his native place, where he remained until he reached his seventeenth year; was then apprenticed to the trade of house carpenter, serving four years. He followed this pursuit until 1852, when he decided upon a radical change in his life pursuit. During the years while plying his trade, he had found time for mental improvement, and occupied himself in the study of surveying and reading law. In 1853, having passed the required examination under Judges Bullock and Goodloe, he was admitted to the bar. He then opened an office in Eddyville, Lyon Co., Ky., and while establishing a practice, supported his family by surveying. Thus he struggled upward until the outbreak of the war, when, in consequence of his adherence to the Union, he became unpopular with the masses in his vicinity. He went to Smithland, Ky., and recruited a large portion of a regiment of soldiers for the Federal Army, which was taken to the field by Col. S. D. Bruce. In January, 1862, Mr. Yeiser removed to Paducah, and in the same year was elevated to the office of commonwealth attorney for the First Judicial District; served three years, and resigned to devote his time to his own private business. He is still in the law practice, and one of the oldest of the profession in Paducah. In 1842 he was married to Miss Ellen Durham, of Boyle County. She died in Danville, Ky., leaving one child, a son, D. A. Yeiser, now a druggist of Paducah. He then contracted a marriage with Miss Margaret Craig, of Danville, Ky.; she died in Eddyville, leaving three children: Ella, Florence (deceased), and Henry C. Yeiser, of Cincinnati, Ohio; has another son by a third marriage, P. D. Yeiser, Jr., a stenographer in Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr. Yeiser is a Republican in his political preferences, and has been for forty years a member of the I. O. O. F.

MARSHALL COUNTY.

THOMAS E. BARNES was born April 19, 1839, in Davidson County, Tenn. His father, Andrew J. Barnes, removed from Virginia, his native State, to Tennessee, when a young man, and was a farmer by occupation, principally. He died in September, 1883. His wife was Martha Foster. Our subject was reared on a farm, and started out for himself as a farm hand; for many years he was thus engaged, together with managing several farms, which he rented in Marshall County. In 1869 he went into business at Benton, Ky., with his father-in-law, and continued operating a farm until 1878, when he disposed of his interest in the store, and, exchanging his farming interest for property in Paducah, he removed in 1879 to that place and engaged in the grocery business. After a few months he returned to Benton, and there became interested in a saw and grist-mill. He has since been engaged in the grocery and dry goods trade, carrying a large and well-assorted stock, neatly displayed. He also carries on the only undertaking establishment in Benton. Despite the complete destruction by fire of his property in 1870, Mr. Barnes has regained his losses and placed himself among the solid men of Marshall County. He is a member of the A. F. & A. M., and K. of H., and with his wife a member of the Baptist Church. He was married May 10, 1860, to Missouri J. Stephens, of Benton; there are three children living of this union, Mary E., Anna E. and Benjamin B.

AUGUSTUS BARRY, Marshall County, was born December 5, 1839, in Robertson Co., Tenn. His parents, Jackson and Sinia Barry, came from Sumner County, Tenn., to the vicinity of Benton, Marshall Co., Ky., in 1856. Jackson Barry was

born May 24, 1811, in North Carolina, where he passed his boyhood days, removing to Tennessee in early manhood, where he married, in 1838, Sinia Minter, who was born in Tennessee February 14, 1814. Jackson Barry is spoken of as a man of extraordinary qualities; quiet, even-tempered and benevolent. He spent his life in the humble sphere of a farmer, and yet he wielded a potent influence for good in the community. He was for several years an elder in the Christian Church, in the faith of which he died, April 6, 1877. He was buried with the honors of Masonry, having been a member of that order for many years. His wife was remarkably well adapted to him in all the essential qualities of true womanhood. She was also a member of the same church, and died in April, 1884. They reared a family of seven children: Elizabeth (Hunter, now of Florida), Augustus, Azelia (Gilbert, of Paducah), Lycurgus, Catherine (Ely), Elias and Thomas J. Barry, ex-United States consul to San Luis Potosi, Mexico. Augustus Barry was reared on a farm, and received as good an education as the schools of the vicinity afforded. Being the eldest son, his services were needed by his parents, and he remained with them until thirty years of age. During this time he served as deputy sheriff for the greater part of seven years. Coming to Briensburg, this county, he was engaged three years in the mercantile trade. In 1878 he came to Benton, and, in partnership with his brother, embarked in the drug business. The following year his brother's interest was purchased by R. H. Starks, who is the present partner of Mr. Barry. Mr. Barry was married July 22, 1880, to Miss Mary Long; they have three children: Frank, Lillian and Jessie B. Mr. Barry is a member of the Masonic fraternity. Elias Barry was born in Sumner County, Tenn., November 15, 1849; was educated in the Marshall County Seminary, and after completing his studies, devoted about five years to teaching, during which time he was elected to the office of county superintendent of schools, and served in that office for two full terms. He is an uncompromising advocate of temperance, and is present chairman of the board of trustees of Benton, elected upon that issue. He is a member of the Christian Church, A. F. & A. M., R. A. M., and of the K. of H. Mr. Barry was married, in 1877, to Miss Laura O. Paine, daughter of T. P. and S. K. Paine, of Paducah, Ky. They have one child, Blanche B. Barry.

THOMAS H. BLEWETT, farmer and tobacco speculator of Palma Precinct, in Marshall County, was born in 1824, near Bowling Green, in Warren County, Ky. His parents, Edward W. and Lucy (Leaton) Blewett, both of whom are dead, were natives of North Carolina, from whence in an early day they immigrated to Kentucky. Thomas H., the subject of this sketch, was reared to manhood in Warren County, under the influences of pioneer life; was there married in 1853 to Miss Sarah C. Truitt, the daughter of William R. and Miranda (Hurt) Truitt. Immediately after this event, Mr. Blewett and his wife removed to Marshall County, and in the latter part of 1853 settled on the spot where they now live. Here Mr. B. opened a farm, which now consists of 200 acres of land. Time has sufficed to work a great transformation since then in the aspect of the surrounding country; but the impression of his hand is also seen and felt in the lives of this worthy couple, though they look back over their united struggles and victories with feelings not unmixed with pleasure. Their children are Lucy M., Ida (wife of Joseph Little), Dora B., Thomas and Hattie Blewett.

GEORGE COOPER, merchant and postmaster at Palma, Marshall Co., Ky., is a native of Trigg County, this State, and was born in 1846. His father, Benjamin Cooper, was born in North Carolina in 1813, where he remained until eighteen years old, at which time he came to Sumner County, Tenn., and after remaining there four years, moved to Kentucky. He located in Trigg County where, in 1842, he married Julia A. McCarty. She was born in 1821 in Clark County, Ky. These parents, with their family, removed to Marshall County in 1870, and are now among the honored citizens of that county, living two miles west of Palma. They reared seven children, viz.: Isaac, George, Lydia E. (deceased wife of H. M. Dix); Sarah E., wife of W. C. Malone; Mary A., widow of W. D. Blewett; Morgan and Martin B. Cooper. George Cooper, whose name introduces this sketch, was reared and educated in his native county, where, in 1870, he married Miss Leah F. Berkley, daughter of Seaborn and Martha (Frizzell) Berkley. Mr. Cooper began merchandising in Palma, Marshall County, in October, 1880, being the postmaster of that place, and serving as a deputy county clerk. He is an honored member of the F. & A. M.

ELIJAH C. DYCUS, M. D., now among the pioneers of Marshall County, is a son of John and Nancy (Isaacs) Dycus. Both parents were natives of Kentucky, and both were born in 1797. They removed from Edmonson County to the Purchase in 1830, and that year settled near the village of Briensburg,

Marshall County. John Dycus was a farmer and civil officer, and died when about forty-seven years old. His widow survived him many years, and died in 1877. Dr. E. C. Dycus is the third child of a family of eleven born to these parents. He was born in 1820 in Hart County, Ky., and was therefore but ten years old when the father came to Marshall County, then Calloway. In early manhood he decided on the profession of medicine, and pursued his medical studies under Dr. Nuckalls, an early and prominent physician of Wadesboro. Dr. Dycus began his practice in 1846, since which time he has devoted his time to that useful, though laborious profession. He is a member of the Marshall County Medical Association, and the Southwestern Medical Association of Kentucky, and also of the A. F. & A. M. Dr. Dycus was married in New Providence, Tenn., in 1849, to Miss Atlanta G. Duncan, daughter of James W. and Ann Duncan, of Virginia. They have a family of seven children, viz.: Francesca J., John W., Ella C., Ann Eliza, Emmett C., Emma G. and Mary A. Dycus. The family are honored members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

JOHN W. DYCUS is a native of Edmonson County, this State, and was born May 16, 1830, and is a son of John and Nancy (Isaacs) Dycus, who were from South Carolina. They were among the early settlers of Edmonson County, but in 1831 came to Calloway, now Marshall County, where his father died in 1844, his widow surviving him until 1876. The father was a farmer, but served in Edmonson County as sheriff. Our subject worked on the farm until nineteen years of age; he then left home and learned the cabinetmaker's trade, and was enabled thereafter to make sufficient means to supplement a common school education, by an attendance of over two years at the Bethlehem Academy, near Princeton, Ky. After teaching school twenty months in Yazoo County, Miss., he returned to this county in 1858, and began the study of law under Judge Philander Palmer. In August of the same year he was elected to the position of clerk of the county court for a term of four years, and was subsequently twice elected to the same position. He had been admitted to the bar in 1860, but continued his law studies during his long service as county clerk. In 1870 he was elected county judge for a period of four years, at the expiration of which he accepted the office of county attorney, but after serving a year in that capacity, he resigned and has since devoted his time to the private practice of his profession. In 1879 he was elected to the State legislature and served two years. He has given to the temperance cause his unqualified support. April 2, 1861, he was united in marriage to Miss Greenville Ford, of Benton. Walter G. is the only child of this union. Mrs. Dycus died in January, 1862, and the Judge was subsequently married to Amanda A. (Whittemore) Leigh.

JOHN C. ELLIS, M. D., physician and druggist, of Birmingham, Marshall Co., Ky., was born in Daviess County, Ky., in 1846. He is the son of Hardin H. and Elizabeth S. Ellis, *nee* Cottrell, both of whom are direct descendants of Welsh ancestors. Dr. Ellis' boyhood days were passed on his father's farm, in his native county, where he received a good English education. In early manhood he determined on a professional life, and having chosen that of medicine, he became a student of Dr. J.B. Knox, under whose preceptorship and that of Dr. C. Cottrell, he performed the usual preparatory reading. He began in 1868, in Hancock County, what has proven to be successful practice. He removed to Birmingham, Marshall County, in 1870, where he now lives. He entered the Louisville Medical College at the beginning of the term 1875–76, receiving the decrees conferred by that institution in the spring of the latter year. Dr. Ellis is not only a skillful and successful physician, as well as a systematic business man, but possesses to a rare degree the spirit of enterprise and of a true gentleman, characteristics which render him popular and give him a place among the best citizens of Marshall County. He is an honored member of the I. O. O. F. and the A. F. & A. M. He was married in 1872, in Birmingham, to Miss Mattie H. Ragan, of Marshall County. We are unwilling to close this brief sketch without mention of the fact that while Dr. Ellis possesses charitable views touching the common good, he is nevertheless an uncompromising advocate of temperance, believing that the use of alcoholic drink is the curse of our nation.

JAMES H. FLOWERS, a farmer and magistrate of Palma Precinct, Marshall County, was born in Warren County, Ky., February 18, 1825. This family was first represented in western Kentucky by the Rev. Austin Flowers, a Baptist minister, who came from Virginia. His son, William Flowers, who was the father of Esq., James H. married Sarah Owens, and came to Marshall County, then Calloway, in an early day and settled in the northwest part of the county, where he developed a farm; later he re-

moved to Graves County, where he died in 1867, and where his wife also died, both in the faith of the Baptist Church, of which they were pioneer members. James H. Flowers is the third of their family, which consisted of twelve children; he grew to manhood in this county and was married to Miss Magdalene Johnston, daughter of Col. Alfred Johnston. She died the mother of the following children, all of whom are living: Mary A., wife of Joseph Madox; James R., William A., Isaac Lee, Ada Gertrude (Apling), Hermina F., wife of Marshall Cook; Sallie J., Henry F., Mattie A., John H. and May Flowers. His present wife is Emma, daughter of William Johnston, of Marshall County. To them have been born three children, viz.: Samuel Yancey, Edna and Walker Flowers. Mr. Flowers is now serving his third term as magistrate of Palma Precinct; is a member of the Baptist Church, and of the Masonic order. For sketch of Col. Alfred Johnston, see history of Marshall County.

BENJAMIN T. FRANK, M. D., is one of the leading physicians of Marshall County, Ky., and a resident of Oakland Precinct, where he owns a valuable farm. Dr. Frank was born December 24, 1845, in Owen County, Ky., and is a son of Johnston and Virlinda (Simpson) Frank. The parents were natives of Kentucky, the father being still a resident of the State and living in Carroll County. The mother died in 1873. Benjamin T. was reared in Owen and Gallatin Counties, received his literary education at Eminence College, after the completion of which he began the study of medicine. He performed the usual preliminary reading under the preceptorship of Dr. William Sullivan, of Rising Sun, Ind. In 1864, he entered Miami Medical College, of Cincinnati, Ohio, receiving the degrees conferred by that institution, in 1867. The first four years of his professional labors were performed at Auburn, Mo., from whence he removed to Florence, Ind., coming to Marshall County, in 1876. Here he enjoys an extensive practice, and the confidence of a large circle of acquaintances. Dr. Frank married in Marshall County, in 1884, Mary Staten, daughter of Miles and Sallie A. Staten; Benjamin T. Frank, Jr., is their only child. Dr. Frank is a member of the Southwest Medical Association, and of the Order of A. F. & A. M. and of the R. A. M.

JOHN M. GREEN, farmer and merchant of Smith Precinct in Marshall County, was born near his present home, in 1827. His parents, Anderson and Sarah (Riley) Green, removed from Wayne County, Tenn., and settled in this county about 1824. They were reared in Tennessee, where they married a short time prior to their removal to Kentucky. They first located in what is now the Seventh District of the county, on land now owned and occupied by John Jones; but afterward removed to Smith Precinct, where they both died, Andrew on September 10, 1844, and his wife on the 24th of the same month. They had but three children, the subject of this sketch being the only one who survived childhood. John M. Green was reared under the influences of pioneer life, his chief employment being the labor incident to the life of a farmer boy, and to farming he has devoted much of his life. He served as a soldier in the Mexican war, and also in the war of the Rebellion. In 1848 he married Perlina N. Travis, daughter of Moses and Nancy (Kirksey) Travis, formerly of Weakley County, Tenn., where she was born December 17, 1830. This family settled in the Smith District about 1824, but subsequently removed to Tennessee, where the mother died in 1844. Moses Travis died in Paducah, Ky., of cholera. The family of John M., and Perlina N. Green are Benjamin E., now a lawyer of Texas, born August 27, 1849; Lucien M., editor and proprietor of the Tyler *Courier*, Texas, born April 7, 1851; John P., born August 12, 1853, graduated at Evansville Commercial College in 1877, followed merchandising four years, then edited a Tyler daily paper one year, or until his health failed, and died January 11, 1884; a daughter, born October 11, 1859, died at the age of two years; Sydney J., a physician of Pryorsburg, Ky., born June 20, 1861; and Sol Green, born August 21, 1869. It may be truthfully said of Mr. and Mrs. Green that their lives have been a labor of love for the welfare of their children, and wisely they foresaw that education means independence. Mr. Green has served for several years as magistrate in his precinct, and for many years kept the postoffice; and in positions of public trust, as well as a merchant and citizen, he has proven himself worthy of the confidence bestowed. He is an honored member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Masonic fraternity.

TURNER H. HALL, merchant at Oak Level, Marshall County, is the eldest of a family of three children of John and Rebecca B. (Harrison) Hall. These parents were natives of North Carolina, and in 1846 they immigrated to Kentucky, and settled where

they now live, in Graves County, near Symsonia. Edward T. and Dr. Benjamin T. Hall, of that county, are their sons. Turner H. Hall was born in Montgomery County, N. C., in 1841, and was chiefly reared in Graves County, coming with the family here in 1846. At the breaking out of the civil war he enlisted in the Confederate Army, serving as lieutenant in Company G, of the Third Kentucky Infantry. He shared the fortunes of this command until November, 1864, participating in the engagements at Shiloh, Corinth, Jackson and Guntown, Miss., and others; but at Franklin, Tenn., in November, 1864, he was made a prisoner by the Federal Army, and was held as such until the close of the war. Having returned to civil life in Graves County he was appointed deputy sheriff of that county, and served three years. Mr. Hall was married in 1872 to Miss Lavinia Ferrell, daughter of Drewry A. Ferrell and Mary B. (Keton) Ferrell. They came from Mecklenburg County, Va., to Graves County, Ky., in 1861, where in 1863 the father died. His widow, Mary B., died in the same county in 1881. Mr. Hall has a family of four children: Mary B., John D., Mattie G. and Street Hall. The mother of our subject, Rebecca B. (Harrison) Hall, descends in direct line from a family named Bethel, whose name she bears. This family emigrated from Europe to America in 1682, and settled near Plymouth, Mass. T. H. Hall is an honored member of the Masonic order, A. F. & A. M. He began his present mercantile business in Oak Level in 1882, and has a general stock.

REUBEN J. HILL, farmer and tobacco speculator of Oakland Precinct, in Marshall County, is a native of the county born in 1833, on the farm where he now lives. His parents, Burrell and Sallie Hill were among the early pioneer settlers of Marshall County. The former was born in South Carolina in 1793, but immigrated to Kentucky about 1819, settling at that time in Hopkins County, where he married Sallie Prewett. They soon after came to Marshall County, locating a short distance north of Benton, on Clark's River. They remained, however, but a short while, removing thence to the old Hill homestead, where Reuben now lives, There they spent the remainder of their days. Sallie, who was born in 1789, in Georgia, died in 1872, and Burrell in 1874. They had a family of five children as follows: Williams P., Benjamin H., Elizabeth, deceased wife of J. L. Fooks; Amelia L., wife of Daniel Fooks; and Reuben J. Hill, whose name heads this sketch. He was married in 1858, to Miss Maria Johnston, eldest daughter of J. H. Johnston, Esq. They have been blessed with eight children, as follows: Alice E., wife of W. E. Little; Wade H., who married Miss Mary N. Franklin; Lola M., wife of John D. Lindsay; Maud, Mary E., Henry B., Lillian M. and Frank Boone Hill.

WESLEY A. HOLLAND was born in Calloway, now Marshall County, Ky., July 27, 1832. His father, John Holland, came to the county, in 1818, probably from North Carolina, locating first on the Tennessee River, and two years later at a point four miles in the interior, and there resided until his death, which occurred in 1880. His wife, formerly Kulie Parent, was a native of this State; she died in 1835, the mother of six children. Of these our subject was the youngest. He was reared upon the farm until twenty-five years of age, receiving in the meantime a good early education. In 1857 he came to Benton and read law, and was engaged in practice at the opening of the war. In August, 1861, he enlisted in Company A, Third Kentucky Infantry (Confederate), and after a year was discharged for disability. A few years after returning from the war, he was elected county judge, a position he held for four years. He also served two terms as school commissioner of the county; at the expiration of the time of this last public service, he opened a store, containing groceries, drugs and general stock, and J. R. Lemon was admitted into partnership. They subsequently sold out, but later Mr. Holland opened his present stock of goods, and enjoys a steady trade. He was married March 18, 1875, to Miss Jane F. Thompson, of Benton. They have one child, Clinton R. Mr. and Mrs. Holland are members of the Christian Church, in which he is an elder. He also gives active support to the cause of temperance.

JOHN JENKINS, merchant and farmer, at Palma, Marshall County, was born in Caldwell County, Ky., in 1822, and came with his father's family to Marshall County (then Calloway) in 1833. His father, Bartholomew Jenkins, who will be remembered by many of the readers, was born in West Virginia; his wife, Matilda (Scott) Jenkins, was a native of Kentucky. They settled a short distance from the present site of the village of Palma, developed a farm, on which they passed the remainder of their lives. Bartholomew died in 1866, and his wife in 1867. Their family consisted of Joshua, John, Thomas J., Orilla A. (Littlejohn), Elizabeth (deceased, wife of W. A. Tinnin), Walter and Martha Jenkins; the latter died in infancy. Of this family, John, Thomas J. and Orilla are the only sur-

viving members. John Jenkins was reared under strictly pioneer influences, and began merchandising, about 1843, and in which he is still engaged, now associated with John F. Brush, in a general store in the village of Palma. Mr. Jenkins is a genial gentleman of extensive general information, a member of the United Baptist Church, as well as of the Masonic order, and in politics a Democrat. He was married in Marshall County in 1857, to Irene Z. Brush, daughter of James and Nancy Brush, who were of the early settlers of Marshall County. This family first settled in the southwest portion of Calloway County, but afterward removed to the portion now embraced in Marshall County, where they died, he in 1873, she in 1877. Their children are John F. Brush, Mrs. Irene Z. Jenkins, P. H. (wife of W. C. Staten), Hermina S. (wife of J. P. Brien), and Henry C. Brush.

JAMES H. JOHNSTON, farmer, merchant and postmaster at Sharpe, Marshall Co., Ky., is one of the oldest and most valuable citizens of his county. One of the first settlers in this portion of the county where he lives was his grandfather, Absalom Johnston, who with his family came to this county about 1817. Isaac Johnston, the son of Absalom, and father of our subject, was at that time a man of family, was born about 1792, in South Carolina, but in early life immigrated to Kentucky, settling east of the Tennessee River; thence to Marshall County, as above stated. He served as a soldier in the war with the Seminole Indians, and married Miss Charlotte Baker, and as a result of that union had a family of nine children, viz.: Alfred, Isaac O., Dunning B., Elizabeth (who married O. Grffith), Ira, Christina (the wife of C. Y. Bailey), James H., Henry (who died in Mexico, while a soldier in the Mexican war), and Ambrose Johnston. Of this family all are dead except two: Mrs. Bailey and the subject of this sketch. Isaac and Charlotte Johnston, the parents of this family, both died in 1837. James H. Johnston was born in Marshall County, Ky., in 1822, and has passed his entire life thus far in the immediate vicinity of his birth. His early education was such as could be obtained in the primitive schools. In 1841 he married Drusilla, a daughter of Joseph Staten, who was also a pioneer of the county. She died in October, 1871, the mother of ten children as follows: Nancy M. (wife of R. J. Hill), Joseph O. (deceased), William H. and Mary C. (both of whom died in infancy), Elizabeth (wife of W. J. Miller), Isaac, Felix F., Bell A. (wife of J. M. Bradley, of New Mexico), Jennie C. and Eulalia Johnston; the last named died in infancy. In 1872 Mr. Johnston married his present wife, Adeline, daughter of John and Jane (Duncan) Grubbs. She was born in Calloway County in 1838. Their union has been blessed with three children: Alfred, Lucy and James B. Johnston. It is but due to Mr. J. H. Johnston to accord to him the prestige of being one of the first men in the Jackson Purchase; being possessed as he is of great public spirit, he has made the impress of his molding hand upon the community which he has so long honored. He is an acceptable member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and of the Masonic fraternity. Mr. Johnston has for the past twelve years filled the office of magistrate, and has for many years exerted a commanding influence in the interest of good schools. (See portrait.)

WILLIAM P. LEE, judge of the Marshall County court, was born in Canton, Trigg Co., Ky., December 25, 1853. His father, B. P. Lee, was a native of Tennessee, Stewart County. He came to Kentucky when a young man, located in Lafayette, Christian County, from whence he moved to Canton, from there to Paducah, and subsequently to Marshall County, where he died in 1865. He was engaged in life in farming and mercantile business. His widow, formerly Martha F. Cotton, of Tennessee, survived him until September 27, 1881. Our subject was the youngest of the family, and when eight years old was brought to Marshall County by his parents, and educated in the common schools and Benton Academy. At seventeen years of age he went to Grayson County, Tex., and for two years was salesman in mercantile houses. Returning to Marshall County he farmed four years, when he came to Benton and completed his law studies under the direction of Judge Philander Palmer, now deceased, and was admitted to the bar in December, 1876. Two years later he was elected judge of the county court, and was re-elected in 1882. He was united in marriage June 21, 1877, to Miss Dora A. Chiles, of Marshall County. There are two children of this union: Donna Deane and Clarice. Judge Lee is a member of the Knights of Honor, of which body he was two years the presiding officer. Since January, 1882, he has been associated in the practice of law with W. W. Robinson, of Mayfield, Ky.

JAMES R. LEMON, Marshall County, was born April 10, 1848, in Guilford County, N. C., a son of Joseph G. and Demarias

A. (Helton) Lemon. The father died February 21, 1885, and the mother in 1879. His father was a farmer by occupation. Our subject was one of a family of eight children, and remained upon the home farm until becoming of age. After attending the academy at Benton, the county seat of Marshall County, he engaged in teaching school. In February, 1872, he began business for himself in Benton as a druggist, and continued the same for seven years, during which time he was postmaster. In 1880 he engaged as a traveling salesman for Patrick & Wilson, of Evansville, Ind., in the wholesale book and stationery business, traveling in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Missouri and Arkansas, continuing in the same business for four years. Mr. Lemon is a member of the order of Good Templars, Knights of Honor and a Royal Arch Mason. He was married March 13, 1873, to Miss Cora A. Wilson, of Benton. They lived happily together until March 20, 1885, when she died, leaving three children: Clay G., Luna E. and Maud S. Lemon. He is now in business at Benton as a druggist. He owns some very valuable property, owns a nice residence, is a very successful business man, and merits the esteem of all who know him.

JOSEPH H. LITTLE, one of the best farmers in Palma Precinct, Marshall County, Ky., was born in 1850, in Tennessee. His parents, both of whom were natives of Tennessee, and who are dead, were Isaac N. Little and Frances Little, *nee* Gilliam. By the death of a parent, Joseph H. was thrown upon his own resources at the age of thirteen, and three years later he came to Marshall County and engaged as a farm hand by the month; being from force of circumstances deprived of a literary education, however, what he has lacked in that quality, he has supplied by developing a native energy and a love for honest industry, which have made him conspicuous among his fellows, and which present to the young an example worthy of imitation. He now owns a nice farm of 150 acres of land, and is engaged in general farming and stock-raising. He was married, in 1883, to Miss Ida Blewett, daughter of Thomas H. Blewett. They have one son, Thomas W. Little. In politics Mr. Little is a Democrat; is a member of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and of the order F. & A. M. He is the oldest of four children, the other three being William. E., Izorah L. and Sarah, wife of John Aaron, of Fulton, Ky.

JAMES C. McGEE, farmer, living near Palma, Marshall County, is a native of North Carolina, and was born in 1828. His father, Robert McGee, was also a native of North Carolina, and there died, when James C. was but an infant. His mother, Malinda (Gibson) McGee, was afterward married to William Freeman, and the family removed from Virginia to this county in the spring of 1846, and settled on the Tennessee River, near the present site of Calvert City. Here Malinda Freeman died soon after their immigration to this county, as did also her husband, William Freeman. James C. McGee was principally reared in the State of Virginia, and for some years after removing to this county, he engaged as a farm hand, having, in the beginning, nothing, save the strength of his young manhood and a persistent determination to succeed. About 1856, he purchased fifty acres of land, where he now lives, and proceeded to improve it, and by industry and economy he has been able to add to this, from time to time, until he became one of the largest land owners in the county. He now owns about 600 acres of land, and engages in mixed husbandry and stock-raising. With the exception of serving as constable and deputy sheriff, he has devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of agriculture, never having sought any position of public trust. He is a genial, benevolent gentleman, and an honored member of the A. F. & A. M. In 1853, James C. McGee married Miss Laurinda E., daughter of Col. Alfred Johnston, of whom mention is made in the general history of Marshall County. They have had thirteen children, of whom two are dead—Magdalene A., wife of L. W. Truitt; Joseph H.; Julia E., wife of C. B. Littlejohn; William T., Howard J., Curtis A., Effie L., James M., Charles L., Mary C. and Alfred Adeline McGee.

JOHN MINTER, Jr., was born in this county, February 21, 1855. He was reared to farm work, and attended the Benton Academy, where he completed his course of study, and for some time thereafter was engaged in teaching school in winter and working on the farm during the summer season. Soon after becoming of age he opened with a limited capital a confectionery establishment in Benton, which has been from time to time enlarged, and other lines of goods added, as his means would justify. He now carries a heavy stock of general goods and enjoys a flourishing trade. November 15, 1878, Mr. Minter was appointed postmaster at this place and has since served in that capacity. He is a stanch Republican.

WILLIAM R. OWENS, Esq., farmer and magistrate of Oak Level Precinct, Marshall County, is a son of Nelson and Mary (McCain) Owens, and grandson of William

Owens, who settled in Marshall County in 1819. His father, Nelson Owens, was born in Tennessee, principally reared in Marshall County, where he married Mary McCain. She was the daughter of James and Elizabeth McCain, which family came early from middle Tennessee to this county. Nelson and Mary Owens had eight children: Winfrey, deceased; Elizabeth, deceased wife of M. G. Reed; Benjamin, deceased; William R., Frances A. (Holmes) deceased; Charles W., and Isaac, both of whom died in childhood, and Nelson Owens, now of Graves County. William R. Owens served as lieutenant in Company G, Third Kentucky Regiment, under Capt. Edwards, enlisting in 1861 and serving until the close of the war. He participated in many of the leading engagements, sharing the fortunes of his regiment throughout. In 1865, he married Elizabeth C. Reed, daughter of David and Susanna Reed, she being the only surviving member of a large family, early settlers in this county. Mr. Owens was elected magistrate of his district in 1878, and again in 1882, and now officiates in that capacity. His children are Mary S., Charles W., Ida B., Frances A., and Robert E. Lee.

T. F. PALMER was born May 23, 1858, in Benton, the fourth in a family of eight children born to Philander and Susan (Whittimore) Palmer. The father died March 6, 1880, in Marshall County, after a long life devoted mostly to the practice of law. He was a native of New Hampshire, and received a thorough education in the Norwich University of Vermont. When a young man he came to Kentucky and located near Paris, and in 1842 came to Marshall County, about the time of its organization, being the first law practitioner to locate within its limits. He was likewise a civil engineer. During his lifetime he was prominently identified with many popular measures and enterprises, and in his death the public lost an efficient officer, and a citizen of high social worth. Nearly all the leading members of the bar of Marshall County and vicinity were educated under his advice and instruction, and owe their success largely to his example and able instruction. T. F. Palmer was reared in Benton, and attended its schools and academy until sixteen years of age, when he taught school himself. In 1877 he went to Indiana and attended the Butler University a term, when he returned to Marshall County and resumed teaching, and was shortly after elected principal of the Benton Male and Female Academy, a position he held two years, when he was elected to his present office, that of circuit clerk, and his services in this capacity have since been continued. He had in the meantime devoted himself to the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1879. He was married on August 27, 1879, to Miss Lucy V. Stilley, of Benton. They have one child living, Nellie G. T. F. Palmer has been one of the examiners of common school teachers of Marshall County for over six years, and will enter upon the practice of law in 1886 at the expiration of his term of office as circuit clerk.

CAMPBELL PARKER, a farmer, one-half mile east of the village of Benton, Marshall County, was born in 1810, in east Tennessee, but reared to manhood in Alabama, whither the parents, William and Tabitha, had removed when Campbell was but a small child. In 1845, he was married to Miss Martha C. Franklin, of Louisiana, and two years later they removed to Marshall County, Ky., settling on the farm now owned by the widow Minter. Selling this farm to its present owner, Mr. Parker purchased the land where he now lives, and proceeded to develop and improve it, until he now has one of the best farms in the county, consisting of 210 acres of land. Mr. Parker has devoted his life to the pursuits of agriculture and speculative trading, and had amassed a handsome fortune, which was swept away by the ruthless hand of war. He has never been an aspirant to official honors, but has taken an active interest in the local politics of the county, serving for some years as chairman of the Democratic Central Committee. Mr. Parker is a member of Lodge No. 205, A. F. & A. M., and is also a Royal Arch Mason. He had a family of eight children, two of whom died in childhood. The living are Sidney C., William F., Mary, wife of Frank Higgins; John H., of Texas; Dr. George W. and Maggie L. Parker.

WILLIAM M. REED, attorney at law, Marshall County, was born September 5, 1848, in Graves County, this State. His father, whose name the son retains, was a native of North Carolina. He came to Kentucky, when a child, with his parents, Noah and Nancy Reed, and was reared to farming in Graves County, where the parents first located. In 1847 he removed to Marshall County, and the following year was killed while felling a tree. His wife, Margaret (McCain) Reed, was a native of Tennessee. The union gave two children: W. M. and N. R. The mother was subsequently married to Noah Park, by whom she has eight children. Our subject was reared on the farm, and attended the common schools of the

vicinity, the education thus obtained being supplemented by several years attendance at the Benton and Princeton Academies, and other places. He immediately began the study of law thereafter under the advice of Judge P. Palmer, now deceased, and a year later was admitted to the bar, and has been in continuous practice since. In 1877 he resigned the position of county attorney to accept election to the State Legislature, to which body he was subsequently re-elected. He occupies a leading position among the members of the profession, and is recognized as an attorney of great ability. His practice extends to all the adjoining counties, and he is one of the firm of Gilbert & Reed, Paducah, and Oury & Reed, Murray, Ky. He is a member of the Masonic fraternity and of the Christian Church. He was married October 17, 1872, to Miss Mary A. Strow, of Benton, a daughter of Willis and Mary Strow. This union has been blessed with three children: Clarence B., Cecil Lula and Roscoe.

ANDREW SMITH, M. D., was born in Wadesboro, in Calloway County, this State, November 19, 1840, a son of Andrew Smith, who with his two brothers, David and William, left his native home in Adair County, Ky., when a young man and coming to Wadesboro, located in the town. They were sons of Joseph Smith, one of the earliest settlers of Adair County, but who removed to Illincis, where he died. The father of our subject, after locating in Wadesboro, was given a position in the land office of Edmond Curd, and subsequently married Eliza, the daughter of his employer. He then engaged in mercantile trade, which he followed until his death, which occurred September 19, 1840. He left a wife and five children; our subject was the youngest of the family; was reared by his mother, who subsequently married W. M. Starks, and his early life was spent at farm work. After receiving what schooling the vicinity afforded, he went to Murray, and after attending school, he began the study of medicine under Dr. J. P. Holt, of Murray, and a year later attended a course of lectures in the medical department, University of Louisville, from which institution he subsequently graduated in 1861. He went to Vienna, Ill., afterwards to Boydsville, Tenn., to practice, but at the breaking out of the war he entered Company H, Fifth Tennessee Infantry, Confederate States Army, and served as a private twelve months; he was then given the position of assistant surgeon, and served in this capacity until January, 1864, when he was discharged for disability. Upon returning he resumed practice, locating successively in Marshall, Graves and McCracken Counties. At Paducah he engaged in the wholesale grocery business with Smith, Bondurant & Co. In 1875 he removed to Benton, where he has since practiced with eminent success. January 22, 1865, he married Eudora Miller, of Marshall County. They have three children: James D., Eliza C. and Mattie E. The Doctor and wife are members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; as also his two older children, J. D. and E. C.; he is also a Mason and K. of H., and supports the temperance movement.

DR. R. H. STARKS was born about seven miles southeast of Benton, near Wadesboro, Marshall Co., Ky., August 19, 1852. His father, Spence P. Starks, was born in Todd County, Ky., January 16, 1817, is a farmer, and has never been outside of the State of Kentucky. His wife, whose maiden name was Mary A. Skaggs, was born near Bowling Green, Ky., and at the time of her marriage to S. P. Starks, was a widow of a Mr. Stark, by whom she had one son, James M. Stark, who is now engaged in farming and merchandising. To her second husband, Mrs. Starks has borne eleven children, seven of whom are still living. She is now about fifty-seven years of age. R. H. Starks was reared on a farm and attended school in the neighborhood until he was seventeen years of age, when he entered the high school at Benton, and afterward taught in the common schools of the county. His first business experience was as clerk in the drug store of Dr. A. Smith, with whom he studied medicine; in May, 1875, he attended lectures at Louisville, and in 1878 graduated from the Louisville Medical College; he then practiced a year near Wadesboro, and next came to Benton, where he is engaged in practice and is also conducting the drug business. August 18, 1880, he married Izora, daughter of John H. Strow, a merchant. This lady died of typhoid fever March 22, 1882, aged eighteen years and four months, leaving one child, eight months old; Mrs. Starks died a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; Mr. Starks was once a member of the Christian Church at Wadesboro, but withdrew on account of the disorganization of that body.

GEORGE E. WALKER, a prosperous farmer of Smith's Precinct, Marshall County, was born June 24, 1818, in Mecklenburg County, Va. When he was fourteen years old, his parents, Robert and Rebecca (Johnson) Walker, removed from Virginia to middle Tennessee, and there George E. attained

his manhood, and resided until coming to Marshall County, Ky., in 1852; his parents died in middle Tennessee. Mr. Walker was married February 24, 1842, to Miss Susan J., daughter of Thomas and Catherine Layne, *nee* Ulty. She was born in Tennessee, April 29, 1824. Mr. Walker, on coming to Marshall County, purchased 160 acres of land on which he now lives, and which he has highly improved. He is a practical farmer, having devoted his entire life to this pursuit. In politics he is a Democrat, but feels a pardonable pride in the fact that he has always taken advanced ground on the subject of temperance, and strongly advocates absolute prohibition. He is a member of the Missionary Baptist Church and of the Masonic order. Mr. and Mrs. Walker have had a family of fourteen children, whose names in the order of age are: Wm. T., Martha (Liles), John J., Robert S., Benjamin G., Susan E. (Roach), Marshall F., Hardin G., Frances C., Andrew J., Richard H., Gustavus A. and Rebecca J. Walker. William T., Martha, Benjamin G., Francis C., and an infant are deceased. Mrs. Catherine (Ulty) Layne died March 4, 1881, in her nintieth year, at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Walker.

MAJ. WILIA WALLER, now among the pioneers of Marshall County, was born June 13, 1809, in North Carolina. His paternal grandfather, Benjamin Waller, was an early settler in North Carolina, and had but one son, whose name was Henry Waller, whose only son is Maj. Wilia Waller. Henry Waller was in the war of 1812, and married Nancy Moore; they both died in Marshall County, he in 1844, and she in 1870, at the age of eighty-four years. Maj. Waller was married in Davidson County, Tenn., in 1834, to Miss Cassy Johnson, with whom he has now passed over fifty years of wedded life. They immigrated to Kentucky in 1837, settling on their present farm, which they bought of Nelson Owens. His life has been one of hard labor, and service for the public good. He served several years as a magistrate in his precinct; in 1855, he was elected to the State legislature, representing Marshall and Livingston Counties. He was a warm opponent of the doctrine of secession, and in consequence of his stern adherence to what he believed to be right, he became very unpopular with those whose sympathies were on the opposite side of this great question. So great was the prejudice against him, that on different occasions he was subjected to cruel treatment in both person and property, and lived in constant danger of assassination. In 1862, he assisted in recruiting a company of men for the Federal service, which was attached to the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry, and in October, 1862, he was elected major of the regiment, in which position he served until the expiration of the period of his enlistment. He then returned to private life and to his farm, and in 1863, was again elected to a seat in the legislature, from Marshall County. He had three sons, who were in the Federal Army; of these, Thomas Waller was colonel of the Twentieth Kentucky Infantry, and Benjamin R. captain in the same command. Nine of a family of twelve children are still living: Lucinda (McCain), Col. Thomas Waller, Alexander K., Joseph, Celia A. (Cole), Nancy E. (Thweatt), Linn Boyd, Sarah E. (Quinn), and Benjamin Rush Waller. It may be safely asserted that no man in western Kentucky has been truer to his convictions, or stands higher in the esteem of his fellows than does Maj. Wilia Waller. He affiliates with the Republican party, and is an honored member of the A. F. & A. M.

ISAAC WASHAM, Esq., farmer, living in Smith District, Marshall County, is a son of Peter and Frances (Owen) Washam, and was born near where he now lives, October 16, 1836. His father, Peter Washam, was born in Pittsylvania County, Va., August 8, 1804, and came with his father to the Purchase in 1820. He was married, in 1828, to Miss Frances Owen, daughter of William Owen, of Marshall County; she died in 1882. Their children are: Mary J., widow of William Crutchfield; Elizabeth, widow of Alexander Johnson; Nelson, Isaac, Pairlee (Waller), Frances (deceased wife of Thomas J. Green), and John Washam (also deceased). Isaac Washam, the fourth of this family, was reared in Marshall County, and in 1857, married Mary P., daughter of Hicks J. Ray. She was born in Marshall County, in July, 1837. To them have been born Willis A., William O., Luella M. (Mathis), John A., James B., Thomas K., Benjamin C., Lafayette H., Mary F. and Annie E. Washam. Mr. Washam served as a Federal soldier in the Fifteenth Kentucky Cavalry, under Maj. W. Waller. In 1878, he was elected to the office of magistrate for Smith Precinct; reelected in 1882, and is the present incumbent. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of the Masonic order, and uncompromisingly committed to the cause of Prohibition. (For ancestry see history of Graves County.)

JOHN B. WILSON, M. D., an esteemed citizen and skillful physician of Marshall County, Ky., is a native of Trigg County, was born in 1837, and is a son of Joel and Mary

Wilson; the father is yet a resident of Trigg County. Dr. Wilson passed his youthful days in his native county; studied medicine at Roaring Springs, under Dr. G. W. McKinney, and after the usual preparatory study, entered the Physio-Medical College of Cincinnati, Ohio, graduating from that institution in 1860. Until 1869, the date of his last settlement in Marshall County, he practiced in Trigg, Calloway and Marshall Counties, but in the last named year removed to his present home, in the southeastern part of the county, near Olive. Besides an extensive practice, Dr. Wilson superintends the interests of his farm, owning 425 acres of land. He is a member of the Baptist Church, Masonic order and I. O. O. F.; married in Calloway County in 1861, to Miss Alice Petty. They have five children, named as follows: Milus M., Laura B., Alice, Anna May and Dora Wilson.

JOSEPH M. WILSON, M. D., of Birmingham, Marshall Co., Ky., is a native of Hancock County, where he was born in the year 1835. He is the eldest in a family of five children of Robert J. and Nancy Wilson, *nee* Macklin, both of whom were born in Boone County, Ky., and who died in Hancock County. The Rev. Christopher Wilson, a Baptist minister, was the paternal grandfather of our subject. Dr. Wilson passed his boyhood days in his native county, where he served an apprenticeship to the trade of printer, which, however, he discontinued at the age of twenty years, at which time he began selling drugs in the town of Hawesville, Ky. He prosecuted this line of trade for five years; then began the study of medicine preparatory to a professional life. His preliminary reading was performed under the tutorship of Dr. T. Holmes. In 1861 he entered the Kentucky school of medicine of Louisville, graduating therefrom in the following year, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession, locating for one year at Stephensport, Breckenridge Co., Ky. After practicing in Hancock County and in the city of Louisville, Ky., he removed in 1866 to Marshall County, locating in the town of Birmingham, where he has since continued, enjoying an extensive and lucrative practice. He is president of the Marshall County Medical Association, to which body he is an important factor. He possesses an abundant physical energy which enables him, besides performing his professional duties, to have special supervision of his farming interests. Dr. Wilson possesses none of that affected style, nor pretension to exterior display, which so often passes current for professional ability, but is a plain, commonplace man of real worth and an untiring advocate of temperance reform. He has been twice married; first in Louisville, Ky., in 1861, to Miss Sallie Holmes, daughter of M. G. Holmes of that city. She died in Birmingham in 1877, leaving three children: Richard, Robert and Florence Wilson. His present wife, to whom he was married in 1879, was Miss Maggie, daughter of John Jagars, of Hancock County. The result of this union is Walter S. and Thomas H. Wilson. Besides the children above named, two have died: Rosamond H. and Joseph M. (See portrait of Dr. Wilson.)

JAMES K. WILSON was born in Londonderry, Ireland, August 18, 1812, and arrived in Baltimore, Md., July, 1833. He located in Paris, Tenn., as book-keeper for Green & Crockett, with whom he remained three years. He married Geraldine H. Cooley, March 18, 1836. The same year he went into the drug business with his father, Dr. William Wilson, who arrived in America in 1834, and located at Paris, Tenn., and continued in business there until 1838; he then moved to Paducah, Ky., and was opening a drug store at the time of the big fire of said year, at which fire he lost everything he possessed, including a fine library. The next year (1839–40) he attended a medical school at Louisville, and in 1841 located in Missouri, where he practiced one year and then moved to Symsonia, Graves Co., Ky.; he remained there until 1857, and then moved to Benton, and in 1866 entered the drug business again; in 1870 he was burned out again, suffering a total loss. May 17, 1874, he died, leaving a wife and four children. He had practiced medicine from 1841 until his death. William J. Wilson, county clerk and son of James K. Wilson, was born in Graves County, June 29, 1843. At eighteen years of age, he enlisted in Company G, Third Kentucky Infantry, and served three years. He participated in the battles of Shiloh, Corinth, Jackson, Vicksburg and Guntown, and was wounded at the last named place. Soon after the close of the war he went into the drug business with his father, remaining with him two years. There he was variously engaged in farming, carpentering and milling, and still retains a half interest in the Benton Mills. In August, 1881, he was elected county clerk for one year, and was immediately thereafter re-elected to a full term of four years. He was married September 7, 1866, to Josephine Eley of Benton. They have six children: Lloyd T., William W., James K., Robert C., Raleigh D. and Frank.

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